

Cuk. Hc. 2280 - 10. P. 1493
AMERICAN (18)

JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

Edited by

HAROLD CHERNISS

KEMP MALONE, BENJAMIN D. MERITT
DAVID M. ROBINSON, HENRY T. ROWELL

VOLUME LXII

BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

LONDON: ARTHUR F. BIRD

PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING

LEIPZIG: F. A. BROCKHAUS

1941

914735

CONTENTS OF VOLUME LXII.

18

No. 245.

	PAGE
New Fragments of the Tribute Lists. By BENJAMIN D. MERITT,	1
Pattern of Sound and Atomistic Theory in Lucretius. By PAUL FRIEDLÄNDER,	16
The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric. By FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN,	35
The Terentianus of the <i>πρὸς ὕψους</i> . By WALTER ALLEN, JR.,	51
On the Particle <i>πρὸ</i> in Homer. By JOSEPH E. FONTENROSE,	65
<i>O. Mich.</i> I, 154. By HERBERT C. YOUTIE and ORSAMUS M. PEARL,	80
The Origin of the Third Cyrenaic Legion. By H. A. SANDERS,	84
Horace, <i>Odes</i> , 3, 5, 13-18. By FRANK O. COPLEY,	87
The Hesychian Gloss <i>γοῦρα</i> : <i>οἷς</i> "Sheep." By LOUIS H. GRAY,	89
Note on Plato, <i>Laws</i> 722 c 1. By J. S. KIEFFER,	91
REVIEWS:	93
Wallace's Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian (HERBERT C. YOUTIE).—Koerte's Menandri Quae Super-sunt, Pars Prior: Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Vetustissimis Servatae (PHILIP W. HARSH).—Jones' The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces (T. R. S. BROUGH- TON).—Rostovtzeff, Brown, and Welles' The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work, 1933-1934 and 1934-1935 (GLANVILLE DOWNEY).—Wilson's The Clothing of the Ancient Romans (CATHARINE SAUNDERS).—Galdi's Saggi Boeziani (EDMUND T. SILK).—Triantaphyllides', <i>Νεοελληνική Γραμματική, πρώτος τόμος, ιστορική εισαγωγή</i> (SHIRLEY H. WEBER).—Fields' The Technique of Exposition in Roman Comedy (GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH).—Fuchs' Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt (M. L. W. LAISTNER).—Winterscheidt's Aigina: Eine Untersuchung über seine Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (PAUL A. CLEMENT).—Jonkers' Invloed van het Christendom op de Romeinsche wetgeving betreffende het concubinat en de echtscheiding (WILLIAM M. GREEN).—Klingner's Q. Horati Flacci Carmina (ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY).—Cary's Dionysius of Halicarnassus, The Roman Antiquities, with an English Translation, Vol. II (NORMAN W. DEWITT).—Packer's Cicero's Presentation of Epicurean Ethics (NORMAN W. DEWITT).—Mihăescu's Dioscoride Latino, <i>Materia Medica, libro primo</i> (HENRY E. SIGERIST).—Sanford's The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times; Smith and Moorhead's A Short History of the Ancient World; Trever's History of Ancient Civilization. Vol. I: The Ancient Near East	

and Greece; Vol. II: The Roman World (RICHARD M. HAYWOOD).—*Gilbert and Kuhn's A History of Esthetics* (GEORGE BOAS).

NOTICE, - - - - - 127

BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - - - 127

No. 246.

	PAGE
<i>Ratio</i> > Race. By LEO SPITZER, - - - - -	129
Solon's Agrarian Legislation. By NAPHTALI LEWIS, - - -	144
Chronological Notes on the Issues of Several Greek Mints. By PAUL A. CLEMENT, - - - - -	157
The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric (concluded). By FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN, - - - - -	169
Bithynica. By MARCUS N. TOD, - - - - -	191
On Etruscan and Latin Month-Names. By H. M. HOENIGSWALD,	199
The Wall of Theodosius at Antioch. By GLANVILLE DOWNEY, -	207
Sophocles, <i>Ajax</i> 112: A Study in Sophoclean Syntax and Interpretation. By S. JOHNSON, - - - - -	214
Juvenal, <i>Sat.</i> , I, 1, 147-150. By FRANK O. COPLEY, - - - -	219
Catullus, 5, 7-11 and the Abacus. By HARRY L. LEVY, - - -	222
The Boule of 500 from Salamis to Ephialtes. By MILTON GIFFLER,	224
<i>In Die Mortis</i> = <i>In Die(m) Mortis</i> and Roman Marital Felicity. By W. A. OLDFATHER, - - - - -	227
Euripides, <i>Ion</i> , 1610. By FELIX WASSERMANN, - - - - -	229
REVIEWS: - - - - -	230

Frank's An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, V: Rome and Italy of the Empire (VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA).—*Kuiper's Two Comedies by Apollodorus of Carystus*. Terence's *Hecyra* and *Phormio* (JOHN N. HOUGH).—*Boas' Aeneas' Arrival in Latium: Observations on Legends, History, Religion, Topography and Related Subjects in Vergil, Aeneid VII, 1-135* (WILLIAM CHARLES KORFMACHER).—*McDermott's The Ape in Antiquity* (MARGARETE BIEBER).—*Schnabel's Text und Karten des Ptolemäus* (WALTER WOODBURN HYDE).—*Härtleman's De Claudiano Mamerto Gallicae Latinitatis Scriptore Quaestiones* (JACOB HAMMER).—*Jouai's De Magistraat Ausonius* (E. T. SALMON).—*Laureae Aquincenses Memoriae Valentini Kuzsinszky Dicatae*, I (HOWARD COMFORT).—*MacLennan's Oxyrhynchus: an Economic and Social Study* (CLINTON W. KEYES).—*Mugler's L'Évolution des Constructions Participiales Complexes en Grec et en Latin* (JAMES W. POULTNEY).—*Lowe's Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century, Part III, Italy: Ancona-Novara* (MARBURY B. OGLE).

BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - - - 255

CONTENTS.

v

No. 247.

	PAGE
Our Changing Program. By †TENNEY FRANK,	257
Vergil and the Forum of Augustus. By HENRY T. ROWELL,	261
The Military and Diplomatic Campaign of T. Quinctius Flaminius in 198 B. C. By FREDERIC M. WOOD, JR.,	277
The Roman Gold Standard and the Ancient Sources. By LOUIS C. WEST,	289
Integration and the <i>Hymn to Apollo</i> . By W. F. J. KNIGHT,	302
On the Tribal Courts in Plato's <i>Laws</i> . By GLENN R. MORROW,	314
An Ancient Military Contact between Romans and Chinese. By HOMER H. DUBS,	322
Three Studies in Old English. By HERBERT MERITT,	331
Pindar, <i>Pythian</i> , II, 72 ff. By GILBERT NORWOOD,	340
Cleomedes and the Meridian of Lysimachia. By O. NEUGEBAUER,	344
A Note on the Megarian Historian Dieuchidas. By DONALD W. PRAKKEN,	348
The Slaves at the Battle of Marathon. By JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS,	352
Menander's <i>Epitrepontes</i> , 722-25 Körte (646-49 Jensen). By HERMANN FRÄNKEL,	354
Two Notes on Petronius. By ELI E. BURRIS,	356
Note on the Priests of Asklepios. By W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT,	358
REVIEWS:	361
<i>Heichelheim's</i> Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums, I: Text; II: Notes and Index (ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON).— <i>Jean- maire's</i> La Sibylle et le retour de l'âge d'or (DAVID M. ROBINSON).— <i>Malcovati's</i> L. Annaei Flori Quae Exstant (LOYD W. DALY).— <i>Denniston's</i> Euripides, Electra (FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN).— <i>De Sanctis'</i> Storia dei Greci dalle origini alla fine del secolo V (M. L. W. LAISTNER).— <i>Zuntz'</i> Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri (JAMES T. ALLEN).— <i>Devoto's</i> Storia della lingua di Roma (J. WHATMOUGH).— <i>Degrassi's</i> Inscriptiones Italiae, XIII, Fasc. III: Elogia (LILY ROSS TAYLOR).— <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> , XIV (N. S. I) (LILY ROSS TAYLOR).— <i>Friedländer's</i> Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza: des Prokopios von Gaza Ἐκφρασις Εἰκόνης (GLAN- VILLE DOWNEY).— <i>Piganiol's</i> Histoire de Rome (RICHARD M. HAYWOOD).	
Notice of New Microfilm Service at Library of Congress,	383
BOOKS RECEIVED,	383

No. 248.

	PAGE
A Study of Greek Sentence Construction. By T. B. L. WEBSTER,	385
Aristotle's <i>Politics</i> , IV, xii, 11-13 (Text and Interpretation). By O. J. TODD,	416
Topics of Pity in the Poetry of the Roman Republic. By EDWARD B. STEVENS,	426
Horace, <i>Odes</i> , II, 7, 9-10. By LUDWIG EDELSTEIN,	441
Four Lexicographical Notes. By CAMPBELL BONNER,	451
Notes on Menander. By L. A. POST,	460
The Euripides Papyri. By WILLIAM NICKERSON BATES,	469
The Indo-European Base-Type *do-, *do-je-, *do-ye-, *do-ge-. By LOUIS H. GRAY,	476
Four Suggestions for Seneca, <i>E.M.</i> CIV. By WILLIAM H. ALEXANDER,	485
The Sources of Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> , III, 692-705. By H. W. PARKE,	490
Note on Heraclitus, Fragment 124. By JOHN B. MCDIARMID,	492
A Note on the Location of the <i>Cena Trimalchionis</i> . By AGNES KIRSOPP LAKE,	494
The Date of the Augustus from Prima Porta. By VALENTIN MÜLLER,	496
A New Source on the Spartan <i>Ephebia</i> . By AUBREY DILLER,	499
REVIEWS:	502
<i>Evelyn White and Oliver's</i> The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis, Part II: Greek Inscriptions (HERBERT C. YOUTIE).— <i>Olzscha's</i> Interpretation der agramer Mumienbinde (J. WHATMOUGH).— <i>Aymard's</i> Les Assemblées de la Confédération Achaïenne and Les premiers Rapports de Rome et de la Confédération Achaïenne, 198-189 avant J.-C. (M. L. W. LAISTNER).— <i>Powell's</i> The History of Herodotus († W. A. HEIDEL).— <i>Loane's</i> Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B. C.-200 A. D.) (INEZ RYBERG).— <i>Epigraphica: Rivista Italiana di Epigrafia</i> , Vol. I (1939) (BENJAMIN D. MERITT).— <i>Riposati's</i> M. Terenti Varronis De Vita Populi Romani (ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE).	
BOOKS RECEIVED,	515
INDEX TO VOLUME LXII,	516

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LXII, 1

WHOLE No. 245

NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE TRIBUTE LISTS.

Recent investigations in the bastion on which the temple of Athena Nike was constructed have brought to light two new fragments of the Athenian tribute-quota lists. A preliminary publication, though without photographs, has already been made by Gabriel Welter in the *Jahrbuch*, LIV (1939), Beiblatt, pp. 16-22. The small fragment (Fig. 1: E. M. 13048)¹ has its top edge preserved and contains the opening lines of a prescript; the larger fragment (Fig. 2: E. M. 13049) contains the end of a prescript and most of the names that belonged in the Island panel of the Empire.

I believe that Welter is right in assigning the larger piece to one of the years after the Peace of Nikias, not only for the reasons which he advances but also for the additional reasons that are set forth here.

Welter has assumed that his two fragments cannot be combined as parts of one inscription. This conclusion, however, rests upon the acceptance of doubtful readings. It was Welter's suggestion (*loc. cit.*, pp. 17-18) that the letters Σ TO in the second line of the larger piece might be completed to read [$\Lambda\rho\iota$ στο[τέλες Θοραιεύς], thus naming a man who is known to have represented the tribe Antiochis in the college of hellenotamiai in 421/0.² At the same time he read and restored the letters in the last line of the smaller piece as [$\Lambda\mu\phi\iota\tau\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$] (*loc. cit.*, p. 16), obtaining thus a different representative from Antiochis and necessitating the belief that the two fragments name different colleges.

Some improvement in the reading of this questionable passage

¹ Photographs, squeezes, and measurements have been kindly supplied to me by Oliver.

² Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, List 34, lines 5-6.

in the small piece can be made (line 5), for the squeeze shows 'IO rather than PO. The iota is not correctly spaced to be read as rho, and the letter before it was certainly not tau. On the squeeze the partial initial stroke seems near enough being vertical to form part of the letter nu, though in the photograph it appears with a perceptible slope, as of mu or even as of alpha. Perhaps it is best to make as yet no definite identification of this letter. In the larger fragment the restoration [$\text{'\text{A}\rho\iota}\text{στο-}\text{[}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\text{]}$] is not inevitable, and I suggest below [$\text{--}\text{'\text{A}\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\upsilon\epsilon}\text{]στο[}\varsigma\text{--}]$ as a possible alternative.

There are many indications that the two fragments do in fact belong together. They were found in the same place; they have the same lettering; the spacing of the letters and the spacing of the lines are the same on both pieces. One may note also the similar weathered surfaces, and Oliver informs me that they seem to be from the same grain of marble. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the documents already published as List 35, fragments 2 and 3,³ formed part of the same inscription. For the shapes of the letters one may study side by side the photographs published here and in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 104 (Fig. 140). The squeezes show identical measurements in the spacing of lines and letters and identical measurements in the individual strokes of the letters themselves.⁴ One may observe also the characteristic manner in which the surface of the stone has been flaked away; this is especially noticeable in the photograph here printed in Fig. 2 and in the photograph in *A. T. L.*, I, p. 104.

This new grouping of fragments raises again the question whether fragment 1 of List 35 should be included in the reconstruction. When Broneer first published this piece,⁵ and associated it with fragment 2 of List 35 because they had "exactly the same kind of lettering," there was relatively little evidence on which to base a certain judgment. As nearly as measurement was possible, the spacing of the lines and of the numerals appeared the same. Two letters only, belonging to the heading [$\text{'\text{I}}\text{ov}[\text{u}\acute{o}\varsigma]$], were preserved on Broneer's fragment; but all the letters, as distinct from numerals, that once belonged with

³ *A. T. L.*, I, pp. 104 and 153.

⁴ Five lines occupy a vertical span of 0.085 m. and five letters (measured on centers) a horizontal span of 0.057 m.

⁵ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 157-158.

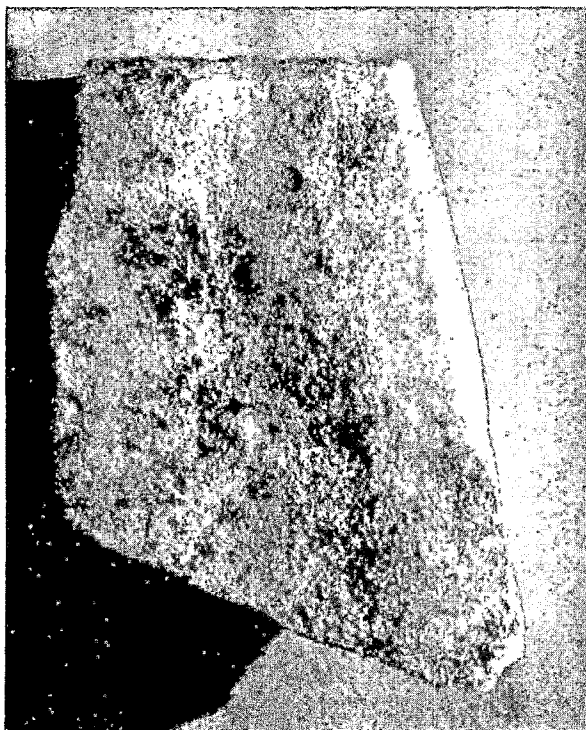


Fig. 1: E. M. 13048.



Fig. 2: E. M. 13049.

fragments 2 and 3 had been lost. The first opportunity for a comparison of letter forms is now given by the new pieces published by Welter. It so happens that both the omicron and the nu are different, omicron having a diameter of 0.007 m. in Broneer's fragment and of 0.009 m. in Welter's fragments, while nu is made with strokes which measure 0.009 m. in Broneer's fragment and 0.01 m. in Welter's fragments. It may be added that the horizontal bar of the drachma sign is 0.006 m. long in the old piece and 0.008 m. long in the new. This bar is also 0.008 m. long in the one measurable example on List 35, fragment 2—evidence of its bond with the newly discovered pieces and a further indication that it must be dissociated from List 35, fragment 1.

In addition to these epigraphical considerations there is the significant fact that no names can be restored with any degree of probability after the numerals preserved on Broneer's fragment that do not already appear on the new piece published by Welter.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the two new pieces and fragments 2 and 3 of List 35 (*A. T. L.*, I, p. 104) all formed part of one original monument, and that fragment 1 of List 35 belongs to a separate inscription. It is possible that it may have come from the fractured left margin which appears on the reverse face of List 26,⁶ but even so the order of districts argues for a date after 425/4, when the Island panel began the first column along the left margin of the stone, to be followed by the Ionic panel, also in the first column. The inscription cannot have fallen in the period from 425/4 to 422/1 which was covered by the assessment of 425, because no quota of [ϠΔ]ΠΓΙΙΙΙ can be based upon the Island assessment of that year.⁷ Nor can it be associated with any one of the documents now assigned to the years from 421/0 to 419/8; the epigraphical differences which exclude it from Lists 34 and 36 are even more impressive than those which exclude it from List 35. We shall find, however, in this article that some changes of attribution make possible its remaining in 420/19.

The new group is so extensive that it cannot be assigned to

⁶ Cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 158, and see the photograph in *A. T. L.*, I, p. 5, Fig. 2. There is, however, no join.

⁷ Cf. A9, lines 61-98, in *A. T. L.*, I, p. 156.

the fracture on the reverse of List 26, and it must be reconstructed as a separate stele. The fragments do not join with each other or with the original preserved fragment, but one might be tempted to place the new small piece in such a position above the larger that it forms the upper left corner of the stele. This disposition has in its favor what seems to be a sweeping arc of fracture which may be traced along the right lateral surface of both pieces. Against this disposition is the fact that the two fragments come close to joining and yet do not join, and the improbability that the small piece falls short of having its left edge preserved by so slight a splinter as one must assume has been broken away along the margin. Oliver also informs me, from Athens, that the thickness of the two fragments where they approach each other most closely is not the same, and that there is no indication from their reverse surfaces that they belong in this position.

In line 1 Welter reads AP. Before these letters appears the weathered stroke of iota, and before the iota are the upright and top horizontal bars of epsilon or pi. These new readings were first made from a squeeze, and later Oliver confirmed the reading

.AP from the stone itself. If the position suggested above is correct the restoration must be, within the available limits of date, either [ἐ]πι Ἀρ[χίο ἄρχοντος --] or [ἐ]πι Ἀρ[χυνέστο ἄρχοντος --] giving precise dates in 419/8 or 416/5. It would be possible to reconstruct a text, then, somewhat in the following fashion, using a stoichedon line of 65 letters:

	[ἐ]πι Ἀρ[^{3 or 7} ἄρχοντος Ἀθenaίους, ἡελλενοταμίαι ἔσαν	
	----- ^{23 or 19} -----]	
	ς Ἀναγν[ράσιος (I) ----- ⁵³ -----]	
	ο Σκαμβ[ονίδες (IV) ----- ⁴⁹ ----- Χσνπ]	
	εταίων (VII) [----- ⁵⁹ -----]	
5	[...]γίο [^{ca. 9} (X) hoīs ----- ^{ca. 24} -----	
	ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς]	
	[ἡε]ι Α[..... ¹⁷ πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐπὶ τῆς	
	ἡέκτες (οἱ ἑνάτες) καὶ τριακοστῆς ἀρ]	
	[χῆ]ς το[ῖς τριάκοντα λογισταῖς ἀπὸ τῶμ φόρον ἀπέφεναν	
	τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μῶν]	
	[ἀπὸ] τῷ ταλ[άντο vacat]	

It must be confessed that this restoration is not satisfactory. The quota lists of this period⁸ began with the date given first

by the secretary of the Council, while the archon's name was introduced by the formula ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίους. Furthermore, the preamble is too long, line 7 in particular necessitating a rather full and wordy restoration quite in contrast to the versions of the same clause that appear in Lists 33 and 34. There is an added epigraphical objection which I hesitate to press to its full and logical conclusion because the surface in line 1 is so badly weathered as to make absolute certainty of the reading questionable. But the top horizontal stroke of the Γ in [ἐ]πῖ, which Oliver read as Γ, seems to measure only 0.007 m. in length. Elsewhere in the text the top stroke of pi measures 0.009 m. The shorter stroke is correct for epsilon, and the passage might best be interpreted as [--]εῖ Ἀρ[---]. The first line of text may now be read in the normal way, and the position of the upper fragment is determined by the necessary restoration [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡ]εῖ Ἀρ[---- πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτενε--].

Upon any attempt at restoration it is obvious that the date by archon could not now also have been given in line 1. However, his name may be inserted in the lower lines of the preamble, where there will be available space if the phrase ending with the words [ἀπὸ] τῷ ταλ[άντῳ] is to be given the compendious form known from Lists 33 and 34. Surely it is more than mere coincidence that where the name should fall, in the line above the letters [ἀπὸ] τῷ ταλ[άντῳ], the preserved letters ΣΤΟ form part of the archon-name Ἀρίμνεστος, one of the few which are available for restoration. The appearance of this name dates the inscription in the year 416/5 and the following text may now be proposed:

416/5 B. C.

List 39

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 72

[ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡ]εῖ Ἀρ[.....^{ca. 8} πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτενε,
 ἡλληνοταμίαι ἔσαν ^{ca. 8}]
 [.....¹¹.....]ς Ἀναγ[ράσιος (I)⁴⁹.....
]
 [.....¹¹.....]ο Σκαμβ[ονίδες (IV)⁴⁹.....
]
 [...⁷... Χουπ]εταιὸν (VII) [...⁵⁴.....
 Ἐ]

⁸ See A. T. L., Lists 33 and 34.

- 5 [ρο]ιά[δες (X) hois ...]γιο[.....²⁵.....
 ... ἐγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίους Ἀρίμ]
 [νε]στο[s· ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ τριακοστῆς ἀρχῆς πόλεις haïde
 ἀπέδωσαν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶν]
 [ἀπὸ] τῷ ταλ[άντω vacat]
 [Nε]σιот[ικός]
 ----- Ἀ[ναφαῖτοι]
 10 ----- [Θεραῖτοι]
 Η[.] Σε[ρίφιοι]
 ΠΔΓΗΙΙΙ Ἀθε[νῖται]
 ΠΗ vacat Κε<ι>ο[ι]
 ΓΗΗΗ Πενα[ιῆς]
 15 Π Διακρ[ῆς]
 vacat ἀπὸ Χα[λκιδέον]
 ΓΗΗΗ Σικιν[ῆται]
 ----- Κιμόλι[οι]
 ΠΗ Κύθνιοι
 20 Π Ἰέται
 ΠΗΗ vacat Ἀνδριοι
 Π Καρύστι[οι]
 ΔΓΗ[ΙΙΙ] Γρ<υ>γχῆς
 [ΧΠΗΗΗ] Πάριοι
 25 [ΔΓΗΙΙΙ] Φολεγάνδ[ριοι]
 ----- Σίφνιοι
 [ΠΗΗ--] Νάχσιοι
 [Η] Μυκόνιοι
 ----- Τένιοι
 30 ----- [Σύ]ριοι
 ----- [Χαλκ]ῖδ[ῆς]
 lacuna
 [Ἴονικός]
 lacuna
 [.]Η -----
 Χ [Καμπῆς]
 35 ΗΗΗ [Ἴασῆς]
 Χ Μ[ιλέσιοι]
 Λέ[ρος]
 vacat Τειχ[ιδόσσα]
 ΧΠ Κλαζο[μένιοι]

- 40 Γ†††† Κολοφ[όνιοι]
 [ΔΔΔ]†††† Νοτιέ[ς]
 [Γ††]†† Διοσε[ρίται]
 ----- 'Εφέσιο[ι]
 [ΔΓ††]††† 'Ισίνδιο[ι]
 45 ----- 'Ερυθραῖ[οι]

lacuna

(Rest of Column I and Columns II and III lost)

The division between lines 5 and 6 shows that the inscription was truly stoichedon and that the lines did not end syllabically. The single omicron before the demotic Σκαμβ[ονίδες] in line 3 shows that the hellenotamiai were listed by their full names, including the patronymics. Since the demes Anagyrous, Skambonidai, and Xypete (lines 2, 3, 4) represent tribes I, IV, and VII in the official order it is possible to determine that the demotic from Antiochis (X) ought to fall near the beginning of line 5. I have suggested the restoration [Ἐπο]ιδ[ές]. The precise number of letters in each line is given by the restoration of line 6, which is based upon a combination of elements taken from Lists 33 and 34. If τὲν ἀπαρχέν (List 34) is read instead of ἀπαρχέν (List 33) all lines of the prescript might be made longer by three letters. In line 4 it may be noted that the upper stroke of epsilon is preserved on the edge of the stone. All that has been known previously about the name of the first secretary of the Council in 416/5 is that it contained eight letters.⁹

In line 8 the upper half of sigma is largely preserved. Welter read [Νεσ]ιωτ[ικὸς φόρος]. I prefer to read [Νε]σιωτ[ικός] and omit the word φόρος.

In line 9 Welter makes no restoration but names as possibilities Α[ιγινῆται], Α[ναφαῖοι], and Α[μόργιοι]. Amorgos probably belonged to the Ionic-Karic panel,¹⁰ and Aigina paid no tribute after 431 (cf. *A. T. L.*, I, p. 218). The restoration should be Α[ναφαῖοι]. In line 11 one may restore [Θεραῖοι] as part of the geographical group and note that in List 33 (*A. T. L.*, I, p. 151) the names of Anaphe, Thera, and Seriphos head the Island panel in the same order.

In line 11 the stone is so weathered that the quota of Seriphos

⁹ *I. G.*, I², 302. See Meritt, *A. F. D.*, p. 161, line 36.

¹⁰ Cf. Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment*, p. 69.

may have been partly lost. It was at least 100 drachmai; it may have been as much as 300 drachmai. Welter reads H.

In line 12 Welter reads 'Αθ[ἔναι Διδάδες]. The upright stroke of E is preserved and the restoration should be 'Αθ_ε[νῖται]. This was the accepted spelling after 433.

In line 20 Welter's reading of the quota of Ἰέραι as Π is a typographer's error for the correct Π.

In line 23 Welter reads ΔΠΗΙΙΙ. The restoration should be ΔΠΗ[ΙΙΙ], for he saw only the tip of one obol sign (*loc. cit.*, p. 18).

In line 27 it is not certain from comparison with List 36, line 4, that the figures ΠΗΗ represent the complete quota of Naxos. The restoration should be [ΠΗΗ--].

In line 31 the upper halves of iota and delta in [Χαλακ]ιδ[ἔς] are visible.

One can make an approximate guess from measuring across the Island panel at about the level of line 25 that a combined column of quotas and names was at least 0.25 m. wide; it may have been more. But since this width corresponds to 22 letters in the prescript it is evident that these lines had about 66 letters as a minimum and that the names of cities with their quotas were arranged in three columns. This is a perfectly normal arrangement, which can be set forth now more in detail since the restorations call for a length of line in the prescript of 72 letters. Each of the three columns had a width of 24 letters, of which (on the evidence of Col. I) eight spaces were allotted to the numerals. We posit a width of sixteen spaces for the names and note that the mason had plotted off the stone into nine equal sections. This symmetrical disposition supports the length of line of 72 letters.

We have already observed that the two lists with which this inscription can be most closely compared are those now published in *A. T. L.*, I as Lists 33 and 34. The various elements of the prescript appear in List 33 as follows:

1. Date by secretary of the Council
2. Date by archon
3. Date by ἀρχή
4. Names of hellenotamiai with their secretary
5. Note respecting payment of the quota to the Goddess.

In List 34 the same elements appear in this order:

1. Date by secretary of the Council
2. Date by archon
3. Names of hellenotamiai with their secretary
4. Date by ἀρχή
5. Note respecting payment of the quota to the Goddess.

In the inscription here published the variation in form from List 34 consists first of the fact that the date by archon is given with the date by ἀρχή rather than with the date by secretary, second in the fact that the secretary was named with his demotic, and third in the fact that the hellenotamiai and their secretary were listed with patronymics. The demotic of the secretary was also added in List 33, as was also the demotic of the archon, though both there and in List 34 patronymics were omitted.

If there is any development that can be traced in the chronology of these prescripts it is that List 34 seems to be the earliest, List 33 next, and the new inscription the last of the series. Since the two extremes are dated by their archons in 421/0 and 416/5 it becomes now more than ever probable that List 33 should be assigned to 418/7, the only year which is available for it except 422/1.¹¹ At any rate, this is a possibility that needs to be further explored. It is important for the progressive dating that demotics are used for the secretary of the Council in List 33 and in the new piece, and that patronymics were used in the new inscription alone. The new text has the same five elements as the other two, in this order:

1. Date by secretary of the Council
2. Names of hellenotamiai with their secretary
3. Date by archon
4. Date by ἀρχή
5. Note respecting payment of the quota to the Goddess.

We now turn rather far afield for other evidence which bears upon the problem of these three texts. In a recent note on the calendar of Kos,¹² Milton Giffler has drawn attention to the sequence of the Doric months Gerastios and Artamitios, in that order, and I believe his suggestion sound that they must be construed in the same sequence in the calendar of Sparta. We do not have to follow every detail of the argument which centers

¹¹ Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), pp. 54-59 had considered the possibility of 418/7 as an alternative to 422/1.

¹² *A. J. A.*, XLIII (1939), pp. 445-446.

around these two Spartan months and their relation to Elaphebolion in the Athenian calendar of 423 and 421 (Thuc. IV, 118-119; V, 19), for if Giffler is right, then the year 422/1 must have been an intercalary year at Athens.¹³ The argument has already been set forth in my *Athenian Calendar*, pp. 111-112, and in spite of some intervening heresy I now return to the position advocated there, strengthened as it is by Giffler's evidence that there is no longer any ambiguity about the order of the months of Sparta.¹⁴ The matter is of interest here because it means that the first secretary of the Council Prepis (*I. G.*, I², 311, line 8) cannot have served during any part of the archonship of Aristion if he was secretary in 422/1, as the restoration in line 1 of List 33 implies.¹⁵ The consequence is that if List 33 is to be dated in 422/1 the secretary's name in line 1 cannot have been Prepis; but since the seeming desirability of this very restoration was a deciding factor that weighed against the date 418/7, one may now return with more probability to the later date and restore the prescript as follows:

List 37

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50

[ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἐι . . . ? . . . Ἀ]φιδναῖος πρῶτ[ος ἐγγραμμάτευε, ἔρχε]
 [δὲ Ἀθηναίους Ἀντιφῶν Σκ]αμβονίδες ἐπὶ τῇ[s ἡεβδόμῃ καὶ τρια]
 [κοστῇ ἀρχῇ, ἑλλενοταμί]αι ἔσαν τοῖς Ἀντ[.....¹⁸.....]
 [.....¹⁶..... Περγ]ασθέν, Μνεσίθεο[s Ἀραφένιος, ...⁶...]
 [.....¹⁹..... Εὐρυ]ρίδες, Αἰσχίνες Π[εριβοῖδες, ...⁷...]
 [Θυματ]άδε[s, Ἐργοκλῆς Βεσ]αεύς vacat
 [πόλες ἡ]αῖδε [ἀπέδοσαν ἀπα]ρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνά[ν ἀπ]ὸ τῷ ταλάντ[ο vv]

These restorations have been discussed already in *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), pp. 56-57. The forecast there made that new evidence might yet show the date to be 418/7 has not had to wait long for substantiation. This inscription becomes List 37 rather than List 33 in the series of tribute-quota records and will henceforth in this paper be so cited.

There is also some new evidence about Prepis, who cannot have been first secretary for the conciliar year 422/1, but must have been first secretary for the conciliar year 421/0, which

¹³ Giffler's latest discussion is in *Hermes*, LXXV (1940), pp. 215-226.

¹⁴ McGregor, *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), p. 149, believed that 422/1 was ordinary at Athens, but he thought there was "no independent testimony to solve the problem of the Spartan months."

¹⁵ See Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 112-114.

corresponded approximately to the archon year of Aristion, also 421/0.¹⁶

The belief was expressed in *Hesperia* (*loc. cit.*) that Prepis may have been from Aphidnai because one of the two known Athenians who bore the name of his father Eupheros belonged to that deme. The name Eupheros has now appeared with the deme Auridai in a document of Hellenistic date from the Athenian Agora (Inv. No. I 5824, unpublished) so there is less reason to link the Eupheros of the fifth century, and hence Prepis, to Aphidnai. But more important still is the fact that the name Prepis itself is definitely associated in the fifth century with the deme Xypete. The evidence lies in *I. G.*, I², 773a, long known but only now correctly interpreted as a dedication to Athena made by Prepis' wife:¹⁷

I. G., I², 773a [.name. II] ῥέπιδος [ς γυνὴ]
 [Χουπετ]αῖος [τέλει]
 [ἈθENAί]αι ἀνέθ[εκεν]

It is not impossible that the Prepis here named was the same as the first secretary of 421/0, so we face again in somewhat different form the old problem raised by the epigraphical record that Menekles of Anaphlystos was also first secretary in this same year.¹⁸ I once proposed that Prepis began the year as first secretary and that he was succeeded by Menekles, also secretary in the first prytany, because of death or illness or other disqualification of which we have no evidence, and that we might expect to find documents dated from the year 421/0 bearing either name as that of the first secretary.¹⁹ I should now modify this judgment only to say that if they were in fact both secretaries of the first prytany there is no way of knowing their order of precedence. They were then both "first secretaries" and either name might legitimately serve to define the conciliar year.

I consider it essential, however, that the secretaries in the first prytany, if there were two, should have belonged to the same tribe.²⁰ Only thus could an even representation of tribes in the secretaryship be maintained throughout the year, and if the

¹⁶ *I. G.*, I², 311, lines 8-9.

¹⁷ By A. E. Raubitschek, in a communication to the author.

¹⁸ *I. G.*, I², 370, line 5.

¹⁹ *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 113.

²⁰ Cf. *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 114, note 1.

record for Menekles is correct they must both have belonged to Antiochis (X). The Prepis of *I. G.*, I², 733a was a demesman of Xypete (VII), and he, at any rate, cannot have shared the honors with Menekles.

In view of the difficulties of having to deal with two first secretaries, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate on the reliability of *I. G.*, I², 370 as evidence for Menekles. The text is quite specific and without ambiguity: it states that the epistatai who had charge of the statues began work in the archonship of Aristion, in the conciliar year when Menekles of Anaphlystos was first secretary, in the prytany of Leontis which was fifth in order within the year. The inception of the work is thus dated to the fifth prytany of 421/0, and it may be supposed, if there is any mistake in the record at all, that Menekles was secretary when Leontis was the tribe in prytany, and that the recorder who prepared this document for publication five years later erroneously thought that he belonged to the beginning of the year and so named him as eponymous for it. If the Prepis of *I. G.*, I², 311 was the Prepis of *I. G.*, I², 733a, some such explanation would have to be proposed for Menekles. The suggestion may be correct anyway, for it would relieve us of two first secretaries. We shall have to make what we can of both of them if we insist that the record of *I. G.*, I², 370 is correct.

For the tribute lists this raises the question whether the name Πρέπτις should not be restored instead of Μενεκλῆς in line 2 of List 34, and I believe that a strong case can be made out that it should. One reads at present in line 7 of List 34 [--- τοῖς τριάκοντα ἀπέφενα]ν τὸν ἀπαρχὲν τῇ θεῷ μῶν ἀπὸ τῷ ταλάν[το]. When the restoration was made the prescripts of Lists 37 and 39 were not available for purposes of comparison. One had only the distant analogy of the prescript of List 1 of 454/3, where the words [--- τοῖς] τριάκο[ντα ἀπ]εφάνθεσαν appeared to give some clue as to what might be supplied in List 34. We now know that the better parallel is offered by the text, largely preserved in List 37 and largely restored in List 39, πόλεις αἰδέεσθαι ἀπαρχὲν τῇ θεῷ μῶν ἀπὸ τῷ ταλάντο. Precisely this phrase, except for τὸν ἀπαρχὲν instead of ἀπαρχέν, may be restored in line 7 of List 34 if the line can be shortened by three letter-spaces.

Every line of the prescript can be so shortened if one reads in

line 2 the restoration [ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἐῖ Πρέπις πρῶτος ἐγγρ]αμμάτευε. This may be the correct solution, though again, as in List 37, the relative ἐῖ without rough breathing (but cf. *I. G.*, I², 304, line 1) is a disturbing factor. But I believe it more probable that West and I were wrong in 1925 when we read a tip of the alpha of τρια|[κοστῆς] at the end of line 6.²¹ There is no trace of it now on my squeeze or on my photographs, and, although the iota appears clearly, the stone seems to be broken completely away where the alpha—even a top angle of it—should be preserved. This observation may be controlled by studying the photograph in *A. T. L.*, I, p. 101, Fig. 135, and equally well, except that the iota appears less clearly, in Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Plate 17. The iota is centered under the middle of the nu three lines above.

I doubt if any letter was ever intended to be cut in the space between this iota and the right margin of the stone. In lines 3-4 the demotic Παλιανεύς was divided Παλιαν [ιεύς] in violation of true syllabic division, which might have been maintained if the cutter had only utilized the marginal space in question for the placing of a single iota. One may justifiably assume that he did not regard this space as available for lettering, and if not available in line 3 probably also not in line 6.²² Furthermore, we possess one fragment from the left edge of this same stele, where the marginal uninscribed band of stone before the letters may be seen to be about the same as that after the final nu of line 3 and the iota of line 6.²³ Certainly the inclusion of one more inscribed letter along the right margin would have destroyed completely the symmetry of the text with respect to the right and left sides of the stone.

I propose, therefore, that the alpha of τριακοστῆς be restored at the beginning of line 7, and that the essential supplements in the rest of the line, based on the analogy of List 37 and 39, necessitate a shortening by two letters and the restoration of the name Πρέπις instead of Μενεκλῆς for line 2.²⁴

²¹ *Αρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1924 (published in 1926), p. 42.

²² The result in line 3 was a so-called "natural" division. Cf. Austin, *Stoichedon Style*, p. 57.

²³ Compare Figures 135 and 138 in *A. T. L.*, I, pp. 101 and 103.

²⁴ One should note the acumen of Bannier, who wrote in 1917 (*B. Ph. W.*, 1917, p. 1345): "I 260 ist etwa ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τριακοστῆς ἀρχῆς αἶδε πόλεις ἀπέδοσα]ν (ἀπέφηναν) τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ

Quite apart from any arguments that involve the Athenian calendar, the uniformity thus achieved in the three almost contemporaneous prescripts of the quota lists becomes an independent and telling argument to show that Prepis was first secretary of the Council in 421/0.²⁵ The prescript of List 34 may now be restored as follows:

421/0 B. C.

List 34

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 62

[Θ	ε]	ο	ι
[ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡεὶ Πρέπιδος πρότος ἐργ]αμμάτενε, ἔρχε δὲ			
Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστίον ^{vv}			
[ἡελλενοταμίαι ἔσαν ¹¹.....θ]εν, ἡεδύλος Φιλαίδες,			
Πραχσίβο[λ]ος Παιαν			
[ιεύς, ²⁴.....α]ρχίδες Κεφαλῆθεν,			
Ἐργαμένεσσι Ἀχαρνέσσι, ^v			
5	[..... ²⁹.....]ς, Ἀριστοκράτες		
Φαλερεύς, Ἀριστοτέλες ^v			
[Θοραιεύς, ἡοῖς ¹⁶.....ε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτενε ἐπὶ			
τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τρι			
[ακοστῆς ἀρχῆς πόλεσ ἡαῖδε ἀπέδοσα]ν τὸν ἀπαρχὲν τῇ			
θεοῖ μιν ἀπὸ τῷ ταλάν[το]			

In line 7 there are 63 letters, so the final omicron of *ταλάν[το]* must have been cut close along the margin or perhaps somewhat below the tau. Obviously it would have been a waste of space to run either it or the final syllable over into a new line.

Supposing that the letters of line 1 were evenly spaced over the text below, one will find that *θ* falls over the *π* in *ἐπὶ*, *ε* over the *π* in *πρότος*, *ο* over the *χ* in *ἔρχε*, and *ι* over the *ο* in *Ἀριστίον*. The last two positions may be controlled from the photographs. It is also clear from the photographs (*A. T. L.*, I, pp. 101-103, Figs. 135-138) that the column of figures in each of the three main columns required seven letter spaces. The names of Col. II were inscribed in a panel which was 15 spaces wide and those

zu ergänzen, wozu, da *Πρέπιδος* erster Schreiber war, auch die Buchstaben-zahl passt . . ." Bannier could not foresee how completely the text of List 37 would confirm his restoration, and refute Hiller's objections to it (note on *I. G.*, I², 220) : "post ἀρχῆς Bannier *B. ph. W.* 1917, 1345 mavult *haῖδε πόλεσ ἀπέφενα]*ν *s. ἀπέδοσα]*ν. At sociorum est tributa pendere, non sexagesimas deae offerre."

²⁵ In Dinsmoor's table in *The Athenian Archon List*, p. 211, the calendar characters of 422/1 and 421/0 must hence be interchanged.

of Col. III in a panel of 12 spaces. With a stoichedon line of 62 letters in the prescript, this leaves a width of 14 spaces for the names of Col. I ($62 - [15 + 12 + (3 \times 7)] = 62 - 48 = 14$). With the restoration of $\Pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\varsigma$ in line 2, a satisfactory symmetry of the stone is preserved.

It remains to indicate the changes in dates of the later lists necessitated by this study:

- List 33 422/1 No known fragments
- List 34 421/0 *A. T. L.*, I, List 34 (no change except in restorations of the prescript)
- List 35 420/19 Only lines 1-7 of *A. T. L.*, I, List 35 remain as a possible candidate, and this is uncertain
- List 36 419/8 List formerly assigned to this year probably to be transferred to 417/6
- List 37 418/7 *A. T. L.*, I, List 33 (with changes in the restoration of the prescript)
- List 38 417/6 *A. T. L.*, I, List 36; from its similarity to List 39 the inscription probably belongs in this assessment period
- List 39 416/5 New inscription here published, in addition to *A. T. L.*, I, List 35, lines 8-20
- List 40 415/4 Probably *A. T. L.*, I, List 37, now displaced from 418/7.

The only difference in form between the new List 40 and the others of its period is that it is more compact and more closely cut. This may explain why the one entry, χ Μιλέσιοι , stands in place of the usual three-line entry naming also $\Delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and Τειχιῶσσα . The lettering is quite like that of some of the poletai-records from the sale of the confiscated property of those who profaned the Mysteries in 415, so we assign the document to this year. It is important to note that there are no observable changes in assessment between the periods 421/0-419/8 and 418/7-415/4. Apparently the great assessment of 425 B. C. represented the high-water mark of Athenian attempts at tribute collection.

The restored tributes of Sigeion, Kyzikos, and Artakos should now be deleted from A9, lines III 93, II 179, and III 82, since the quotas on which the restorations depended belong in the period after 418 (List 37).

BENJAMIN D. MERITT.

PATTERN OF SOUND AND ATOMISTIC THEORY IN LUCRETIIUS.

Rosamund E. Deutsch in her Bryn Mawr dissertation *The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius* (1939) has pointed an excellent lesson for the reader of the poet: Read aloud, accustom your ear to the music of this language, hear the alliterations, assonances, rhymes, the similarities and the contrasts of sounds, the repetition of words, be it in a single verse or in two or spread over five or fifteen or fifty, and you will have an experience to be equalled with few other poems at least in European literature. This lesson I want to pursue. My suggestion is not meant to "explain" the music of the vowels and consonants. The whole of it can be explained as little as can the lilies of the field; but many of the facts which Miss Deutsch has collected and sifted with care and love admit of an explanation and require it,—as Lucretius himself has stated.

The explanation is to be found in an important point of his theory of language (which is after all the theory of Epicurus and the old Atomists). It is well known that he considers nature and utility as the factors at work in the genesis of speech, nature producing the sounds, utility moulding the names of things (Lucretius, V, 1028).¹ This origin, he states, is quite natural and not at all mysterious, as experience shows the first step even in dogs, horses, and birds. His passage dealing with the "language" of animals (1056 ff.) is a masterpiece of his art of expressive sounds. At the beginning one feels the dogs' lips move in *canum cum primum magna Molossum mollia ricta fremunt*, their teeth uncovering in *duros nudantia dentes*, hears their growling in *rabies restricta minatur*,² later on their barking in *cum iam latrant et vocibus omnia complent*. It is quite obvious that the poet does not merely enjoy adorning a vivid description with a multitude of assonances. He rather presents

¹ Cf. C. Giussani, *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura*, I (Torino, 1896), pp. 267 ff. For other aspects of this problem cf. Phillip DeLacy, "The Epicurean Analysis of Language," *A. J. P.*, LX (1939), p. 85. Concerning the background in Democritus cf. E. Frank, *Plato u. d. sog. Pythagoreer*, pp. 167 ff.

² <re>stricta is Lachmann's conjectural restoration which is almost certain.

the natural operation of lips, teeth, and pharynx and then shows the sounds of the animals in such onomatopoeic words as *adulant*, *baubantur*, *hinnitus* (1070 ff.) and onomatopoeic names as *cornix* and *corvus* (1084). Thus one directly experiences the natural process by which the *πάθη* and *φαιράσματα* of men produced appropriate movements, sounds, and words.

This is the foundation of an important thought which Lucretius cherishes and utters again and again.³ The "letters"—this name covering at the same time what we call letters and sounds—are the elements of language, a limited number producing the abundance of words and verses. Thus they are an image of the atoms producing the world. To be sure, the variety of the atoms is inconceivably greater and so many causes as *concursum motus ordo positura figurarum* (I, 685 = II, 1021) are required to combine them into the nature of things, while language comes into being merely by the order, *ordine solo* (I, 827), of its few letters.

The poet gives an example of this scheme (I, 907 ff.). Change neighborhood, position, motion, and the same atoms may produce both fire and wood, *ignes et lignum*, just as the words *ligna et ignis* have the same elements, small changes producing the distinction. The basis for this (*sit venia verbo*) atomology was laid early in the poem. In his polemic against Anaxagoras Lucretius had stated that one should find small particles of fire in wood, *in lignis . . . ignis* (891-2), if the theory of the *homoeomeriae* were right. And again (901): *non est lignis tamen insitus ignis*. The similarity of sound failing to support the wrong doctrine of Anaxagoras does support the orthodoxy of Democritus and Epicurus. It is understood that the poet bears in mind this significant similarity when in the second book (II, 386 f.) he contrasts the delicate and therefore more penetrating fire of the lightning with the coarser fire originating in wood: *ignis / noster hic e lignis ortus*.

In his merciless physiology of love Lucretius compares the

³ Lucretius, I, 196 ff., 823 ff., 907 ff., II, 686 ff., 1013 ff. are the main instances. The texts are collected and the question is discussed by Diels, *Elementum*, pp. 5 ff. Diels bars for himself the way to the problem with which this paper is concerned by labelling Lucretius' combination of *ignes et lignum* a pun (Wortwitz). The poet never was more serious.

stroke of love to the stroke of arms (IV, 1049 ff.). If a man is struck in battle the red fluid (*umor*) spurts out in the direction of the stroke. If a man is struck by love he wants to throw the fluid (*umorem*) from his body into the body which has darted love (*amorem*) on him:

namque voluptatem praesagit muta cupido.

Then the description of the process is discontinued for a moment:

Haec Venus est nobis, hinc autemst nomen Amoris,
hinc illaec primum Veneris dulcedinis in cor
stillavit gutta . . . (1058 ff.)

and the process goes on. Interpreters usually refer *haec* to *voluptatem*, *hinc* to *cupido* of the preceding verse.⁴ But *haec* . . . *hinc* . . . *hinc* . . . refer to the whole preceding process and *nomen Amoris* is not Cupido but just "the name Amor." By *hinc est nomen Amoris* the poet points to the twice-repeated *umor* (1051, 1056), as a few lines later he will again put side by side *umorem*—*amore* (1065-6).

The invisible must be interpreted from the visible. The wind, for example, is a kind of stream (I, 277 ff.). The winds *fluunt*, the water moves *flumine abundanti* and overthrows *quidquid fluctibus obstat*. This exposition culminates in the outspoken parallelism *flamen*—*flumen*, symbolizing the parallelism of the subjects (291 f.):

sic igitur debent venti quoque flamina ferri;
quae veluti validum cum flumen procubuerit . . .

Among the different origins of lightning there is one (VI, 295 ff.):

cum vis extrinsecus incita venti
incidit in validam maturo culmine nubem;
quam cum perscidit extemplo cadit igneus ille
vertex quem patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen.

The reference to the native tongue⁵ stresses the etymological value of the juxtaposition of *culmen* and *fulmen*.

⁴ So Munro (and Ernout). Giussani is on the right track: "Venus, cioè l'amore di fatto cioè che c'è di vero e reale nell'amore, non è che *iacere umorem in corpus de corpore ductum* e la *voluptas* che ci v'è unita." Yet he does not follow up the clue but changes *nomen* into *momen*, failing to understand the significance of *nomen amoris*.

⁵ Giussani at least saw that here something is to be explained: "Anche l'espressione *quem patrio* . . . dopo tanto parlare di fulmini ha

The peculiarity of the corporeal is resistance, *ἀντιστά* (I, 336 ff.):

. . . *officium* quod corporis exstat
officere atque obstatre . . .⁶

One may imagine that Lucretius would have liked to find the notion of resistance in the very word *corpus* but that he succeeded in discovering it only in the paraphrase *officium corporis*, these two words being as nearly connected as e. g. *animi natura*, *umor aquae*, *taedai corpore*, etc.⁷

While the Romans sharply distinguish between *religio* and *superstitio*, Lucretius never has the second word. Both notions being one to him he has made *Religio* the bearer of all his hatred. Yet in his grandiose image of this all-oppressing daemon he has purposely fixed an etymology of *superstitio*, thus stressing the identity of both of them (I, 64 ff.):

gravi sub RELIGIONE
 quae caput a caeli REGIONIBUS ostendebat
 horribili *super* aspectu mortalibus instans.

The hint was understood in antiquity. Servius (*in Aen.* VIII, 187) quotes Lucretius as supporting his etymology: *SUPERSTITIO est SUPERSTANTIIUM rerum, i. e. caelestium et divinarum quae SUPER nos STANT, inanis et SUPERfluus timor.*⁸ But the same verses seem to contain an etymology of *religio* too. The similarity of sounds between RELIGIONE and caeli REGIONIBUS haunts the ear once one becomes aware of it. It can hardly be a mere affair of sounds. The sounds will express a reality, the fact that religion derives from the heavenly region. The inference is that Lucretius has combined the etymology of *religio* and of *superstitio* in one pattern.⁹

qui dello strano e del posticcio." His reference to the unfinished state, to be sure, is wrong.

⁶ "One of his favorite plays on words," Munro. "Nota il guoco di parole," Giussani.

⁷ Cf. A. Ernout, *Lucrèce, De Rerum Natura, Commentaire* (Paris, 1925), p. xxxix.

⁸ Cf. J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 6. The intention of Lucretius cannot be doubted. I, 932 very probably contains a hint at the etymology *religio a religando*, but only an indirect one in the words *nodis exsolvere*. (A similar hint I find in V, 114, *religione refrenatus*.) VI, 382 has nothing to do with *indigitamenta*.

⁹ It is a truism that an ancient etymologist does not see why one

Lucretius "again and again" (V, 821) uses the expression *maternum nomen* in such a way that one cannot fail to hear in it both *mater* and *terra*.

linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta
terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata (V, 795 f.)
quare etiam atque etiam: maternum nomen adepta
terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit (V, 821 f.)

Consequently the famous passage about the matrimony of Heaven and Earth (II, 991 ff.) must be read in the same manner:

umoris guttas Mater cum Terra recepit (II, 993)¹⁰
quapropter merito Maternum nomen adepta est (998)

The poet feels the motherhood of earth guaranteed since language has formed the word *ma-ternus* or even the word *ma-ter*.¹¹

The etymological inclination does not stop short even of proper names:

Ennius ut noster cecinit, qui primus amoeno
detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam (I, 117 f.)

and

spatium praemonstra, callida Musa
Calliope (VI, 93)

The consonance is so obvious that one is astonished to find the

etymology should exclude the other; on the contrary, two are better than one. Plato's *Cratylus* gives an abundance of examples. Lucretius combined the traditional etymology of *religio a religando* with a new (?) one *a caeli regionibus*.

¹⁰ The editors of Lucretius have a queer dislike of capitals in what we call personifications, thus supporting the philosopher against the poet. No editor of any other poem would hesitate to print *Amoris* in V, 1075 or *Discordia* in V, 440. (Since *Discordia* is the *Neikos* of Empedocles, *quorum* depends upon *intervalla vias*, etc., not upon *Discordia*.)

¹¹ It will not be fortuitous either that in each case *merito* appears in the vicinity of *maternum*. *Merito maternum* twice accentuates the suggestive consonants *m* and *t*, i. e. the initial letters of *mater terra*. (One may restrict the name "alliteration" to the beginnings of words. But there is not the slightest reason to confine one's attention to these alliterations in the restricted sense.) Perhaps it is not fortuitous either that in the passage about the Phrygian Mother (II, 698 ff.) Lucretius says only *mater* . . . *dicta est* and *hanc vocitant matrem*, since there was no *terra* inducing *maternum nomen*.

commentators almost silent. I should suppose that they failed to hear it because such "puns" if heard would have been unworthy of their author. For Lucretius they were not puns but a reality of language and nature. The invocations of his beloved Empedocles (Frag. 131)¹² which he cherished in his memory:

ἄμβροτε Μοῦσα

and

εὐχομένῳ νῦν αἶτε παρίστασο Καλλιόπεια

he fused into

currenti spatium praemonstra callida Musa / Calliope.

In the name Calliope he heard the Latin word expressing her skill. Calliope is clever: *callidus* occurs only once in the whole poem—in order to express this very truth. Ennius is an eternal poet. A similar chance joined the atoms into the shape of this poet and the atoms of language into his name expressing his eternity.

In the episode *De Matre Magna* (II, 600 ff.) Lucretius emphasizes the fact that her servants, the Curetes, have a Greek name (629 f.). Later on he interprets their armed appearance as the will of the goddess that one should defend one's country:

praesidioque parent decorique parentibus esse.

The assonance *parent parentibus* is strange, the average opinion labelling it as a pun is insufficient, and the stress on the parents needs an explanation too. Why not wife and children? One can and must explain the two riddles at the same time: the poet wants to etymologize the Κούρητες as κούροι;¹³ being sons or youngsters they must defend just their parents. The reader would not understand this meaning (as nobody seems to have understood it) if attention had not been called to *parentes* by the preceding *parent*. "Preparedness for the parents" is the essence of the Curetes. That may be mannered or not; in any case it illuminates the etymological aim of the poet.

Lucretius in his general use of etymology is not very different

¹² F. Jobst, *Über das Verhältnis zwischen Lucrez und Empedokles*, Dissertation Erlangen, 1907, p. 14: "Auch die Anrufung der Kalliope darf man nicht auf eine Nachahmung des Empedokles zurückführen." I think just the opposite is evident.

¹³ Cf. e. g. Strabo, X, 468.

016735

from his contemporary Varro¹⁴ or from any other ancient etymologist. What is his own—besides his *furor arduus*—is the connection of this etymology with his atomism. We may expect to find more evidence in the chapter *De figura atomorum* (II, 333 ff.).

In the principal opposition between sweet and bitter there is on the one hand milk and honey:

Huc accedit uti mellis lactisque liquores
IUCUNDO sensu linguae tractentur in ore (II, 398 f.)

ut facile agnoscas e levibus atque RUTUNDIS
esse ea quae sensus IUCUNDE tangere possint (402 f.)

On the other hand we have wormwood and centaury:

at contra taetra absinthi natura ferique
centauri foedo pertorquent ora sapore (II, 400 f.)

at contra quae AMARA atque aspera cumque videntur
haec magis AMATIS inter se nexa teneri (404 f.)

Round atoms are pleasant to the taste, hooked atoms are bitter. The linguistic similarity of *iucundus*—*rütundus* and *āmarus*—*āmatus* emphasizes the fact.

But of course the similarity of words is only the most obvious mark in this province. Hardly less important is the abundance of smaller congruities. *mellis lactisque liquores . . . linguae*: the poet enjoys the sound of the liquids melting with the labial nasal.¹⁵ Yet here it is not the mere pattern of sound which

¹⁴ Cf. H. Dahlmann, *Varro und die hellenistische Sprachtheorie* (*Prob-lemata*, Heft 5), pp. 1 ff.

¹⁵ Everyone who has a tongue and an ear must combine the double *l* of *mellis* with the beginning *l*'s of the following words. Therefore I entirely disagree with the tendency to restrict the phenomenon under discussion to the repetitions "de phonèmes initiaux, à l'exclusion de toute assonance intérieure ou finale" (A. Cordier, *L'Allitération Latine*, 1939, p. 9). This tendency has its main foothold in the rich collections of Ed. Wölflin, "Ueber die allitterierenden Verbindungen der lateinischen Sprache," *Sitzungsb. d. bay. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1881, Bd. 2, pp. 1 ff. Take at haphazard a few examples: *acer atque acerbus*, *acute arguteque*, *amens amans*, *actor auctor*, *faciendum fugiendum*, *fides fiducia*, *forte fortuna*, etc. It is obvious that these pairs are united not merely by the coincidence of the initial sounds. The analogy of the German "Stabreim," important as it is, must not bias the whole of the observation.—For the effect of the *l*, cf. Dionys. Hal., *De Comp. Verb.*, 14 (p. 54, 11 U-R): ἡδύνει τὴν ἀκοήν τὸ ἰ καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἡμιφώνων

appeals to his ear. The *mel* and *lac* and *liquor* and *lingua* seek one another in sounds as they do in nature. The elements of the words appeal to the tongue and the ears as the atoms of the corresponding things appeal to the tongue and its taste.

"Instead"—*at contra*: already in this twice repeated formula the ear feels a kind of offense. The harsh *tc* and *tr* are at once echoed in *taetra* and later continued in the *rt* and *rq* of the rare *peritorquent*,¹⁶ and perhaps in the *r*'s of *natura ferique centauri*. The double consonants in *absinthi* may fit into the sharp melody of sound. A little later (410 ff.) we have the same contrast of sharp *s*'s and *r*'s and their combination in *serrae stridentis acerbum horrorem* contrasting with the gliding *l*'s and *m*'s of *elementis levibus aequae ac musaea mele*. And again (415) we have the sharp sounds of *taetra cadavera torrent* though this time the contrast is not so impressive in *croco Cilici*. The vowel *a* per se has no definite cachet; but since it is in *At* and *Amara Atque Aspera*, etc. it may turn into an expressive sound (the short *a* more than the long). The assonances *liquores*—in *ore* (398-9) and *ora sapore* (401) are no mere play of sounds either; they seem to be expressive too, symbolizing the necessary connection of mouth, taste, and fluid.

In 422 ff. we follow the same trend again. The parallel connection of atoms and sensation is expressed by the parallel construction and the similarity of the endings: *quae mulcet cumque . . . levore creatast; quae cumque . . . constat . . . squalore repertast*. The opposite qualities of the two kinds of atoms are made sensible here by the liquids: *mulcet, principali aliquo levore*, there by the sharp double consonants: *molesta aspera constat squalore repertast*. The third kind of atoms which the poet introduces in this passage is neither smooth nor sharp but tickling the senses: *angellis, titillare, fecula, inulae* are the most impressive words both in content and in sound. It

γλυκύτατον. The labial nasal *m* in *mellis* joins with the liquids. Cf. M. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique* (Paris, 1933), p. 408: "Les consonnes nasales, grâce à la mollesse de leur articulation, sont propres à exprimer . . . la douceur, la mollesse."—I wish here to express my gratitude to Leo Spitzer for his criticisms and suggestions.

¹⁶ *Pertorquet* is used a second time in all that is left of Roman literature in Afranius' *Abducta*, Frag. I Ribbeck: *quam senticosa verba pertorquet turba*. Though the metre is obscure and the sense not very clear either, the very sound might be in favor of *turba*.

is quite possible that this third kind is not so easy to discriminate from the first as the first from the second; but then you must sharpen your ears as you may cultivate your taste.

We stressed and tried to explain the assonances *liquores—in ore* at the end of two consecutive verses (398 f.) and *ora—sapore* in one verse (401). It is not likely either that when Lucretius moulded the ends of two successive verses into the rhyme *odores—colores* he merely yielded to a sensory propensity. Of course he liked such sounds as much as Vergil disliked them. But they are meant to express a reality too: the parallelism of the opposite smells and the opposite colors, the contrasts in both fields originating in the respective contrasts of atoms. The passage 730-864 excels in the same pattern of sound which is at the same time a pattern of thought or of reality—reality being the atoms. In those 135 verses one counts thirty-five words of the form *colore(m -s) nitore(m) odorem(-s) liquorem vaporem*, taking into account only the ends of the verses. Of course one can say that Lucretius yields where Vergil resists. But when he yielded he followed the nature of things (I, 907 ff.): *quo pacto verba quoque ipsa inter se paulo mutatis sunt elementis*.

A wide prospect opens. It is a matter of fact that not all the material labelled by Miss Deutsch as "pattern of sound" is to be interpreted in the new sense. Yet much of it can. To be sure, between the one sphere where the phenomenon is restricted to a mere acoustic or musical pleasure and the other where it becomes the expression of a fact in nature, a broad boundary stretches, which it would be unwise to assign to either of the two sides. Our interpretation may and perhaps must overemphasize the facts. But it is better to run this risk than to close ears and eyes to the reality. Only a few remarks will be made before leaving the task to the future readers of the poet.

To return to *callida—Calliope* (VI, 93 f.): no doubt Lucretius felt and wanted us to feel the kinship of the two words and of the two facts which they represent. Neither can there be any doubt that he gives the tone with *ad candida calcis currenti* and that he echoes it with *capiam cum laude coronam*. The accord of the *c*'s is unmistakable. It is hard to fancy that he did not connect a meaning with the pattern. *Candida calcis* means the end of the poem, *ad candida calcis currere* is the way of the poet, *capiam cum laude coronam* aims at the poet's reward. It goes

without saying that the *c* has no more natural affinity with the idea of poetry than has any other letter of the alphabet. But since the poet puts *Calliope* in the middle strengthened by *callida*, the surrounding court of *c*'s becomes expressive through the very force of the center.¹⁷

We remember the passage of the second book dealing with the contrast of honey and wormwood. The same contrast occurs in the prooemium of the fourth book (which Lucretius later transferred to the first) as a simile illustrating the severity of the doctrine and the sweetness of the poetical form:

lucida pango
carmina musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.

The *l* of the first word joins with the *l* of the last, three *c*'s surrounding the central *musaeo*, which so far remains without resonance. In the simile the similarity is stressed by the repetition of *contingunt*, which is followed by a comet's tail of *l*'s:¹⁸

contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore

continued a little later with *Ludificetur Laborum tenus*. The *m* of *mellis* remains without responsion, as did *musaeo* before; but some verses later both are united in one verse circulating again around *contingere*:

et quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle.

The opposite side dealing with the bitterness is much less elaborated than in the second book. Yet the sounds are the same: *absinthia tætra* (IV, 11 = I, 936) which not only means ugly but also has that sound, and *amarum absinthii laticem* with its sharp *a*'s (IV, 15 = I, 940)—sharp not so much by their own nature as because of the significance of the words in question. There can be no doubt that these different sounds had very spe-

¹⁷ Cf. M. Grammont, *op. cit.* (see note 15 *supra*), p. 404: "... il est reconnu que les poètes dignes de ce nom possèdent un sentiment délicat et pénétrant de la valeur impressive des mots et des sons qui les composent; pour communiquer cette valeur à ceux qui les lisent, il leur arrive souvent de répercuter autour du mot principal les phonèmes qui le caractérisent, en sort que ce mot devient en somme le générateur du vers tout entier dans lequel il figure. . . ."

¹⁸ Concerning *flavoque* cf. Grammont, *op. cit.* (see note 15 *supra*), p. 411: "La combinaison de *f* avec *l* réunit le souffle à la liquidité, ce qui donne l'impression de la *fluidité*."

cific cachets—not always the same, to be sure—in the poet's mind or sense. One cannot fail to hear the similar double consonants and *a*'s (rising out of a series of *o*'s) in a passage combining sharp odors (IV, 123 ff.):

suo de corpore odorem
expirant acrem, panaces, Absinthia taetra,
habrotonique graves et tristia centaurea

or the terrible sound of

in baratrum nec Tartara deditur atra (III, 966)

where the terribleness is guaranteed, if that be necessary, by the famous line of Ennius (*Ann.* 140):

at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit.

Or observe both the meanings and the sounds of words with which *taeter* is combined: in *Tartara taetra* (V, 1126); *stercore de taetro* (II, 874); *taetro quasi conspurcare sapore* (VI, 22); *taetro concrescere odore* (VI, 807); *at contra nobis caenum taeterrima cum sit spurcicies* (VI, 976). Or hear the wind in verses like

validi vis incita venti	(VI, 137)
principio venti vis verberat incita pontum	(I, 271)
vis violenti per mare venti	(V, 1226)

The *v*'s give a blowing sound, the *i*'s whistle, and the rhyme *violenti*—*venti* stresses the natural relationship between violence and wind (giving, moreover, if I can trust my feeling, a swinging movement suited to wind and waves). Let us not do injustice to the poet. It is understood that no one should imagine him eagerly seeking and toilsomely combining sounds of words in order to imitate sounds in nature. He probably did that just as much and as little as Shakespeare:

When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,

or Sainte-Beuve¹⁹:

Dans les buissons séchés la bise va sifflant,

or Homer:

ιστία δέ σφιν
τριχθὰ τε καὶ τετραχθὰ διέσχισε (f) ἰς ἀνέμιοι,

or Goethe:

¹⁹ Quoted by Grammont, *op. cit.* (see note 15 *supra*), p. 391.

Du liebes Kind, komm geh mit mir!
Gar schöne Spiele spiel ich mit dir

(where the poet himself states his intention: In dürr'en Blättern säuselt der Wind). The music of the wind blew through the mind of these poets a similar melody with different keys.²⁰ It is evident too that Lucretius did not aim merely at the external sound. He uses a similar pattern describing the storm of the lover:

vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido (V, 964)

or the energy of the discoverer:

ergo vivida vis animi pervicit (I, 72)

For it is the same force moving as wind in nature and as *ventus vitalis in ipso corpore* (III, 128) and appearing as sound in the work of the poet.

Lucretius has a queer inclination for the old-fashioned phrase *multis modis* or *multimodis*. It gains expressive strength when he combines it first with *multa*, secondly with *mutata* or *mixta* or *minuta*, thirdly with *semina* or *primordia*. So one sees what drives him to use such verses again and again, e. g.

semina multimodis in rebus mixta teneri (IV, 644)

sed quia multa modis multis mutata per omne . . . (I, 1024)

propterea quia multa modis primordia multis mixta . . . (IV, 1220 f.)

multa modis multis multarum semina rerum
quod permixta gerit tellus . . . (VI, 789 f.)

Not through the nature of the sound but through the associative force of alliteration do the *m*'s become for Lucretius a badge of the atoms. To this scheme by other artistic measures he gives such an astonishing extension as

²⁰ For this creative act onomatopoeia is a modern and bad expression, the Greek rhetoricians using the word in a much more appropriate manner. Cf. e. g. Quintilian, VIII, 6, 31: *Onomatopoeia, id est fictio nominis, Graecis inter maximas habita virtutes nobis via permittitur*, etc. and I, 5, 72; *Rhetores Graeci*, edd. Spengel-Hammer, I, p. 368; *Rhet. Gr.*, ed. Spengel, III, p. 196. The notion of "making words" is present everywhere. Grammont, *op. cit.* (see note 15 *supra*), pp. 377 ff. ("Phonétique impressive") rightly distinguishes between *onomatopée* and *mot impressive*.

adiutamur enim dubio procul atque alimur nos
certis ab rebus, certis aliae atque aliae res.
nimirum, quia multa modis communia multis
multarum rerum in rebus primordia mixta
sunt, ideo variis variae res rebus aluntur (I, 812 ff.)

He interlaces the *m*-words (*multa—communia—primordia, modis—multis*), combines them with the doubling of different forms of *res* which he varies three times and accompanies with doublings of *certus, alius, varius*, establishing an image of the world of atoms through the sounds and the order of words.²¹

A remarkable variation of the same scheme we hear finally in the description of the sun motes used as a simile of the moving atoms (II, 116 ff.): first the chain of *m*'s

multa minuta modis multis per inane videtis
corpora misceri;

then a pattern of words meaning struggle and impressing upon the senses sounds like *ter, cer, tur*, and *t*'s and *p*'s

et velut aeterno certamine proelia pugnās
edere turmatim certantia;

at last the unique and beautiful

conciliis et discidiis exercita crebris,

the opposite prefixes *con-* and *dis-* joining with almost the identical root words *-ciliis, -cidiis* which by their very sound and rhythm tickle the ear as the motes glitter in the eye.

A *Venere finis*. It is understood that Lucretius felt the significance or significances of her name, the main province of ancient etymology being the names of the gods.²² Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, V, 61) etymologizes Venus as the force of tying together fire and water, man and woman: *horum vinctiois vis Venus*. He contents himself with the twofold *v* and with the assonance *vin—ven* (cf. Plautus, *Trin.*, 658: *vi Veneris vinculus*), whereas the much more banal etymology in Cicero's *De Natura*

²¹ Munro: "Assonances and alliterations of all kinds seem to possess for Lucretius an irresistible attraction." Giussani: "Nota la ripetizione e l'intreccio di *res multus varius* à far più viva l'immagine della cosa descritta."

²² Plato, *Cratylus* 400 D-408 D. Cf. M. Warburg, *Zwei Fragen zum Kratylus* (*Neue Philologische Untersuchungen*, Heft 5), pp. 63 ff.

Deorum (III, 662) *Venus quia venit* utilizes the whole root. Lucretius could not stop his etymological vein just short of Venus. When he writes (I, 227)

unde animale *genus* generatim in lumina vitae
reducit *Venus*,

he feels her name blending almost the whole of *genus* (stressed by the repetition of *gen-*) with the alliterative beginning of *vita*. Again he connects *vita*, *voluptas*, and *genus* with *Venus* (II, 172):

ipsaque deducit dux vitae dia *Voluptas*
et res per *Veneris* blanditur saecula propagent,
ne *genus* occidat humanum

or he seems to replace *voluptas* by *iuvare* in II, 437:

aut iuvat egrediens *genitales* per *Veneris* res.

The Homeric formula ἔργα Ἀφροδίτης has in its Latin translation RES per *Veneris* and still more per *Veneris* RES a very expressive sound—expressive only in general or expressing something?

There is a strong presumption that the first prooemium, too, must contain such *lumina ingenii etymologici*; but I refrain from attempts to dissect them. Nor do I follow up the traces of other more or less significant sounds spread over the prooemium. This is only a secondary melody in the orchestra and modern readers may fail to perceive it or may sometimes even dislike it. There may be a danger too of hearing the grass grow, and I am not quite sure whether this danger has been avoided throughout. But the danger of seeing too little is much greater, as this paper will have demonstrated. One may minimize each single case, but on the whole one should not fail to become aware of what Lucretius has expressly stated to be the very nature of language.

And perhaps it is the nature of language. He may express it in the wrong way because he expresses it in the terms of his atomistic theory. But the poet in him is wiser than the philosopher. And one may look upon his pattern of sound as a symbol of the fact that poetry is very likely to repeat the creative work of language on a different level. Let Friedrich Rückert, the greatest artificer in German poetry, plead the case of the poet:²³

²³ Friedrich Rückert, *Die Weisheit des Brahmanen*, Erste Stufe, 55. Rückert, being a Mainfranke, rhymed *angemessen* with *Bahn gemessen*.

Das Wortspiel schelten sie, doch scheint es angemessen
Der Sprache, welche ganz hat ihre Bahn gemessen.

Dass sie vom Anbeginn, eh' es ihr war bewusst,
Ein dunkles Wortspiel war, wird ihr nun klar bewusst.

Womit unwissentlich sie allerorten spielen,
Komm und gefissentlich lass uns mit Worten spielen!

This is the fundamental aspect which one must bear in mind lest one misjudge the pattern of sound as a mannerism in Lucretius. The second point is the well known peculiarity of Latin, or more correctly of the Italic languages, that they, much more than Greek, yielded to the magic of sounds. The prayers and spells, the legal formulas and the instructions of the priests with their ornaments of assonances, rhymes, alliterations, *figurae sermonis* set for the poets and writers of Rome a cast of solemn speech never to be forgotten.²⁴ The third aspect is the atomistic doctrine of language providing Lucretius with a rational bond by which to connect his most personal pattern of sound with the philosophy he professed.²⁵ The fourth aspect is the inexplicable individuality of his tone.

Another Tennyson could imagine the Roman poet haunted by the crowd of sounds, smooth or harsh, struggling and craving for each other, cajoling or wounding the ear, deceiving and telling the truth, forming words, and words into verses, and verses into the most extraordinary poem of Rome.

²⁴ Cf. C. Thulin, *Italische sakrale Poesie und Prosa* (1906); Fr. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, I, pp. 34 ff.; Ed. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, pp. 359 ff.; Ed. Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern* (*Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis*, XXIX), *passim*. It may not be useless to add a few words from a rather remote text, *The Johns Hopkins Tabellae Defixionum*, Supplement to *A. J. P.*, XXXIII (1912), by W. S. Fox: . . . *eripias salutem, corpus colorem, vires virtutes . . . tradas illuno febris quartanae tertianae cottidianae, quas cum illo luctent deludent, illum devincant vincant . . .* (*deludent* is a probable restoration of the editor. I think the original form must have run *vincant devincant*). A trace in Lucretius: H. Haefter, *Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache* (*Problemata*, Heft 10), p. 81. Lucretius, I, 1105, *neve ruant* suggests *neve lue rue* in the *Carmen arvale*; but the resemblance may be fortuitous.

²⁵ The lost book of Democritus, *Περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δυσφώνων γραμμάτων* (*Vorsokratiker*, Frag. 18 b ff.) may have contained the theory of what is practice and art in Lucretius. In the same line seems to be Philodemus, *Περὶ ποιημάτων* col. 24, Hausrath.

APPENDIX I.

ORTHOGRAPHICA.

... in cunctas undique *partis*
plura modo dispargit ... (II, 1134 f.)
et dispargitur ad partis ... (IV, 875)

Dispargit(ur) is the tradition of the MSS in both places. The relationship in sound and significance between *pars* and *dispar-gere* is obvious. It is very unlikely, therefore, that Lucretius did *not* write or at least pronounce

in *parvas partes dispargitur* (I, 309)

where the MSS have *dispergitur*. In other places the tradition agrees either in *dispergitur* or, much more seldom, in *dispargitur* without evidence in either direction.

... *corpora posse*
vorti ... (II, 744 f.)
 ... *vortitur orbis* (V, 510)

So the MSS, which in other places agree in *vertice*. The editor will generally respect such an agreement. But II, 744 f. makes it unlikely that in II, 879 f. Lucretius did *not* intend

... *cibos in corpora viva*
vortit ...

where the MSS agree in *vertit*. Then 875 must follow:

... *vortunt pecudes in corpora nostra,*

and the whole passage from 874 on must run in the darker tone. In V, 277 the MSS have

... *vortex versatur in alto (arto ci. Lachmann)*

which probably was *vortex vorsatur* or less probably *vertex versatur*. In I, 293 f.

... *interdum vortice torto*
corripiunt rapideque rotanti turbine portant

I have changed the reading *vertice* of the MSS. One must think of *Aeneid*, I, 116 f.

... *illam ter fluctus ibidem*
torquet agens circum et rapidus vorat aequore vortex.

Here the MSS agree in *vortex*, a few lines before they offer in I, 114

... ingens a vertice pontus,

no assonances asking for *vortice*.²⁶ In Lucretius, IV, 899 f.

... tantum corpus corpuscula possunt
contorquere et onus totum convertere nostrum

it is not unlikely either that *convortere* was intended by the poet. On the other hand, in VI, 114 f.

aut ubi suspensam vestem chartasque volantis
verberibus venti versant

both tradition and sound guarantee the *e* in *versant*. In *Aeneid*, VII, 566 f.

urget utrimque latus nemoris medioque fragosus
dat sonitum saxis et torto vortice torrens

and Catullus, 68, 107 f.

tanto te absorbens vortice amoris
aestus in abruptum detulerat baratrum

Forcellini in the Lexicon prints *vortice* against the MSS, but following the trace of sound. To be sure, the attitude of Vergil differs from that of Lucretius; but *Aeneid*, I, 116 f. quoted above supports the orthography *vortice* in VII, 567.

Incidentally, this appendix will have made it clear that it is wrong to state: "*vorto* is in all probability a mere matter of spelling; the Present was always pronounced with *e*" (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 467). The grammarian should listen to the sound of poetry.

²⁶ The statement of Caper, *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Keil, VII, 99, 11: *vortex fluminis est, vertex capitis* is likely to be an artificial distinction. Cf. Felix Solmsen, *Studien zur latein. Lautgeschichte*, p. 21; E. Kieckers, *Historische lateinische Grammatik*, I, p. 53. Solmsen's own statement: "Der Grund, weshalb der Dichter zu der altertümlichen Form griff, liegt in dem Gleichklang von *vortex* mit *vorat*" is right but not sufficient. The assonances in *torquet* and *aequore* are not less important. The same inadequate limitation in A. Cordier, *L'Allitération Latine* (1939), pp. 38, 70. Cf. notes 11 and 15.

APPENDIX II.

LUCRETII I, 942 = IV, 17.

sed potius tali STACTO recreata valescat.

The manuscripts have FACTO in Book I, ATACTO in IV. PACTO is a conjecture of Heinsius accepted by almost all editors. As a matter of fact, no one—I am sorry to say—would be offended by *tali pacto*, if it were the reading of the manuscripts. But no one has tried to explain how such a trivial word should have been corrupted in both passages, in both in a different way, and at least in the second one in such a strange manner. *facto* makes no real sense,²⁷ and the deviation into *atacto* would remain inexplicable. Method demands a word much more difficult for the average reader. My *stacto* would answer this demand. It would imply that *stactum* was used in the general sense of “drops, medicine.” That remains a supposition which so far cannot be proved; but the facts are not unfavorable.

stactum, *stacton* occurs upon pharmaceutical labels²⁸ and in the recipe-books of Scribonius and Marcellus: *stactum opobalsamatum*, *stactum ad caliginem*, *stactum opobalsamatum ad claritatem*, *collyrium stacton*, etc. are eye-drops or eye-salves. But before becoming specialized *στακτόν* must have had a general meaning, which indeed is indicated in the gloss of Hesychius: *στακτόν· τὸ δυνισμένον*. A final verification of the supposed meaning, to be sure, is not available. To appeal to the pattern of sound would be a much too subjective argument. Finally, the fact that Lucretius uses *stacte* for myrrh (II, 847) does by no means prove that he has used *stactum* but implies that he might have used it.

²⁷ The edition of Martin (Teubner, 1934) gives *facto*.

²⁸ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 8734 ff.

APPENDIX III.

LUCRETIIUS, VI, 857 f.

quis queat hic sup̄ter tam crasso corpore terram
percoquere humorem et calido suffire vapore?

SOCLARE MSS. SATIARE and SOCIARE are humanists' conjectures, elegant but not pertinent.²⁹ (Bernays' DONARE is neither.) I think it very likely that the senseless letters mean the same verb which occurs in II, 1098

ignibus aetheriis terras suffire feraces.

Lucretius uses *suffire*, which means "to fumigate, to perfume," in order to express his atomistic view of the atoms of fire penetrating the earth or the water, as the particles of perfume penetrate the air. This strange use ("unexampled," Merrill) may probably be explained from the Greek. ἀναθυμᾶσθαι, ἀναθυμίασις is used by Aristotle and the Doxographers mostly when dealing with Presocratic doctrines, and the Greek-English Lexicon even quotes the active ἀναθυμᾶν from Theophrastus Περὶ πυρός, Frag. III, 4, 37: συμβαίνει τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου θερμότητα λεπτὴν οὖσαν καὶ μαλακὴν εἰσάγεσθαι κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τοὺς πόρους καὶ ὥσπερ ἀναθυμᾶν καὶ ἐπικαίειν τὰ ἐπιπολῆς. Here the metaphor is felt and, as it were, excused. The sense is not quite the same as in Lucretius, but is very similar, the whole sphere (heat—penetration) identical.

The main objection to *suffire* would be palaeographical. But uncial or semiuncial *su* is very near to *soc*, so that only *ffi* has to be restored from *la*, the ending *re* remaining unchanged. In general one should not forget the old rule that the facility of accommodating characters to a conjecture is not always the best guarantee for its being right.³⁰

PAUL FRIEDLÄNDER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES.

²⁹ Lucretius uses *sociare* in a different way. *Sufflare*, suggested by a friend instead of *suffire*, would not do either.

³⁰ Cf. e. g. Wilhelm Schulze, *Kleine Schriften* (Goettingen, 1933), p. 679.

THE ARISTOTELIAN TRADITION IN ANCIENT RHETORIC.

Quintilian in the course of a somewhat sketchy but nevertheless invaluable account of the history of rhetorical theory informs us that after the first generations of rhetoricians had gradually built up the science of rhetoric it split up into two different types—the one represented by Isocrates and his school, the other by Aristotle, his pupils and, later, by other schools of philosophy like the Stoic.¹ In the next paragraph he mentions that a third type came into being with Hermagoras. We are at liberty to combine this piece of information with that found in Cicero's *De inventione*, where in the context of a similar historical sketch we learn that the rhetorical systems of the Aristotelian and Isocratean schools were fused into a new system by the later theorists *qui ab utrisque ea quae commode dici videbantur in suas artes transtulerunt*.² Taken together, these passages seem to provide something like a clue to the history of ancient rhetorical theory, for, even though Cicero may be considered slightly unfair to the originality of later writers on rhetoric, it will certainly be worth while to trace the transformations of the two original systems through the later stages of ancient rhetoric. I am ready to admit that modern writers on the development of ancient rhetoric³ have good reasons for treating the material along rather different lines; yet by doing so they deprive themselves of the opportunity of appreciating the extent to which the two outstanding theorists left their mark on the subsequent phases of the system.

In this paper I have confined myself to tracing the Aristotelian or, rather, Peripatetic influence on the later theories, partly because this is nearer to the line of my own studies in the field of ancient rhetoric, and partly because it seems advisable to attack this subject first, since for the history of the Isocratean tradition

¹ *Inst. orat.*, III, 1, 14 f. Professor Harry Caplan has kindly read the manuscript of this paper which has profited by his suggestions.

² Cicero, *De invent.*, II, 8. Cf. G. L. Hendrickson, *A. J. P.*, XXVI (1905), p. 266.

³ The long felt need for a truly historical treatment of ancient rhetoric has at last been met by Professor Kroll's very valuable article "Rhetorik" in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R.-E.* (Suppl. VI).

we lack a starting point of the same solidity and authenticity as Aristotle's three books on rhetoric.⁴ I do not suggest that when the Aristotelian factor has been brought to light the Isocratean may be found by a process of subtraction, but I hope that the direction in which one must look for the Isocratean element will be more obvious when the first half of the job of analysis has been done. Moreover, as a result of the investigations of Hendrickson, Kroll, Barwick, Hinks, and Stroux the material to be used in the reconstruction of the Aristotelian tradition seems to lie more ready at hand than the corresponding material for the Isocratean.⁵ Thanks are due in particular to Professor Stroux for throwing light on the relation between Aristotle's system and that of his Peripatetic disciples,⁶ for his conclusions show (in remarkable agreement with those reached in different fields of the Peripatetic philosophy) that Aristotle's pupils and successors, while keeping alive the master's ideas wherever they could do so with a good conscience, made it their object to fill out gaps which he had left (and frequently indicated as such), to arrange the material more systematically under certain basic categories, and to increase the amount of empirical data to be fitted into the framework of these categories.

Before we enter into an analysis of later *artes* it seems necessary to form as clear a notion as possible of those factors in Aristotle's own *Rhetoric* which are sufficiently original and characteristic to justify our singling them out as his peculiar contributions to the rhetorical system. It would be an impossible (and for our purpose a fruitless) undertaking if we tried to enumerate all those more or less significant details which are or may be new in his work, and we must content ourselves with pointing out the basic and truly epoch-making methodical ideas through which he made of the rhetorical system something very different from what it had been before. I am aware that in

⁴ See, however, Harry M. Hubbell, *The Influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides* (New Haven, 1913).

⁵ In view of the absence of an authentic Isocratean *τέχνη* a thorough and at the same time cautious analysis of Isocrates' "speeches" from the technical point of view would seem necessary.

⁶ Joh. Stroux, *De Theophrasti virtutibus dicendi* (Leipzig, 1912). For the relation between Aristotle and Theophrastus see especially pp. 29-42. Cf. on this point also H. Diels, *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1886, pp. 25 ff. and G. L. Hendrickson, *A. J. P.*, XXV (1904), pp. 136 f.

distinguishing between essential and inessential features in his work subjectivity cannot be altogether avoided; yet the following account may not be far from the mark:

1. Aristotle breaks emphatically with the traditional method of organizing the rhetorical material under the heading of the *partes orationis* (μέρῃα λόγου): proem, narration, etc. We gather from Plato's *Phaedrus* and from Aristotle himself⁷ that some teachers of rhetoric had gone very far in dividing the oration into its parts and subdividing these parts into their various species; but, if it is true that the Isocratean school recognized only four parts—proem, narration, proofs, and epilogue—,⁸ we may regard this as a reaction against the other rhetoricians who, as I have said, went much further. To maintain that the Isocrateans organized their entire material under these headings would be hazardous, but there can be no doubt that this school has left its mark on the theory of the proem, the narration, and the rest, and there are few Hellenistic rhetoricians who do not echo certain fundamental Isocratean precepts for them (e.g. that the narration should avoid unnecessary length, be ἐναργής, πιθανόν, ἡδύ, κτλ.). Although we are not dealing with the Isocratean tradition, we have to bear these facts in mind in order to understand Aristotle against the right background.

Aristotle is no less scornful than Plato in castigating the superficiality of this approach and the lack of a clear conception of the essential functions of a speech which it betrays.⁹ In his *Poetics* Aristotle looks on tragedy as a *totum et unum* and concentrates on those features which are essential to tragedy as such,

⁷ See Plato, *Phaedrus* 266 d-267 d; Aristotle, *Rhet.* A 1, 1354 b 16-19. Cf. O. Navarre's admirable reconstruction of these systems (*Essai sur la rhétorique grecque* [Paris, 1900], pp. 211-327) and see also Hendrickson, *A. J. P.*, XXVI (1905), pp. 250 f.

⁸ Dionysius' testimony (*De Lys.* 16 ff.) is borne out by what we know about Theodectes' τέχνη (see especially the evidence in Rose, *Aristotelis Fragmenta*, 133 or in Rabe's *Prolegg. Sylloge*, 32, 216).

⁹ *Rhet.* A 1, 1354 b 16-1355 a 1; Γ 13, 1414 b 13-18; Γ 14, 1415 b 4-9. In this paper I take Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as a unity and a whole without going into the questions concerning the development of Aristotle's theories which I have treated elsewhere (*Die Entwicklung d. aristot. Logik und Rhetorik* [Berlin, 1929]). From the point of view of the Aristotelian "tradition" these questions seem irrelevant as there is no evidence that they ever bothered later rhetoricians.

i. e. to the idea of tragedy: plot, characters, and the other like elements. The external (or quantitative) parts of a tragedy such as the prologue and episodes he relegates to one chapter (12) and treats them as a matter of secondary importance.¹⁰ Similarly, in the *Rhetoric* he assigns the "parts of a speech" their place in the third main section of the work where he discusses "disposition,"¹¹ but organizes the whole material under categories representing essential qualities or functions of any speech. In every speech the orator must seek to prove his point, to produce a definite emotional reaction in his audience, to convey an impression of the speaker's character. Also, every speech must have a definite style and a disposition; it is here that the "parts" get their due, yet even here only the really essential and more or less indispensable ones.¹² Thus, in opposition to the old τέχνη where the material was arranged under "proem," "narration," "proofs," "epilogue," or even more parts, a new type comes into existence, consisting of three main parts: Proofs (or material content), Style, and Disposition. The "proofs" have not much more than the name in common with the "proofs" in the alternative system; "proofs" are no longer a part but a function of the speech, and Aristotle's "proofs" are subdivided into the theories of the rhetorical argument, of the emotions (πάθη), and of the speaker's character (ἦθος), since these three factors should combine to make the speech effective. We may

¹⁰ Cf. my paper on "The Origins and Methods of Aristotle's *Poetics*," in *Class. Quart.*, XXIX (1935), pp. 192-201.

¹¹ Γ 13-19.

¹² See especially *Rhet.* A 2, 1356 a 1-27 and Γ 1, 1403 b 6-18, 1404 a 8-12 and 13. It has been pointed out by Volkmann (*Rhetorik d. Griechen und Römer*, p. 17) that the *Rhetorica ad Alex.* may be divided into sections dealing with A) πράγματα, B) λέξις, and C) τάξις, but the fact is that its author does not seem to have been aware of this. He certainly makes no attempt to establish a rational division of his subject, still less to deduce the necessity of such a division. Whether or not rhetorical systems before Aristotle included anything comparable to *ad Alex.* 2-7 and to what extent they had gone beyond organizing the entire material under the "parts of the speech" is a question which we can hardly attempt to answer. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* bears the mark of philosophical reasoning, whereas the average τέχνη developed out of practical needs and practical habits. To divide the τέχνη into proem, narration, proofs, etc. is to follow the way in which anyone however untrained would state his case before a jury.

of the same standing in the system as "proofs," "style," and "disposition," namely the delivery (*ὑπόκρισις*), yet he refrains from actually working this out.¹³

This entirely new approach to rhetoric is, like the new approach to poetry, obviously based on Aristotle's conception of a thing's organic unity as implying a principle of structure and being different from a mere accumulation of its parts. We know this conception from the *Metaphysics*¹⁴ where it is an integral phase of Aristotle's notion of an entity.

2. The system of "proofs" (*πίστεις*) may be called the core of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. As we have seen, the "proofs" are subdivided into three kinds: the rhetorical argument, the arousing of emotions, and the speaker's character. In dealing with the first Aristotle again makes a new departure: He bases the theory of the rhetorical argument on his logic, that is on his dialectic and analytics. The "enthymeme" which with other rhetoricians had been merely a particular way of formulating a thought (in other words, a concept of a stylistic rather than logical complexion)¹⁵ turns with him into the rhetorical syllogism and has to be constructed in close analogy to the logical syllogism, even though in formulating it one of the premises may, if self-evident, be omitted. Similarly the rhetorical *παράδειγμα* is made to correspond to the logical induction (*ἐπαγωγή*).¹⁶

¹³ Γ 1, 1403 b 21-36.

¹⁴ See e.g. *Metaph.* Z 17, especially 1041 b 11-33, where Aristotle insists on the difference between a syllable and the letters of which it consists. See also H 2. Cf. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle* (3rd edition, London, 1937), pp. 172 f.

¹⁵ The evidence for the meaning of the word *ἐνθύμημα* before Aristotle is not very definite, but on the basis of Isocrates, *Paneg.* 9, *Contra soph.* 16, *Euag.* 10 one may form the impression that any rather elaborate (and elaborately expressed) thought could be called by that name (cf. Navarre, *op. cit.*, p. 255); and I see no reason why Isocrates should not regard e.g. the famous opening passage of the *Panegyricus* as an enthymeme. Quintilian, V, 10, 1 records different meanings of the word and mentions that *plures* favored a notion of *enthymema* which is certainly not Aristotle's. The third variety which he mentions seems to have something in common with the description of the enthymeme found in *ad Alex.* 11. "Demetrius," *περὶ ἐρμ.* 30-33 finds it necessary to emphasize the fact that an enthymeme is not the same thing as a sentence-period. See also Quintilian, VIII, 5, 9.

¹⁶ The principal passages are *Rhet.* A 1, 1354 b 3-10; 2, 1356 a 35-b 25;

Moreover, such traditional types of "evidence" as *σημεῖν*, *εἰκός*, *τεκμήριον* which in all probability had never before received a logical foundation are by Aristotle reinterpreted as representing certain definite types of syllogisms.¹⁷ To be sure, some of them have to be regarded as somewhat lax and inconclusive, but the fact that matters is that in *Rhet. A 2* Aristotle looks at them from the perspective of his new theory of the logical syllogism as set forth in the *Analytica Priora*.

The *τόποι* had before Aristotle been ready-made arguments or commonplaces "into which they expected the speeches of both parties to fall most frequently."¹⁸ They referred invariably to particular subjects in the sense that the orator had his ready-made commonplaces for either enhancing or minimizing, say, the trustworthiness of the witnesses, the importance of the oaths to be sworn in court, etc. Aristotle compares this instruction to a procedure by which instead of learning the art of making shoes the apprentice receives a great number of ready-made shoes without any suggestion as to how to make them.¹⁹

He replaces this method by an altogether different system of *τόποι*, conceiving the *τόπος* as a "type" or "form" of argument of which you need grasp only the basic structural idea to apply it forthwith to discussions about any and every subject. Once you have grasped the *τόπος* of the "More and Less" you will be able to argue: If not even the gods know everything, human beings will certainly not know everything; or, Whoever beats his father will certainly also beat his neighbors; or to form any other argument of the same kind, always proceeding from the

1357 b 26-36; 1358 a 1-35; B 20, 1393 a 24-27. See also *Anal. Pr.* B 23 f. The necessity of basing rhetoric on dialectic had been emphasized by Plato (*Phaedrus* 265) but Plato did not think of dialectic in terms of syllogisms.

¹⁷ The Attic orators make ample use of *εἰκότα*, *σημεῖα*, *τεκμήρια* (see Antiphon, V, 25, 28, 37, 38, 43, 61, 63 and compare the *indices* for the other orators; see also Thucydides, I, 1, 3; 2, 6; 3, 3; and *passim*). I should hesitate to believe that all of them would agree with the definitions given in *ad Alex.* 8, 10, 13. For Aristotle's syllogistic construction of these forms see A 2, 1357 a 22-b 25 and *Anal. Pr.* B 27.

¹⁸ See Aristotle, *Soph. El.* 34, 183 b 36-184 a 1; Cicero, *Brut.* 46 f. Cf. Navarre, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-132; Volkmann, *op. cit.*, p. 159, and my *Antiphonstudien* (Berlin, 1931), p. 39, n. 2; pp. 47, 65.

¹⁹ *Soph. El.* 34, 183 b 36-184 a 8.

less likely thing (which has nevertheless occurred) to the more likely.²⁰ What matters in this system is the "form" of the argument, this being perfectly independent of any particular subject-matter or content. Aristotle in II, 2 enumerates twenty-eight *τόποι* or "forms" of arguments and in addition nine of paralogsms.²¹ Here too we find him constructing the rhetorical argument after the model of his logic, this time that of his *Topics* where he provides *τόποι* (of the same kind) for purely logical discussions. Obviously this new Aristotelian concept of the *τόπος* presupposes a new capacity for abstracting from the material content and for grasping the *καθόλου* or *ἐν ἐπὶ πολλῶν*. This is an ability which the previous teachers of rhetoric had lacked; in fact I venture the suggestion that before Plato and Aristotle the Greeks had generally lacked this capacity for abstracting. Whether or not Aristotle's *τόποι* are more practical than the ready-made clichés of Antiphon, Protagoras, and others is a question which we need not discuss, for, although Aristotle would probably claim superiority for his method in the field of practical application also, yet his primary objective is to elevate rhetoric to a subject of philosophical dignity and standing.

In other chapters Aristotle provides premises for the rhetorical syllogisms.²² These premises appear in the form of general propositions about the "good" ("a thing which everybody seeks to attain is good"), the "useful," the "beautiful," the "just," the "possible," and their opposites. We have to reckon with the possibility that at Aristotle's time other teachers of rhetoric had also adopted the course of providing their pupils with general propositions as to what was "good," "just," and, more particularly, of enumerating good, just, desirable things.²³ This may

²⁰ See the *τόπος τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον* in *Rhet.* B 23 (1397 b).

²¹ Cf. on Aristotle's *τόποι* Georgiana P. Palmer, *The τόποι of Aristotle's Rhetoric as exemplified in the Orators* (Diss., Chicago, 1934). I cannot fully agree with James H. McBurney's comments on the relation between the *τόποι* and the enthymeme (*Pap. Mich. Ac.*, XXI [1935], p. 493).

²² Cf. especially chapters like A 6 f., 9, B 19. A 10-19 may also with some justification be mentioned here. For the methodical idea behind the premises (and behind the *τόποι*) see A 2, 1358 a 1-A 3, 1359 a 5. See for comment on this section of the *Rhetoric* my book (see *supra* n. 9), pp. 13-27.

²³ *Ad Alex.* 2-6. Aristotle too has some chapters in which he enumerates *τὰ ἀγαθὰ* or *τὰ καλὰ* (A 5; A 6, 1362 b 10-28; A 9, 1366 a 34-b 22)

be regarded as a step in the same direction, and yet an important difference lies in the fact that behind Aristotle's procedure there is a definite logical conception of the nature of the rhetorical argument. His general propositions are really intended to be major premises in a rhetorical syllogism.

3. We have already referred to the important position of the three *πίστεις* or means of persuasion in Aristotle's system. It was Aristotle who set up the argumentation, the playing upon the feelings, and the speaker's character as the three factors essential for the effectiveness of a speech. We know that both earlier and contemporary rhetoricians included some practical suggestions for the arousing of pity, indignation, good will, etc. in their treatment of the "parts of the speech," especially of proem and epilogue. Aristotle's innovation consists not only in his granting to *πάθη* and *ἥθη* a status on a par with the arguments and thereby elevating them to first-rate factors but also in his careful analysis of the nature of the various emotions and of the conditions under which they may be either aroused or allayed.²⁴ The chapters B 12-17 are certainly a very interesting essay on "social psychology," if this term may be used for a theory of the customary reactions of certain social groups or age-groups (the young, the old, the rich, the noble, etc.). It must be admitted, however, that we are completely in the dark as to the position of the *ἥθη* in the conventional rhetorical system before Aristotle.²⁵

4. Aristotle distinguishes between three different kinds of speeches, the political speech, the forensic speech, and the laudation. The first deals with the *ἀγαθόν*, the second with the *δίκαιον*, the third with the *καλόν*; in other words they are related to three cardinal values. He arrives at these *tria genera causarum* (as they are technically called) by a deductive reasoning which is Platonic in form and method.²⁶ Yet it is also possible to regard

and it might be argued that in these he is keeping closer to the procedure of the average, unphilosophical *τέχνηαι*.

²⁴ *Rhet.* A 2, 1356 a 1-33; B 1-18. See for a fuller discussion my paper in *C. P.*, XXXIII (1938), pp. 390-404.

²⁵ The most instructive passage is perhaps Aristotle, *Rhet.* A 2, 1356 a 10-13.

²⁶ *Rhet.* A 3, 1358 a 1-13; Aristotle proceeds along lines of a strictly dichotomous *διαίρεσις*; and, as this method is typical of Plato rather than of Aristotle, the division of the rhetorical *λόγοι* which we read here may well go back to the Academy (cf. *Diog. Laert.*, 3, 93). The

the concentration on these three species as the logical result of the development of the rhetorical theory and practice in the course of the fourth century and to suggest that in spite of his deductive efforts the result was for Aristotle something like a foregone conclusion. In these circumstances we welcome the testimony of Quintilian who tells us that the adoption of this tripartite scheme by later theorists at large was due to Aristotle's influence.²⁷ It may have been his authority rather than his originality which determined developments in this phase of the rhetorical system.

5. In the field of style or diction Aristotle went a long way towards fixing the "virtues of style," i. e. the qualities which a good speech or, more generally, a good piece of prose ought to possess. He lays down three: clarity, ornateness, and appropriateness (the last being subdivided in accordance with the three *πίστεις*).²⁸ A considerable portion of his more specified propositions and suggestions is arranged under these categories, and there is also a chapter on *Ἑλληνισμός*,²⁹ the correct use of the Greek language; but the organization of the material under these headings is by no means complete, and it was left to Theophrastus to put the finishing touch to his master's work here and to reduce this whole part of rhetoric to a hard and fast system, along the following lines:³⁰

peculiar quality of Aristotle's procedure ought to have been taken into account by D. A. G. Hinks in his important article on the *tria genera causarum* in *Class. Quart.*, XXX (1936), pp. 170-176 because it explains some of the things which puzzle him and puzzled ancient rhetoricians.

²⁷ See Quintilian, III, 4, 1. The division into three *γένη* and their sub-division into six *εἶδη* are also found in the so called *Divis. Aristoteleae* §§ 93 f. H. Mutschmann in his edition (p. xiii) remarks pertinently: *quae εἶδη Aristoteles a vulgari arte acceperat*. Professor Cherriss has drawn my attention to these passages.

²⁸ Cf. especially Γ 2, 1404 b 1-8. Γ 2 and 4 come definitely under *κόσμος*, 7 under *πρέπον*. Cf. Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-43. Stroux maintains that for Aristotle these virtues form a unity, but this is one of the few points in his book where one may not follow him.

²⁹ Γ 5.

³⁰ See Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-28.

"Virtues of style"

(ἀρεταὶ λέξεως)

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| (1) correct use
of the
language
(Ἑλληνισμός) | (2) clarity
(σαφήνεια) | (3) appropriate-
ness
(πρέπον) | (4) ornateness
(κόσμος)
(a) selection
of words
(ἐκλογή)
(b) composition
of words
(σύνθεσις)
(c) figures
(σχήματα) |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|

Further stylistic categories like *ἀστειον*, *ψυχρόν*, *ὄγκος* find a treatment in Rhet. Γ,³¹ and although Aristotle may not have been the first to use them he is likely to have been original in constituting their main types and organizing the material which comes under them. Yet we are not in a position to define the degree of his originality here; and, as we lack material for a comparison, any attempt to detect new departures in his theory of the metaphor³² or other phases of the rhetorical ornament would necessarily lead to guesswork. In a few points his dependence on the Isocratean tradition or, more particularly, the Theodectean *τέχνη* appears obvious.³³

It may be well to add a few other points even though they are slightly less important. In A 2 (1355 b 35) and A 15 (1375 a 22) Aristotle differentiates between those "proofs" which the orator has to provide by himself and those which do not depend on him but may be "used" by him to his best advantage. The former are those which we have already discussed, namely the argumentation, the speaker's character, the arousing of emotions (pp. 38, 42, *supra*); the other class consists of the witnesses, oaths sworn by the parties before the jury, the laws which are relevant to the case in hand, documents such as contracts, etc.³⁴ It is

³¹ Γ 3, 6, 10.³² Γ 2, 1405 a 3 ff.

³³ A definite reference to this work is found in Γ 9, 1410 b 3, but it is hard to believe that Aristotle should not have drawn on it also for his discussion of the sentence period in general, rhythm, and related subjects. Cf. p. 46 *infra*.

³⁴ A 15. In some of the earliest extant Attic orations the argumentation consists entirely in an elaborate twisting of the available *ἄτεχνοι λόγοι*. See my *Antiphonstudien* (Berlin, 1931).

obvious that the orator cannot "invent" this material; he can at best "use" or, to put it less euphemistically, twist it according to his purpose, and Aristotle in fact tells him how to do this. He refers to these "proofs" as ἀτεχνοὶ πύσεις, contrasting them with the other kind of proofs which he calls ἐντεχνοὶ πύσεις. It should be noted that the author of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* draws a similar distinction although he does not use the same terms.³⁵

The definition of the sentence period as a "sentence which has beginning and end in itself" and a certain definite extension in all probability originated with Aristotle.³⁶ His point is that what he calls "beginning and end in itself" should be secured through the rhythm. Also his famous distinction between λέξις εἰρομένη and λέξις κατεστραμμένη rests on the fact that the former lacks this quality of having beginning and end definitely marked. On the other hand it is not essential for Aristotle's conception of the period that it should consist of several κῶλα.

Among the new items which the Peripatetics after Aristotle added to the stock of his system two should certainly be mentioned. The Peripatetic theory of the rhetorical joke or the "laughable" (τὰ γελοῖα) has been reconstructed, mainly with the help of the so called *Tractatus Coislinianus*, "Demetrius," περὶ ἑρμηνείας, and Cicero's *De oratore*.³⁷ Two main sources of the "laughable" appear to have been distinguished; the theory is that it may lie either in the subject matter or in the verbal expression.

Theophrastus was the first to theorize on ὑπόκρισις, the oratorical delivery. Aristotle had suggested³⁸ that in working out this part of the system particular attention should be paid to the voice and its modulation, but Theophrastus may have gone further and may have included *gestus* and the expression of the

³⁵ Chap. 8 *init.*

³⁶ See Γ 9 *passim*, especially 1409 a 35 f. Cf. also Γ 8. Much light has been shed on these theories and some mistaken interpretations have been refuted by Josef Zehetmeier in his valuable dissertation on *Die Periodenlehre des Aristoteles* (München, 1930, printed also in *Philologus*, LXXXV [1930], pp. 192-208, 255-284, 414-436).

³⁷ Cf. E. Arndt, *De ridiculi doctr. rhet.* (Diss., Bonn, 1904) and Mary A. Grant, *The Ancient Theories of the Laughable* (Madison, 1924). See also Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 38 f. Cf. *infra*.

³⁸ Γ 1, 1403 b 26-31.

orator's face (though we cannot say this with certainty since we do not know how closely later authors, especially Cicero, followed him).³⁹

I should hesitate to credit Aristotle with any of the notions or precepts of the second part of book *Γ* (chaps. 13-19), since there are good reasons for assuming that Aristotle in that section is reproducing a system of the alternative "Isocratean" type. I have suggested elsewhere⁴⁰ that the *τέχνη* from which he borrows was that of his friend Theodectes. To be sure, Aristotle does not reproduce his source mechanically and there are passages in which he evidently expresses disagreement with the author from whom he derived most of his material.⁴¹ Nevertheless, chaps. 13-19 represent a system of the *μόρια λόγου* type and, so far from being characteristic of Aristotle's own approach to rhetoric, may rather be regarded as the first stage in the process of fusion between the two rival traditions.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis it should now be possible to form an opinion about the way in which the *ratio Aristotelica* has left its mark upon the later rhetorical systems.

1 (corresponding to section 1, page 37 *supra*). In a paper published in *Hermes*⁴² Professor Barwick pointed out that the extant *artes* of the Hellenistic and Imperial era fall into two groups according to the way in which their authors divide and arrange their material. Although we have to reckon with a considerable amount of mutual borrowing, mixing, and combining between the two types, the basic forms emerge with certainty. The one type consists of a discussion of proem, narration, proofs, epilogue, and usually one or several more "parts" of the speech,⁴³ whereas the other type is usually a quinquupartite system including *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *actio*, and *memoria*. It is not difficult to recognize in the former type a continuation of

³⁹ Kroll (*R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 36 f.) is probably right in assuming that Cicero's discussion of the *actio* (*De orat.*, III, 213-225; *Orat.* 55-60) is a reliable basis for the reconstruction of Theophrastus' theory. See also Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

⁴⁰ *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), pp. 144-151. Cf. also Barwick, *Hermes*, LVII (1922), pp. 1 ff., 12.

⁴¹ See especially *Γ* 14, 1415 a 24; *Γ* 16, 1416 b 30.

⁴² *Hermes*, LVII (1922), pp. 1-11.

⁴³ This type is represented by Julius Severianus, Apsines, Rufus, and the Anonymus Seguerianus.

the system which had been in vogue before Plato and Aristotle and which as we know was severely criticized by both of them. The other is described by Quintilian as that of the *plurimi maximique auctores*,⁴⁴ and I think that we have every right to consider these *plurimi maximique auctores* as following in the footsteps of Aristotle. The first three sections certainly correspond to his three: Proofs, Style, Disposition, *εὑρεσις* (*inventio*) being merely a new name for that part of the system in which, as in Aristotle's *πίστεις*, the material content of the speech is discussed.⁴⁵ The fourth part, *ὑπόκρισις* or *actio*, had, as we have seen (p. 39, *supra*), been postulated by Aristotle as a necessary supplement to his tripartite division. It was supplied in accordance with the master's suggestion by his faithful pupil Theophrastus.⁴⁶ The problem which remains and which cannot be solved with certainty is this: Who was the first rhetorician to add *memoria* (*μνήμη*) to the Peripatetic system? All that we may say is that this addition must have been made between Theophrastus and those authors from whom Cicero and the *Auctor ad Herennium* borrow the structure of their *artes*, since when they wrote this quinepartite scheme must have been firmly established.⁴⁷ Yet, although the inclusion of *memoria* (*μνήμη*) had as far as we know never been contemplated by Aristotle or Theophrastus, the fact remains that the *plurimi maximique auctores* have their place in the Peripatetic tradition.

⁴⁴ Quintilian, III, 3, 1. Cf. Cicero, *De invent.*, I, 9: *partes . . . quas plerique dixerunt*. Quintilian (*loc. cit.*) refers to attempts made by some rhetoricians to add *iudicium* to these five sections and mentions a number of writers who in some way or other diverged from the orthodox quinepartite scheme. According to Diog. Laert., VII, 1, 43, the Stoics had *εὑρεσις*, *φράσις*, *τάξις*, *ὑπόκρισις* (see Striller, *De Stoicorum studiis rhet.* [Breslau, 1887], p. 35). I should gather from Diog., *loc. cit.* and Cicero, *De orat.*, I, 142 that the Stoics and other Hellenistic teachers tried to do justice to both traditions. In the end, a combination was brought about (see *infra*, pp. 48-50).

⁴⁵ See for *πράγματα* Γ 1, 1403 b 19, for *εὑρεσις* A 2, 1355 b 39 (cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 263 a). I cannot agree with Barwick's reconstruction of the history of this type of rhetorical system (*loc. cit.*, pp. 39-41) and think that Kroll's discussion (*R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 58 f.) is more in keeping with the evidence at our disposal.

⁴⁶ Cf. Diog. Laert., V, 2, 48 and Stroux, *op. cit.*, p. 70. The Stoics evidently (see n. 44) adopted Theophrastus' system.

⁴⁷ For the place of *μνήμη* in the rhetorical system see Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 58 f.

Cicero's *De inventione* was meant to cover the first part of this quinquupartite scheme, explicit references to which it contains.⁴⁸ Thirty years later Cicero adopted the same division of the rhetorical system for *De oratore*, dealing in book II with *inventio*, *dispositio*, *memoria*, in book III with *elocutio* and *actio*.⁴⁹ Quintilian's *Institutio* is also based on the Peripatetic scheme; here the *inventio* is treated in III, 4-VI, *dispositio* in VII,⁵⁰ *elocutio* in VIII-XI, 1, *memoria* in XI, 2, *pronuntiatio* (which a *plerisque actio dicitur*) in XI, 3. Fortunatianus, Julius Victor, Martianus Capella, and, on the Greek side, Longinus are the other extant authors whose *artes* show the same structure.⁵¹

We must add at once, however, that scarcely any *ars* presents the Peripatetic system in its true and uncontaminated form. Compromises with the alternative system are a regular and normal feature. Cicero in his *De inventione* and the *Auctor ad Herennium* in his (closely corresponding) section on *inventio* so far from reproducing an Aristotelian or Peripatetic theory of the *πλοτεῖς* actually deal with the "parts of the speech": *prooemium*, *narratio*, *partitio*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio*, *epilogus*.⁵² This at least is true in the discussion of the forensic branch (*genus iuridiciale*) which receives far more attention and much fuller treatment than either of the other branches (see p. 42 *supra*). In the description of these others (which is rather sketchy) the "parts" have not been adopted as a basis,⁵³ and we are entitled to conclude that the *inventio* of these two *genera causarum* (the laudation and the political oration) has suffered

⁴⁸ See especially I, 9. The *Auctor ad Herennium* has all five sections.

⁴⁹ The *inventio* is discussed in II, 104-306, 333-349; *dispositio* in II, 307-332; *memoria* in II, 350-360; *elocutio* in III, 37-212; *actio* in III, 213-225.

⁵⁰ To be sure, there is a great deal of material in VII that we should hardly expect to find under *dispositio*, but we have to infer from the first and last sentences of the book that for Quintilian himself the book deals with *dispositio*. (Radermacher's recent explanation [*Gnomon*, 1939, p. 100] is not fully convincing.)

⁵¹ See for an analysis of these authors (and for references to Cicero's *Orator*) Barwick, *loc. cit.*, p. 2.

⁵² Cicero goes even a step further. He starts by giving a theory of the *status* (I, 10) for which Hermagoras had set the fashion.

⁵³ *De invent.*, II, 157 (see, however, 155, 177). Cf. *Auctor ad Herennium*, III, 2, 10.

less interference from an alternative system, whether "Isocratean" or Hermagorean. The different fate of these branches is, however, certainly not due to a greater respect for them in their true Peripatetic form but rather to a neglect of them and to a general concentration of interest on the *genus iuridiciale*. Quintilian also organizes his material for the *inventio* of the forensic speech under headings representing the *partes* (*exordium*, *narratio*, *egressio*, *propositio*, *partitio* in IV; *probatio* including *refutatio* in V; *peroratio* in VI, 1) but refrains from following the same method in his discussion of the two other branches, which is, again, much shorter.⁵⁴ A further instance of *εὑρεσις* (*inventio*) based on the parts of the speech is to be found in Longinus' *τέχνη*.⁵⁵

Wherever the *inventio* consists of a discussion of the *partes* the material available for the "proofs" would naturally find its place under *probatio* (or *confirmatio*, which is only another name for the same part). As a result this "part" by far exceeds the others in bulk. Theoretically this material might still be good Aristotelian or Peripatetic theory; to what extent it actually is we shall have to discuss under 2. It is clear, however, that the use of the "parts of the speech" as the principle of structure and organization in the section on *inventio* constitutes an important departure from the original Peripatetic system; in fact we have to regard it as a "contamination" with the alternative Isocratean tradition.⁵⁶ The only major work that shows no signs of this contamination is Cicero's *De oratore*.⁵⁷ The fusion of the two systems must have taken place some time prior to Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Auctor ad Herennium*, and it is not difficult to imagine that practical reasons determined influential teachers of rhetoric to blend the two rival systems in the manner which we have discussed. Cicero's *unum quoddam genus est conflatum a posterioribus* is certainly borne out.

We remember that Aristotle himself had borrowed from the alternative system and discussed the "parts of the speech"

⁵⁴ III, 7, 8.

⁵⁵ This may be gathered from *Rhet. Graec.* (ed. Spengel-Hammer), II, 182, 20; 208, 5.

⁵⁶ For the "Isocratean" system see *supra* p. 37.

⁵⁷ Cicero does, however, in *De oratore* make a concession to the Hermagorean doctrine of the *status*, the basic idea of which is embodied in II, 104. In *Part. orat.* the *status* bulk even larger.

under *τάξεις*, that is to say in the section on *dispositio*. The later rhetoricians who use the "parts" in the *inventio* cannot, of course, discuss them again in the *dispositio*. Thus they must in the *dispositio* confine themselves to some remarks concerning the length of each of these parts, the sequence of the points to be made, and other subjects of minor importance.⁵⁸ With them, therefore, the *dispositio* tends to assume the form of *Addenda* to the *inventio*, and this may be the reason (or perhaps one of several reasons, as we cannot trace this development with certainty) why the rhetoricians preferred to deal with *dispositio* immediately after *inventio* instead of discussing *elocutio* between them—which would have been in keeping with the original Peripatetic order.

Martianus Capella obviously knew both traditions and was anxious to give each of them its due; in his book on rhetoric (V) he first presents us with a discussion on the lines of the quinquartite system, refraining from any reference to the *partes* in the *inventio* (although he makes extensive use of the *status*) and treating the *dispositio* very briefly (30), yet after finishing this he adds a full treatment of the alternative system beginning with the proem and ending with the epilogue (44-53). This is a unique procedure, and it is interesting to see that in the "Aristotelian" part of the book he preserves some elements of that tradition which the majority of rhetorical theorists no longer know.⁵⁹ Another curious fact is that he deals with argumentation in both parts of the book but treats it differently.

FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

(To be continued.)

⁵⁸ Cicero's treatment of *dispositio* in *De orat.*, II, 307-332 is again an exception since he has not anticipated the discussion of the *partes* under *inventio*. To deal with them under *dispositio* as he does was in keeping with the original Peripatetic procedure (i.e. with his *ratio Aristotelica*, see my remarks at the end of this article).

⁵⁹ I am referring to his inclusion of *ῥήθες* and *πάθος*.

THE TERENTIANUS OF THE ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ.

Discussion of the essay *De Sublimitate* has been at a serious disadvantage because its author is unknown, its date conjectural, and the man to whom it is addressed quite unidentifiable. Much valiant effort has been expended in the attempt to bring this triple problem nearer to solution, but there is still need of further work. It is my purpose here to try to look at the treatise from a Roman point of view, and, upon such a basis, to reëxamine the internal evidence.

The question of date has been studied elaborately, and there seems to be no reason to doubt the general conclusion as to its being the middle of the first century of our era—Roberts would go so far as to specify *circa* A. D. 40.¹ We have at present no cause whatsoever to hope that we shall ever know who this "Longinus" was to whom manuscripts credit the authorship; certainly it was not the famous tutor of Zenobia.² With these two lines of investigation excluded, there remain to us two others: a) the man addressed and b) the place in the literature of the first century into which such a treatise would fit. These two lines are imperfectly divisible, but we shall study them separately so far as possible.

The man addressed, who is otherwise unknown and who has even been regarded as possibly the invention of the author of the work,³ is generally called Postumius Terentianus. He is called Terentianus several times in the course of the treatise, and

¹ W. Rhys Roberts, "Longinus on the Sublime. Some Historical and Literary Problems," *Phil. Quart.*, VII (1928), pp. 209-219. He discusses the date on p. 210. The most recent article is by G. C. Richards, "The Authorship of the Περὶ Ὑψους," *Class. Quart.*, XXXII (1938), pp. 133-134. Richards, solely on the basis of somewhat vague and inconclusive resemblances in thought, tries to maintain that the author is the Pompeius to whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus addressed a letter. It would be eminently satisfactory if Richards could prove that a member of Dionysius' circle was the author, but his evidence is strong enough only for a suggestion, not for proof. He suggests as the date of composition the latter years of Augustus' reign, but it is almost foolhardy to be more specific than "sometime in the first century."

² As a matter of convenience, however, we shall throughout refer to the unknown author of the περὶ Ὑψους as "Longinus."

³ W. Rhys Roberts, *Longinus on the Sublime*² (Cambridge University Press, 1907), p. 22.

we are consequently sure of that part of his name,⁴ but he is once addressed at greater length at a point where some early copyist caused confusion,⁵ with the resultant reading Ποστούμῃ Φλωρεντιανῇ. We do not know which name was *nomen* and which *cognomen*, and it is worth noting that Christ-Schmid-Stählin in their handbook (II [1920], p. 476) call him Terentianus Postumius, no doubt feeling that here we have another example of the custom found in the Empire of reversing the positions of the names. This was, of course, usual in Cicero's day when the *praenomen* was omitted.⁶ The omission of the *praenomen* may be some indication of intimacy.⁷ It is seemingly improbable that we shall ever be able to identify him with any historical figure, although the internal evidence of the essay can lead us to some very reasonable suppositions as to what sort of person he was.

We assume for the moment a fact which will be demonstrated presently, that the treatise was written at Rome.⁸ Roberts does not go much farther in determining the actual relationship between Longinus and Terentianus than to say, somewhat diffidently, that "Longinus addresses his essay to a Roman friend of high rank."⁹ We can, however, be much more exact than that. In the first place, the author addresses Terentianus in such a way that it is obvious that he is himself a teacher of some sort, or at least a professional literary man, and that Terentianus is a student of his. We must be careful, moreover, not to think of a modern student-teacher arrangement; the Romans continued these studies to a more mature age than we do, and the teacher of a nobleman or man of rank lacked the established respect a modern

⁴ I, 4; IV, 3; XII, 4; XXIX, 2; XLIV, 1.

⁵ I, 1.

⁶ Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, II, 8, 3, with the note given in the edition of Tyrrell and Purser.

⁷ Tyrrell and Purser's third edition of Cicero's letters, vol. I, pp. 56 f.

⁸ Naturally we cannot insist here upon the actual city of Rome. We shall have to be content with meaning conditions which were specifically Roman. It would be possible, for instance, that the treatise was written for the benefit of that group of philosophically minded Romans who kept villas by the Bay of Naples. Without actual evidence we cannot distinguish between literature written at Rome and literature written at Naples. Hence by "Rome" we shall throughout this article understand "conditions typical of Rome."

⁹ W. Rhys Roberts, "ΒΑΘΟΣ and ΤΥΟΣ," *Class. Rev.*, XLIII (1929), p. 59.

professor regards as his due.¹⁰ Not so obvious as the student-professor relationship is the fact that the use of φίλος and φίλτατε would indicate that Terentianus was the patron and Longinus the client, since φίλος seems to be, in the Greek of the Roman period, the common form of address to denote this arrangement, just as *amicus* does in Latin.¹¹ The fact that the adjective is used in the superlative more often than in the simple form is definitely the Latin touch.

The suggestion of a patron-client association in the Roman style is further substantiated by the over-respectful tone of the treatise: the author even goes so far as to apologize for having opinions in the presence of the great Roman.¹² When we consider the other modes of address used by Longinus, our supposition as to their relative social positions is confirmed. In XII, 4 we are informed that the author is a Greek. If he lived in Rome, his social position would have been quite low, since Greeks did not count for much socially in that city. On the other hand, the

¹⁰ Cicero, *De Off.*, I, 42, 151 says that *medicina, architectura, and doctrina rerum honestarum* are suitable for those *quorum ordini conveniunt*. Cf. Juvenal, VII, 150-243 on the poverty of *rhetores* and *grammatici*, and the shabby way they were generally treated.

¹¹ Walter Allen, Jr., "On the Friendship of Lucretius with Memmius," *Class. Phil.*, XXXIII (1938), pp. 167-181; Walter Allen, Jr. and Phillip H. DeLacy, "The Patrons of Philodemus," *Class. Phil.*, XXXIV (1939), pp. 59-65. (The latter article describes the treatment accorded by noble Romans of the Ciceronian period to Greek philosophers and literary men in general.) These papers adequately discuss the origins, meaning, and terminology of literary patronage in the Roman Republic. The only fact which need be noted here is that the adjectives *amicus* and *philos* are applied by either party to the other party to the arrangement.

¹² I, 3 γράφων δὲ πρὸς σέ, φίλτατε, τὸν παιδείας ἐπιστήμονα

I, 4 ταῦτα γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια, Τερεντιανὲ ἥδιστε, κὰν αὐτὸς ἐκ πείρας ὑφηγήσαιο

XII, 4 φίλτατε Τερεντιανέ, (λέγω δέ, <εἰ> καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς "Ἑλλῆσιν ἐφεῖται τι γινώσκειν) καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραλλάττει

XII, 5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖς ἂν ἄμεινον ἐπικρίνοιτε

XIII, 1 ἀνεγνώκως τὰ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τὸν τύπον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς

XXIII, 1 ὡς οἶσθα

XXXIX, 2 ὡς ἐπίστασαι

At this point we may also observe the tone with which Terentianus requested Longinus to undertake his study: I, 2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνεκελεύσω καὶ ἡμᾶς τι περὶ ὑψους πάντως εἰς σὴν ὑπομνηματίσασθαι χάριν, κτλ.

addressing of Terentianus as *κράτιστε*¹³ would perhaps show that he was of senatorial rank,¹⁴ although the significance of the word was not precise in the first century. This title refers in an official manner to a senator for the first time in the reign of Hadrian; so, if the treatise was written in the first century of our era, it may have been toward the end of that century. But we also find it used of the equestrian prefects of Egypt from the time of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius; and in the first century it is even used of such procurators of Judaea as the low-born Felix.¹⁵ Although the term referred to senators alone at the beginning of the second century, it was soon afterwards also used generally of equestrians.¹⁶ While we lack concrete evidence on the point, it would be difficult to believe and it would be contrary to the general practice of the period that Longinus should have written in the provinces or that he should be addressing a man of equestrian rank, since those officials who would normally seek advancement in the equestrian *cursus* would hardly be inclined to an extensive study of oratory; but, if such were the case, we ought then to be able to identify a man of such official prominence as these equestrians would be. We must admit that the use of *κράτιστε* is unusual in the first century. It is probable that Longinus learned it somewhere in the East and brought it with him to Rome, where he proceeded to employ it in its provincial

¹³ XXXIX, 1.

¹⁴ David Magie, *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 31, 51 f.

¹⁵ O. W. Reinmuth, "The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian," *Klio*, Beiheft 34 (1935), pp. 9 f.; Otto Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen, 1930), pp. 20-21, especially n. 2 on p. 20 where he cites *Acts of the Apostles* 23, 26; 24, 3; 26, 25. Cf. also *Ev. Luc.* I, 3, and the commentary on that passage given by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London, 1922), Part I, Vol. II, pp. 505-507. They point out that the word is used in other dedicatory addresses, as Dionys. Hal., *De adm. vi dic.*, sub fin., ὁ κράτιστε Ἀμπαίε; Josephus, *Contra Apion.* I, 1 and *Vita*, c. 76, sub fin., κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε; Hermogenes, *De inventione*, III, 1 (Walz, *Rhet. Graeci*, III, 98) ὁ κράτιστε Ἰούλιε Μάρκε, et al. Jackson and Lake conclude, on the basis of this and some further evidence, that such an address seems to possess an official tone, but that certainty is impossible.

¹⁶ L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*¹⁰ (Leipzig, 1921), IV, pp. 79 f., especially n. 2 on p. 79.

meaning as a term of elaborate respect. There may be some importance in the fact that it is used only once and that it stands out as unusual against his other more commonplace forms of address. We cannot insist that it refers to a man of senatorial rank, but can only say that the evidence seems to point in that direction. The term no doubt would be honorific before it became official, as is the case with other similar terms. We apparently have here, then, an early occurrence of the honorific sense and we are forced to suppose that it has the same meaning as it had later in a semi-official sense. It is unfortunate that *κράτιστε* never became a completely exact title.

The word *νεανία*¹⁷ may mean almost any age between twenty and thirty, perhaps even extending as far as forty,¹⁸ since it is not exactly equivalent to *iuvenis*. But this man could still be of senatorial rank although he had held no office, because at this time the rank was inherited.¹⁹

Longinus' employment of *ἡδιστε*²⁰ is interesting since it shows that he had Latin terminology in mind. The word *ἡδύς* is a gloss for *dulcis*, which itself is frequently used with *amicitia*, *amor*, etc.²¹ As the lexicons show, *ἡδιστε* was used to refer to a friend before this time, but here it is used twice in what appears to be a more standardized meaning; and the presence of other technical terms of patronage shows what course our thinking should take.

The ways in which Longinus addressed Terentianus, and they are quite numerous and remarkably uniform, may be listed summarily as follows: (VI) ὁ φίλος; (I, 3; VII, 1; XIII, 2; XVII, 1) φίλτατε; (I, 1) Ποστούμιε Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε; (XII, 4) φίλτατε Τερεντιανέ; (XXIX, 2; XLIV, 1) Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε; (I,

¹⁷ XV, 1.

¹⁸ Lorenz Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht im Klassischen Altertum* (Würzburg, 1864-1881), II, p. 240, n. 5; III, p. 6.

¹⁹ Cf. *R.-E.*, s. v. "senatus" (O'Brien-Moore), Supplementband VI, 761.

²⁰ I, 4; IV, 3.

²¹ *ἡδύς* is a gloss for *dulcis* according to *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s. v. "dulcis." Cf. *Thesaurus*, V, 2192, 2194, 2195, for use of *dulcis* with *amicitia*, etc. It reminds one of the *suavis amicitia* of Lucretius and Memmius which I have discussed in a previous article. Cicero uses *suavis* frequently in his letters, particularly in those to his family, and his use of the word seems to be more frequent in the later letters than in the earlier. Good examples are found in Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, II, 13, 2; XIV, 5, 1; XVI, 5, 1; *Ad Att.*, VII, 18, 1.

4; IV, 3) Τερεντιανὲ ἡδιστε; (XXVI, 2) ὃ ἐταῖρε; (I, 2; IX, 6; IX, 10) ἐταῖρε; ²² (XV, 1) ὃ νεανία; (XXXIX, 1) κράτιστε.

We can assert, almost with certainty, that the treatise was written in Rome. It is addressed to a Roman of rank, as such words as *κράτιστε* indicate. The entire tone looks to Roman life and politics, conditions which could not be duplicated elsewhere in the Empire. It is also noteworthy that it is a reply to a treatise written in Rome.

The fact that the author had some knowledge of Latin is important, a fact which is implied in his comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero,²³ and in the Latinisms which authorities claim to have discovered in his Greek.²⁴ There are few exceptions to the rule that no Greek knew Latin unless he had lived in Rome or had had some very intimate contact with Romans and Italians.²⁵ The general practice was that the Romans used Greek in their dealings with Greeks outside Rome (and sometimes in Rome), and that the Greeks clung to their language with all their ancient disdain for foreign tongues. The Eastern provincials who learned Latin did so only for military or official reasons, and they admittedly had no feeling for literary Latin.

²² It is well to observe that *ἐταῖρος* is the equivalent of *φίλος*. Cf. J. P. A. Eernstman, *ΟΙΚΕΙΟΣ, ΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ, ΕΠΙΘΛΑΞΙΟΣ, ΦΙΛΟΣ* (Groningen, Den Haag, 1932), pp. 96 ff., p. 134. There was in earlier times, of course, a difference in meaning which had by the Hellenistic period largely disappeared. It is also notable that, under conditions very similar to those we are now considering, both *ἐταῖρος* and *φίλος* are translated by the Latin *amicus*: Paulus Spitta, *De Amicorum, Qui Vocantur, in Macedonum Regno Condicione* (Berlin, 1875), p. 10, n. 9.

²³ XII.

²⁴ Roberts' edition, pp. 11-14, p. 188; H. J. Edmiston, "An Unnoticed Latinism in Longinus," *Class. Rev.*, XIV (1900), p. 224. Cf. Robinson Ellis, "The Literary Relations of 'Longinus' and Manilius," *Class. Rev.*, XIII (1899), p. 294.

²⁵ W. Rhys Roberts, "Caecilius of Calacte," *A. J. P.*, XVIII (1897), cf. pp. 310-311, p. 311, n. 1. Roberts refers to the very useful article of Émile Egger, "De l'étude de la langue latine chez les Grecs dans l'antiquité," in *Mémoires d'Histoire Ancienne et de Philologie* (Paris, 1893), pp. 259-276. Cf. also P. S. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language with Particular Emphasis on the Koine and the Subsequent Stages* (University of Chicago, 1936; Reprint of *Bibliotheca Eurasiatica Americana*, Series Hist.-Phil. vol. VI, Academia Scientiarum Ucrainica Americana, Chicago, Illinois), p. 77, n. 1, where there is a full statement of the extent of the penetration of Latin into the East, with an ample bibliography on the subject.

Even learned Greeks who lived in Rome were inclined to make no pretensions to understanding Latin style. When Caecilius wrote a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, he was berated for his folly by Plutarch, who studiously avoided falling into such error.²⁶ Longinus may very well have been inspired by Caecilius' effort to make his comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero,²⁷ but his statements are carefully qualified. It is quite possible, however, that Longinus never read Cicero's writings at all, or perhaps he read only a very small portion of them. There was an endless dispute over Cicero's standing as an orator; it would be easy at that time to discover sentiments of this sort and, encompassing them in well-turned phrases, to utter them as one's own. In this connection one can again with profit examine Quintilian's familiar comparison of the two orators (*Inst. Orat.* X, 1, 106).

Nevertheless it seems possible to explain Longinus' Latinisms only by his residence in Rome. Even with such circumstances it is difficult to comprehend a man who spoke Greek as a native language and yet permitted Latinisms to creep into his writings. Such a situation would be more probable in the case of a man who had learned both Greek and Latin as foreign tongues. Such a supposition might also be of assistance in accounting for the unusual word *κράτιστε*. It may be the translation into Greek of a term used in some Eastern language to honor the Roman governors, who were frequently treated with all the respect formerly accorded to the native semi-divine kings.

The author tells us distinctly that he is a Greek.²⁸ In the first century of the Christian era that simple fact of nationality would have some significance. The general term of "Greek," however, could very well cover a multitude of nationalities and

²⁶ Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, II f.; A. Gudeman, "A New Source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero," *T. A. P. A.*, XX (1889), especially pp. 142-145. It can be proved in some instances that Plutarch did not use original Latin sources even where he refers to them by name; his general habit seems to have been to use intermediary sources. Hence we cannot estimate his knowledge of Latin merely by what he says in the Lives of Cicero and Demosthenes.

²⁷ Roberts' article in *A. J. P.*, XVIII, p. 310. It is worth noting how many time Caecilius' name is mentioned in the course of the *περί ὕψους*: I, 1 (bis); IV, 2; VIII, 1; VIII, 4; XXXI, 1; XXXII, 1; XXXII, 8.

²⁸ XII, 4.

would permit a man to have his origins in Sicily or in practically any part of the Eastern Mediterranean. It was likely to mean little more than that he spoke Greek as his preferred tongue. We may point out that Longinus is writing his treatise in answer to an essay of Caecilius of Calacte, a *libertinus* who was born in Sicily and lived in Rome, but was Jewish in faith.²⁹ Theodorus of Gadara, who preferred to be called a Rhodian, is of dubious nationality, and Roberts suggests that he was Jewish or Syrian.³⁰ Theodorus is referred to by Longinus in terms which imply some degree of intimacy on a plane of equality, and it has been suggested that perhaps Longinus had heard him lecture or studied under him.³¹ In this matter we can lay no emphasis on the fact that Longinus refers to Hebrew literature,³² since those statements were apparently inspired by similar remarks in Caecilius' treatise.

We might do well to remember that other prominent Greek writers of the Augustan Age were Diodorus from Sicily, Strabo from Pontus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Certainly the evidence indicates that we have no right to regard Longinus, in such company, as a real Greek in nationality. Roberts mentions that Mommsen thought Longinus was possibly a Jew,³³ and, in an article of his own on Dionysius, he suggests, "Possibly, if our information were not so scanty, we might find that men like Caecilius and the other friends of Dionysius, like Theodorus of Gadara, like the author of the *περὶ ψυχῆς*, like the author of the *περὶ ἐμπνεύσεως*, and even like Manilius, had this in common that they belonged to the age of Augustus or the period immediately succeeding it, and further resembled each other (in some instances) in being freedmen or sons of freedmen attached to the great Roman houses such as that of Pompey, and in having an Eastern or Jewish origin." In Dionysius' works, moreover, we find much the same problems in regard to the status of the author and the terminology of formal address as we do in the *περὶ ψυχῆς*.

²⁹ Cf. Roberts' article on Caecilius in *A. J. P.*, XVIII, pp. 302 f.

³⁰ Roberts' article in *Phil. Quart.*, VII, p. 213.

³¹ *περὶ ψυχῆς* III, 5.

³² IX, 9. Cf. Roberts' edition, pp. 234 f.; also his article in *A. J. P.*, XVIII, pp. 310 f.

³³ Roberts' edition, p. 237; cf. W. Rhys Roberts, "The Literary Circle of Dionysius of Halicarnassus," *Class. Rev.*, XIV (1900), pp. 439-442. I quote from pp. 440 f. of this article.

Granting Longinus' residence in Rome, the question of social position becomes acute. The Greeks at the time of the Scipionic Circle enjoyed an enviable status, it is true, but a general reaction had set in by the time of Cicero³⁴ which continued through the next century. This reaction was perhaps inspired by the fact that Greek teachers were believed to be responsible for initiating the radical political thought which began with the Gracchi. There would be as exceptions to this rule some Greeks who were respected and well treated, but they would certainly never be treated as social equals, and the literary men in general would have in the first century after Christ much the same sort of existence as Philodemus and his contemporaries in the time of Cicero. We can definitely say that, in the centuries just before and after the birth of Christ, the Greeks were regarded merely as another group of provincials, and they were despised for some of their actions. "Thus we have the Romans at last repudiating, or forgetting, their ancient anxiety to pose as an offshoot of the Hellenes, and coming to regard the Greek as only a superior kind of outsider, worse than the Roman in moral principles, worse even in manners, owing to his fickleness, and also to his ungovernable excitability, which caused many extravagances painful to a calm and self-possessed aristocracy."³⁵ It was not until the time of Hadrian that philhellenism really took root in Rome again.³⁶

If Longinus was a Greek, then, his position in Rome would not be high; if he was a Greek-speaking Oriental, it would be even lower. There are notable exceptions, of course, of provincial literary men who rose to position, but they are almost all from the Western provinces and of a completely different social and political origin and status. In dealing with an unknown man, we must accept the general rule as true for him. Just how bad such a position could be is shown by the statements of Juvenal and Martial in regard to the patrons of literary men; and it is described in detail by Lucian's *Dependent Scholar*, in the opening of which he says that this *φιλία* might better be called *δουλεία*. The picture drawn by Lucian in his satire is very black, and he lists exactly the various indignities to which a man in such a

³⁴ J. P. Mahaffy, *The Silver Age of the Greek World* (Chicago, 1906), chapter VII.

³⁵ Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

³⁶ Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

position would be subjected. He is very clear on the points that the great Romans³⁷ are the patrons, and that the scenes portrayed are in Rome itself,³⁸ and that the dependent scholars are Greeks who are despised for their nationality.³⁹ He is also definite on the point that the Greek literary man is having difficulty with the Latin language.⁴⁰ His statements are extreme, no doubt, since they were composed for satirical purposes; but the element of truth is very apparent, because it is possible to write good satire of this sort only upon situations familiar to everyone.

One should also consider the nature of the treatise itself. It has been valued chiefly for its literary criticism, but that was not the main purpose for which Longinus wrote it. He meant it for a practical help in the study of rhetoric, and to assist the public men in their speeches.⁴¹ If we did not know the trend of rhetorical studies in the first century, we might believe that what began as a rhetorical treatise soon turned into pure and undiluted literary criticism.⁴² But such is not the case. Quintilian serves as clear evidence that Longinus intended his entire work as a rhetorical treatise.⁴³

³⁷ § 3 ἀρίστους Ῥωμαίων.

³⁹ §§ 17, 25, 40.

³⁸ §§ 17, 20, 25-26, 33-34.

⁴⁰ § 24.

⁴¹ I, 1; I, 2; XXXVI, 1. The regard for oratory as a useful and practical subject for study is, of course, a characteristic of Rome in the first century, although it had always been present in some degree. On this point cf. E. G. Sihler, "The Treatise *περὶ ῥήσεως*, a Rhetorical and Didactic Treatise," *P. A. P. A.*, XXX (1899), pp. xiii-xix, where Sihler emphasizes the intended practicality of the essay. The author wrote the treatise in the hope that he might remedy the low estate of oratory, and he is excessively careful to point out, in his approach to the subject he wishes to discuss, that he is actuated by a desire to be of real assistance to statesmen and public speakers (I, 1; I, 2 [ἀνδράσι πολιτικοῖς . . . χρήσιμον]; XXXVI, 1). The reason for the practicality of rhetoric in Rome is simply that it was the means to worldly advancement: cf. J. Wight Duff, "Roman Education," in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1912), V, pp. 212 f.; Aubrey Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 139-142; cf. also Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 5-7, on the mercenary value of oratory.

⁴² Careful reading shows, however, that the discussion of orators occupies the lion's share of space in the essay, and that such words as *ῥήτωρ* crop up in all the important passages.

⁴³ Louis Vaucher in his *Études Critiques sur le Traité du Sublime et*

Poetry occupied a disproportionately large place in the education of the first century, especially at the stage when the student was under the care of the *grammaticus*. Consequently there is no cause for surprise that these poetical interests should be carried over into rhetorical studies. When Quintilian is laying down his rules for the course of reading necessary to give the final touches to an oratorical style, he speaks thus about poetry: "Plurimum dicit oratori conferre Theophrastus lectionem poetarum, multique eius iudicium sequuntur; neque immerito. Namque ab his in rebus spiritus et in verbis sublimitas et in adfectibus motus omnis et in personis decor petitur, praecipueque velut attrita cotidiano actu forensi ingenia optime rerum talium blanditia reparantur."⁴⁴ Then he goes on to warn the orator of the dangers of incorporating the technique of poetry into speeches. But his statement is close to Longinus' dictum that "sublimity is the echo of a great soul," as Roberts has translated it, and we can see that here we have two rhetorical minds at work along the same lines. Quintilian repeatedly points out how useful rhetoricians will find the *sublimitas* and the "high style" of the poets.⁴⁵ He is very like Longinus also in his insistence on the value of forming one's mind by reading the best writers,⁴⁶ and thus acquiring a basis for sublimity of style. Add to this evidence the fact that Longinus' most eloquent remarks, those on the subject of the decline of oratory, are no more than a clever statement of a commonplace of the period,⁴⁷

sur les Écrits de Longin (Paris, 1854) is careful to quote similar passages from Quintilian, e. g., pp. 45 n., 85, 201.

⁴⁴ *Inst. Orat.* X, 1, 27; cf. X, 1, 27-30, 49-50, and 69-71.

⁴⁵ X, 1, 1-71 and 85-100.

⁴⁶ X, 1, 20 and 59; *περί ὑψους* XIII, 2; XIV; also I, 1 and II. Such an attitude would account for Longinus' "safe and sane" literary criticisms. He tends to deal only in the most famous authors, and his essay gains reflected glory from its fine quotations; scholars have for generations been exercised to know how original his judgments are, or whether they are sentiments general in his day, or even straight from Caecilius. But Longinus does not usually wander far from the beaten paths and then only when he has a predecessor, as Caecilius in the matter of the quotation from the Old Testament. There are enlightening comparative lists, showing how often the various authors are cited, in H. V. Apfel, *Literary Quotation and Allusion in Demetrius Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας and Longinus Περὶ Ὑψους* (Columbia diss., 1935), pp. 113-117.

⁴⁷ The lament about the decline of oratory which we find in chapter XLIV of this treatise is simply a platitude common in the age; cf.

and we can see that no Roman of that century would regard the *De Sublimitate* as anything but a rhetorical treatise. Even his famous chapter XXXV on the innate nobility of man is merely ordinary Stoic doctrine.

Professor Hendrickson's study in ancient style takes us farther on the way to understanding exactly what type of rhetorical treatise we have here.⁴⁸ He compares a number of passages in Quintilian and Longinus,⁴⁹ thus indicating the kinship of the two works, and in this connection says, "But the plain style, however admirable for its own ends, is in itself impotent to effect that *ψυχαγωγία* which is the true goal of oratorical effect. This can only be accomplished by the grand style which is in fact oratory itself. It was only this style which had won for eloquence place and historical significance in public life."⁵⁰ Because the high style has an "emotional effect which rises above persuasion and renders it superfluous," Theophrastus put it "in the same category with poetry."⁵¹ Indeed the conception of true eloquence as a kind of poetry in prose was the very origin of the rhetorical style as Aristotle says, and never ceased to be the accepted conception in circles uninfluenced by the rationalistic protest of some philosophical school."⁵²

Our conclusions, then, are that we can be certain of a client-patron relationship of some sort between Longinus and Teren-

W. Rhys Roberts, "The Greek Treatise on the Sublime, its Authorship," *J.H.S.*, XVII (1897), p. 200, n. 1; cf. also Roberts' edition, p. 14. Roberts cites as examples of similar statements about the loss of freedom and the decline of oratory: Seneca, *Ep.* 114; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XIV, 1; Pliny iun., *Ep.* VIII, 14; Tacitus, *Dial. de Orat.* XXIX, XXXVI, XXXVII; Velleius Paterculus, I, 17; Petronius, 88; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* II, 10, 3. He also remarks that the complaints about the evils introduced by excessive wealth are likewise platitudinous. Christ-Schmid-Stählin⁶ (1920), II, p. 477, n. 1, give a full bibliography of the commonplace about the decline of oratory and remark that it was an ordinary subject of declamation in the rhetorical schools which could trace its ancestry back to Plato.

⁴⁸ G. L. Hendrickson, "The Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style," *A. J. P.*, XXVI (1905), pp. 249-290.

⁴⁹ Pp. 274-275.

⁵⁰ P. 274.

⁵¹ Cf. p. 255 of Hendrickson's article where he cites in full and translates this passage from Theophrastus. It was to some such passage that Quintilian was referring in the section which I have quoted from him above.

⁵² P. 275.

tianus, and that Longinus was a far less important personage than Terentianus. Since the writer says in his introduction that his work was composed by request, and since we can guess the conditions under which the treatise was requested and composed, we should naturally suppose that the essay must have been in some measure influenced by them. Because it now appears that we have a work which is more concerned with rhetoric than with literary criticism, the necessity arises of revising our estimate of the value of the work.

Longinus is a peculiar author in that he is very important to modern literature, although we can find no mention of his name or reference to his treatise earlier than the thirteenth century.⁵³ He is neither quoted nor mentioned by any ancient author. Our greatest interest is in the influence he has had upon English letters.⁵⁴ It is remarkable that in England Longinus was little noticed and solely regarded as a rhetorician until Boileau spread abroad his fame as a literary critic with his translation of 1674. The few references which precede this time look upon him only as a rhetorician. But in the eighteenth century Longinus came to be used as the starting-point for emotional and "aesthetic" criticism as opposed to the neo-classical rules. As Monk says, "The sublime was divorced from considerations of style by Boileau, and attention was fixed upon its emotional effect."⁵⁵ Hence Longinus was an agent in ultimately producing the romanticism of the nineteenth century.

So we can conclude that the error made in English literature is one more of terminology than of fact. Longinus was in the tradition descending from Theophrastus, which allied the grand style with poetry and emotion. He should therefore be strictly regarded as a rhetorician. His judgments upon literature are very clever, but should be read and accepted with caution, as is true of Quintilian in a lesser degree, because these judgments are made primarily from a rhetorical standpoint and with the express purpose of seeking only *ψος*. The tendency since the time of Boileau has been to regard him more as a literary critic

⁵³ Roberts' edition, pp. 5 f.

⁵⁴ The material for this paragraph comes largely from S. H. Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1935), chapters I and XI.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

and consequently to accept too wholeheartedly his dicta as applying to literature in general, a very dangerous procedure indeed as the emotional romanticism of the nineteenth century has sometimes shown.

This tendency has communicated itself occasionally, and in a modified form, to English classical scholarship; even Roberts' edition of the *De Sublimitate* is touched a little by this same tradition, although he was more guarded than some later writers have been. Under such circumstances, then, we must look upon many statements which have been published about the *περὶ ψυχῆς* as at least partially invalid; and it seems to be true that the whole treatise presents a great need for reëxamination on the point of its value. Such an investigation could very readily start from the points discussed in this paper.

WALTER ALLEN, JR.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

ON THE PARTICLE ΠΩ IN HOMER.

Everyone who has the slightest knowledge of ancient Greek is familiar with the particle $\pi\omega$ and will tell you that in the combinations $\omicron\pi\omega$ and $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$ its meaning is *not yet*.¹ This temporal meaning captures the modern mind whenever $\omicron\pi\omega$ is encountered in a Greek text, and one can scarcely doubt that the Greek mind had the same experience.² It would seem then that no one would dispute that this is always the meaning of $\omicron\pi\omega$. But in a few occurrences of the word, most of them in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, lexicographers, grammarians, and commentators, for well over a century, have denied that $\omicron\pi\omega$ bears this meaning. It has seemed to them that in these few places *not yet* will not fit, and they have resorted to an alleged second meaning of $\omicron\pi\omega$, *by no means, not at all, in no wise*, claiming that in these passages it is equivalent to $\omicron\pi\omega\varsigma$.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, this opinion begins with Hoogeveen in the eighteenth century.³ A little later Buttmann maintained that in several places in Homer $\omicron\pi\omega\varsigma$ and $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega\varsigma$ drop their final sigma before a consonant and must then not be confused with the temporal adverb.⁴ This opinion soon found its way into editions of Homer. Only Ameis and Doederlein, it seems, opposed the trend by maintaining that $\omicron\pi\omega$ always means *not yet*, but they were not heeded.⁵ Faesi, who severely criticised

¹ I am indebted to Professors G. M. Calhoun, I. M. Linforth, J. T. Allen, and W. H. Alexander, who have read the first draft of the manuscript of this article and have given me valuable criticisms and suggestions.

² It will be understood that whatever I say about $\omicron\pi\omega$ will hold for $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$ too. Also I have preferred to write these combinations of $\pi\omega$ with a negative as one word, $\omicron\pi\omega$ and $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$, even in Homeric texts, rather than as two words, $\omicron\pi$ ω and $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\pi\omega$, unless, of course, a tmesis occurs.

³ *Doctrina particularum linguae graecae in epitomen redegit* C. G. Schütz (Leipzig, 1806; Hoogeveen's original edition appeared in 1769), p. 544: "... rarius usus est, quo rationem modumve, quo quid fieri aut agi possit, excludit." Few grammarians have discussed $\pi\omega$. It is regrettable that J. D. Denniston did not include a treatment of $\pi\omega$ in his recent *Greek Particles* (Oxford, 1934).

⁴ *Buttmann's Larger Greek Grammar*, translated into English by Edward Robinson (Andover, New York, 1833), § 116, n. 6.

⁵ D. L. Doederlein, *Reden und Aufsätze* (Erlangen, 1843-47), II, pp. 261-263; K. F. Ameis, Review in *Jahrb. für Phil. und Paed.*, LXX (1854), pp. 265 f.

Ameis' view, held that $\sigma\pi\omega$ bears the same relation to $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$ as $\sigma\pi\omega$ to $\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma$.⁶ The Homeric lexicographers have followed the lead of these scholars. Crusius defined $\pi\omega$ with the words *je, irgend, noch*; Ebeling distinguished between temporal $\pi\omega$ and modal $\pi\omega$, defining the latter, when joined with the negative, as *nullo modo, keineswegs*; Autenrieth's lexicon gives *gar nicht* and Cunliffe's gives *in no wise* as a second meaning of $\sigma\pi\omega$; and like definitions are found in other Homeric lexica and vocabularies.⁷ This modal definition is also to be found in the eighth and ninth editions of the Liddell-Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*; and in nearly every edition of Homer with commentary for the last century $\sigma\pi\omega$ has been explained in this way in a varying number of verses: sometimes a commentator has needed to resort to *in no wise* or *not at all* only two or three times; sometimes he has done so in ten or twelve places. Among those who have adhered to the modal interpretation of $\sigma\pi\omega$ are Faesi, Koch, Hentze, Düntzer, Leaf, and A. T. Murray. In fact, almost every school edition of Homer now informs one that $\sigma\pi\omega$ not only means *not yet*, but also *by no means, in no wise, etc.*, to the students' eternal confusion.⁸

⁶ J. U. Faesi, "Zur Kritik und Erklärung Homers," *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, XIII (1855), pp. 449-51; see also J. Van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium dictionis epicae* (Leyden, 1918), pp. 400 f., § 326, pt. 2.

⁷ See G. C. Crusius, *Vollständiges griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden* (Leipzig, 1852), s. v. $\pi\omega$; Heinrich Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig, London, Paris, 1880), s. v. $\pi\omega$; Georg Autenrieth, *Wörterbuch zu den Homerischen Gedichten* (Leipzig, 1890), s. vv. $\sigma\pi\omega$ and $\pi\omega$; R. J. Cunliffe, *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London, Glasgow, Bombay, 1924) s. vv. $\sigma\upsilon$ (8b) and $\pi\omega$. See also the following lexica and vocabularies under $\sigma\pi\omega$ or $\pi\omega$: E. E. Seiler, C. Capelle, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden* (Leipzig, 1889); Samuel Thurber, *Vocabulary to the First Six Books of Homer's Iliad* (Boston, 1890); G. B. Bonino, *Manuale Omerico* (Turin, Palermo, 1893); Christian Harder, *Schulwörterbuch zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee* (Leipzig, 1900); Oreste Nazari, *Dialecto Omerico* (Turin, 1921).

See also Emile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg, Paris, 1938), p. 829; Karl Brugmann and Berthold Delbrück, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1897-1916), II, pt. 2, p. 716.

⁸ The following editions, cited hereafter only by the editor's name, have been consulted in the preparation of this article: *Opera*: Anony-

Yet when a definite combination of sounds occurs hundreds or thousands of times in extant Greek literature with only one meaning, it is very dangerous to claim a quite different meaning for it in perhaps a dozen passages at most. For certainly *by no means* is an utter denial, while *not yet* indicates that the denial holds good only to a certain point. The ideas *never* and *by no means* might overlap, as they seem to do occasionally in $\sigma\delta\delta\alpha\mu\omega\varsigma$

mous Didot (Paris, 1845; with translation into Latin); O. Henke (Leipzig, 1894-1897); D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen (Oxford, 1919). *Iliad*: C. G. Heyne (Leipzig, 1802); N. Theseus (Florence, 1811-12); Anonymous (Glasgow, 1819); W. Trollope (London, 1836); Samuel Clarke (Edinburgh, 1845; with translation into Latin); G. C. Crusius (Hanover, 1845); T. H. L. Leary (London and Cambridge, 1857-59); F. A. Paley (London, 1866-71); V. H. Koch (Hanover, 1872-73); Heinrich Düntzer (Paderborn, 1873-78); J. U. Faesi, F. R. Franke (Berlin, 1876-80); I. La Roche (Leipzig, 1883); A. Pierron (Paris, 1883); K. F. Ameis, C. Hentze (Leipzig, 1884-1888); Paul Cauer (Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1890-91); Walter Leaf, M. A. Bayfield (London, 1895-98); Walter Leaf (London, 1902); A. T. Murray (London and New York, *L. C. L.*, 1924-25; with translation into English); T. W. Allen (Oxford, 1931); Victor Magnien (Paris, 1932). *Odyssey*: Anonymous (Leyden, 1655; with translation into Latin); Joshua Barnes (Cambridge, 1711; with translation into Latin); Samuel Clarke, J. A. Ernesti (Glasgow and London, 1814; with translation into Latin); G. C. Crusius (Hanover 1849-56); K. F. Ameis (Leipzig, 1856-60); Henry Hayman (London, 1866-82); Heinrich Düntzer (Paderborn, 1875); J. U. Faesi, G. Hinrichs (Leipzig, 1884-85); F. Weck (Gotha, 1886); G. H. Palmer (Boston, 1889; with translation into English); V. H. Koch, C. Capelle (Hanover and Leipzig, 1893); Paul Cauer (Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1894-95); J. Van Leeuwen, M. B. Mendes da Costa (Leyden, 1897); K. F. Ameis, C. Hentze, Paul Cauer (Leipzig and Berlin, 1908-11); A. T. Murray (London and New York, *L. C. L.*, 1919; with translation into English); Victor Bérard (Paris, Budé, 1924; with translation into French). Also I have consulted the following often reprinted school editions, most of which misinform the student about $\sigma\delta\delta\alpha\mu\omega\varsigma$: *Iliad*: Charles Anthon, J. J. Owen, J. R. Boise, D. B. Monro, R. P. Keep, E. B. Clapp, T. D. Seymour, A. R. Benner, J. R. S. Sterrett; *Odyssey*: J. J. Owen, W. W. Merry, B. Perrin, T. D. Seymour, D. B. Monro. The following books have also been used: English translations—*Iliad*: Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, Ernest Myers (London, 1893); *Odyssey*: G. H. Palmer (Boston and New York, 1891); S. H. Butcher, Andrew Lang (London, 1906). Commentaries—C. F. von Nägelsbach, *Anmerkungen zur Ilias* (Nuremberg, 1850); Einer Schulmann, *Präparationen zu Homers Odyssee: Gesang I-III* (Cologne, 1873); C. Hentze, *Anleitung zur Vorbereitung auf Homers Odyssee* (Leipzig, 1891-93); Paul Cauer, *Anmerkungen zur Odyssee v-σ* (Berlin, 1896).

and οἰδαμύ; but this is hardly conceivable for *not yet* and *by no means*. Taking the Homeric poems by themselves, $\pi\omega$ occurs 124 times in the currently accepted text, but no one scholar has asserted the *nowise* meaning for it (and the negative) more than twelve or thirteen times.⁹ In later Greek literature there are not more than three or four passages where scholars commonly resort to *nowise* for οὔπω, though a few scattered attempts have been made elsewhere. If we follow the principle that we should not accept an unusual meaning for a word to suit only a very few instances of its occurrence unless we are forced to, we must carefully examine the passages in which οὔπω is interpreted as *nowise* to determine whether we really must give up *not yet* in these cases. Since the question arises principally in the Homeric poems, we must give most of our attention to the alleged occurrences of the *nowise* meaning in them. Now this interpretation is generally invoked in eleven verses: Γ 306, Δ 184, Δ 234, Μ 270, Ξ 143, Ο 426, Ρ 422, Χ 279, γ 226, μ 208, ψ 59. Let us look at these verses one at a time.

Δ 184: Θάρσει, μηδέ τί πω δειδίσσαιο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν.

According to Scholiast A, $\pi\omega$ was a variant reading in antiquity.¹⁰ The lexicographers, Ebeling and Cunliffe, and many editors keep $\pi\omega$ and interpret it as $\pi\omega\varsigma$.

When Menelaus has been struck by Pandarus' arrow, he shudders at the moment, but soon sees that his wound is light. Agamemnon, however, and the brothers' companions (Δ 154) are gravely alarmed, fearing that Menelaus has received a mortal wound. Agamemnon makes a sorrowful speech to Menelaus, in the course of which he says that if Menelaus should die, the Achaeans would at once want to abandon the war and go home (Δ 169-172). Menelaus, therefore, must reassure Agamemnon and prevent his alarming the host. So he says to Agamemnon, "There is no cause for alarm; so don't be frightening the host yet. I'm not yet done for."

Δ 234: Ἀργεῖοι, μήπω τι μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

Six manuscripts read $\pi\omega$ for $\pi\omega$; two read $\pi\omega\tau\iota$ and six read $\pi\omega\tau\epsilon$ for $\pi\omega$ $\tau\iota$; but none of these manuscripts is earlier than the

⁹ I employ *nowise* as a convenient designation of the meaning of οὔπως and of the various modal translations of οὔπω.

¹⁰ See Scholiasts A and T *ad loc.*

thirteenth century. Eustathius was troubled by $\pi\omega$ here; he considered it superfluous in this line and in Γ 306, where he says that $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ is equivalent to simple $\omicron\upsilon$ and has no temporal meaning, as though, once $\pi\omega$ were said, its usual force would not be felt.

After the abruptly ended truce the Trojans renew their attack, and Agamemnon moves through the host, rallying his men to battle. The renewal of hostilities is sudden, and the men's hopes for an end of war are disappointed; yet there are many who have the spirit to make ready to meet the Trojans again. These men Agamemnon encourages, desiring that their spirit hold up until victory is won, of which he feels confident, now that the Achaeans have a moral advantage. So he says, "Argives, don't yet relax your ardent spirit; victory is surely ours, since Zeus will never favor men who are false to their oath." Our colloquial *yet a while* has something of the color of this $\pi\omega$.

Ξ 143: $\sigma\omicron\iota\delta' \omicron\upsilon\pi\omega \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha \pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota \mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu.$

According to Scholiast T, some of the ancients read $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\iota$, and $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ is found in two manuscripts, the earlier belonging to the thirteenth century. Eustathius was undecided between temporal $\pi\omega$ and his expletive $\pi\omega$; here too, he thought, $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ may mean no more than the simple negative.

These words are spoken to Agamemnon by Poseidon in the guise of an old man. His purpose is to convince Agamemnon that all is not yet lost for the Achaeans, though the outlook is dark. He points to Achilles gloating in his tent over the slaughter and rout of the Achaeans. Then he draws a contrast, marked by $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, between Achilles and Agamemnon: "May Achilles perish, and may God mar him; but as for you, the gods are not yet utterly wroth with you; the Trojans shall yet ($\xi\tau\iota$) raise a dust in flight over the plain." The $\xi\tau\iota$ of 144, it appears to me, makes a temporal interpretation of $\pi\omega$ inescapable. Even Faesi and Hentze recognised the significance of this $\xi\tau\iota$ and did not employ *nowise* here.

Also, it seems to me, $\pi\omega$ as $\pi\omega\varsigma$ would be a bit superfluous beside $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha \pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\upsilon$. The $\omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma$ of Scholiast T is an interpretation of this phrase and not of $\pi\omega$, as Ebeling thought.

Ο 426: $\mu\grave{\eta} \delta\acute{\eta} \pi\omega \chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon \mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\epsilon\iota \tau\tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon.$

Scholiasts B and T hold that $\pi\omega$ is superfluous here.

Ajax, by killing Caletor, a Trojan champion and Hector's cousin, has brought dismay to the Trojan host. But Hector's desire is to keep the Trojans fighting in order to recover Caletor's body. So Hector says to his followers, "You mustn't give up the fight yet, though we are in this strait. Caletor's body must be recovered."

P 422: ὦ φίλοι, εἰ καὶ μοῖρα παρ' ἀνέρι τῷδε δαμῆναι
πάντας ὁμῶς, μήπω τις ἐρωεῖτω πολέμοιο (421 f.).

πως is read by sixteen manuscripts, the earliest of which may belong to the late twelfth century. *που* is read by three manuscripts, the earliest belonging to the thirteenth century.

As the Trojans fight the Achaeans for the body of Patroclus they exhort one another, saying, "Comrades, even if it be the fate of all of us together to die here over this body, no one must give up the fight yet." Myers translates *not yet* here, and the Liddell-Scott lexicon cites this verse under temporal *μήπω*, though the latter and Myers' fellow-translators resort to *nowise* for οὔπω in other verses. But Hentze, Ebeling, and Cunliffe refer this verse to the alleged modal *πω*.

X 279: Ἕμβροτες, οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ τι, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
ἐκ Διὸς ἡείδης τὸν ἐμὸν μῦρον . . . (279 f.).

Though Ebeling, Cunliffe, A. T. Murray, and others think that οὔπω means *nowise* here, this passage gave no trouble to any scholiast or scribe. There appears no good reason why Myers' translation cannot be accepted: "Thou hast missed, so nowise yet, godlike Achilles, hast thou known from Zeus the hour of my doom . . ." The *wise* of *nowise* is a translation of τι.

γ 226: ὦ γέρον, οὔπω τοῦτο ἔπος τελέεσθαι οἶω.

πως is read by some manuscripts of Photius and Suidas, who quote this line, and it is adopted by a few editors. The Brussels manuscript, sixteenth century, reads *ποτε*.

These words are said by Telemachus to Nestor, after Nestor has offered hope of Odysseus' return and of victory over the wooers through Athena's help. But Telemachus, who has already made it plain that he has little hope of Odysseus' return (γ 88-97, 208 f.), is still despairing. Yet he does not deny outright the possibility of Nestor's suggestion; rather, expressing at once

his deference to Nestor and his hopelessness, he says, "Sire, I have yet to be convinced that what you say will come true." The $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ should be taken closely with $\delta\acute{\iota}\omega$ rather than with $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. This is consistent with the usual Greek practice of taking the negative closely with a verb of thinking rather than with the dependent infinitive;¹¹ and the $\pi\omega$ belongs to the negative.

μ 208: $\text{'}\Omega \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota, \text{o}\tilde{\upsilon} \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \pi\acute{\omega} \tau\iota \kappa\alpha\kappa\omega\tilde{\nu} \acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\eta\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu.$

Odysseus is speaking to his men as they approach Scylla and Charybdis. To give them courage he says, "Friends, we are not yet without experience of dangers, but the danger to come is no worse than those we have already endured." $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ suggests both the coming danger and the past dangers. Virgil translates (*Aen.*, I, 198), *neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum.*"¹² His *ante* covers past dangers only, but shows plainly enough that $\pi\omega$ is temporal here.

ψ 59: $\text{M}\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta, \mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma' \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\chi\epsilon\omicron \kappa\alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\omega\sigma\alpha.$

Though Ebeling and Cunliffe interpret $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$ modally here, many commentators have understood it as *not yet*. Its temporal force can be easily demonstrated. Eurycleia has joyfully brought Penelope the news of Odysseus' return and of the slaying of the wooers. To Penelope it seems too good to be true and she feels that Eurycleia is rejoicing too soon; so she says, "Dear nurse, don't boast and rejoice yet."

In the foregoing nine verses we see that there is no need to interpret $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ otherwise than with its usual force. There remain two verses in which $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega$ has seemed especially difficult to interpret as *not yet*. All interpreters for nearly a century have given $\pi\omega$ a modal force in them.

M 270: $\text{'}}\Omega \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota, \text{'}\text{A}\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \delta\varsigma \tau' \xi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\omicron\varsigma \delta\varsigma \tau\epsilon \mu\epsilon\sigma\eta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$
 $\delta\varsigma \tau\epsilon \chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma, \epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota} \text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\pi\omega \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \delta\mu\omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$
 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\nu \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega, \nu\tilde{\nu} \epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron \epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\varsigma\iota (269-271).$

$\pi\omega\varsigma$ is read in seven manuscripts, none of which is of earlier date than the thirteenth century.

¹¹ See H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges* (New York, etc., 1920), § 2692.

¹² See Palmer's translation of μ 208: "hitherto we have not been untried in danger."

The two Ajaces are going up and down the Achaean rampart calling upon every man to do his part in the battle: "Friends, now there is work for every Argive warrior, be he good, bad or indifferent, (we speak thus of your worth) since all men have yet to be of equal worth in war." These words suit the blunt manner of the greater Ajax, who is more prominent in the poet's mind.¹³ Here and in γ 226 there is an effect of purposeful understatement in the use of *πω*, the intention being "not yet and never will be."

Γ 306: ἦτοι ἐγὼν εἴμι προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν
 ἄψ, ἐπεὶ οὐπω τλήσομ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρᾶσθαι
 μαρνάμενον φίλον νῖδ' ἀργιφίλῳ Μενελάῳ (305-307).

Even Doederlein has granted that in this one place Homer uses *οὐπω* for *οὐπως*. Only Leary has interpreted this *οὐπω* as *not yet*. All editors before Heyne read *πως* for *πω*, and some, e. g. Caener, have done so since. Eustathius says, ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ τὸ οὐπω ταῦτόν ἐστι τῇ οὐ ἀρνήσει. But the only manuscript variant is to be found in Papyrus 40: [ο]ὐ γάρ κεν τλαίην [ποτ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρᾶσθ[αι]]. The Paraphrast uses *οὐδαμῶς* in expressing this thought; but that is permissible in a paraphrase of the line, whether he read *πω* or *πως* in his text.¹⁴

We cannot suppose that in this one place *οὐπω* is to have a different meaning from that which it has everywhere else. How could any Greek, to whom *οὐπω* meant *not yet*, even in Homer's time, understand it otherwise when reading or hearing Γ 306. One must explain *οὐπω* as temporal or emend *πω* to *πως*. It seems to me that there is no need for emendation.

These words are spoken by Priam to the Trojans and Achaeans after the truce has been made for the single combat of Paris and Menelaus. Now Priam knows that someday he must perforce see sons slain and daughters carried off. In X 33-76 he tries to persuade Hector not to fight Achilles, and says during his plea (X 59-65):

πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέησον,
 δύσμορον, ὃν ῥα πατὴρ Κρονίδης ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ
 αἴσῃ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ φθίσει, κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπιδόντα,

¹³ See especially O 502-513; also N 810-820, O 733-741.

¹⁴ For the Paraphrast see Theseus' edition of the *Iliad*.

υἱάς τ' ὀλλυμένους ἐλκηθείσας τε θύγατρας
 καὶ θαλάμους κεραῖζομένους, καὶ νήπια τέκνα
 βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ ἐν αἰνῇ δημοτῇτι,
 ἐλκομένας τε νουὸς ὀλοῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

Before that terrible day he will, if possible, avoid the sight of a son's death. So he beseeches Hector not to stand against Achilles, and so he does not stay to watch Paris fight. That he is genuinely fearful of Paris' death is shown by Γ 259: when Idæus has reported the proposal for a single combat between Paris and Menelaus, the old man shudders: "Ὡς φάτο, ῥίγησεν δ' ὁ γερὼν So after making the oath-offering Priam says, "I shall go back to the city; for not yet can I endure to watch a dear son fighting with Menelaus." Neither in Greek nor in English is there any difficulty about using *not yet* with the future tense. We can say, "I shall not do it yet." See κ 174 f.:

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πω καταδυσόμεθ', ἀχνύμενοί περ,
 εἰς Αἶδαο δόμους

We find $\mu\eta\pi\omega$ and *not yet* used with imperatives, of which the time of action is necessarily future.

Homeric usage also furnishes a weighty argument against understanding $\pi\omega$ as $\pi\omega\varsigma$ in Δ 184, Δ 234, X 279, μ 208, and the argument is also effective against emending $\pi\omega$ to $\pi\omega\varsigma$. For these verses contain the adverbial $\tau\iota$, which when joined with the negative means *not at all*, and so is very close in meaning to $\pi\omega\varsigma$. So, if $\pi\omega$ should be understood as $\pi\omega\varsigma$, or if $\pi\omega\varsigma$ should be read instead of $\pi\omega$, we should have a redundancy. That, of course, is not out of the question; but we find that though the indefinite $\pi\omega\varsigma$ is used ninety-three times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, $\tau\iota$ is not once used in company with it. On the other hand, $\tau\iota$ is several times used with $\pi\omega$ where there is no doubt of the temporal meaning of $\pi\omega$.¹⁵

I have already indicated that scholars have not been in agreement, even among the foregoing eleven verses, as to where $\sigma\upsilon\pi\omega$ should mean *nowise* and where it should mean *not yet*. Keep, for instance, interprets $\sigma\upsilon\pi\omega$ as *nullo modo* at Γ 306, and $\mu\eta\pi\omega$ as equivalent to $\mu\eta\pi\omega\varsigma$ at Δ 184, but as *not yet* at Δ 234. Seiler and Capelle cite Γ 306 for the meaning *auf keiner Weise*, ≡ 143

¹⁵ See A 542, B 122, 252, Δ 719, N 521, II 303, P 401, X 437, γ 23, σ 36.

and γ 226 for *noch nicht*. Crusius takes $\pi\omega$ modally in Δ 234 and γ 226, temporally in μ 208; Paley, modally in Γ 306, M 270, O 426, temporally in Δ 184, Δ 234, Ξ 143; Koch, modally in Γ 306, M 270, O 426, γ 226, temporally in ψ 59; Hentze, modally in Γ 306, Δ 184, Δ 234, M 270, O 426, γ 226, temporally in Ξ 143, ψ 59. Liddell and Scott cite Γ 306, M 270, Ξ 143, and O 426 for the modal interpretation, Δ 234 and P 422 for the temporal.

I think it evident in consequence of this investigation that one must either interpret $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ as *not yet* in each of these eleven verses or, if that seems intolerable, emend to $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega\varsigma$. But the damage done by the *nowise* notion has not been confined to these eleven verses. It seems that once scholars and students have begun to suppose that in a few exceptional places a word can have another than its well-established meaning, their minds become unsettled about the word; and, wherever they find it, they begin to ask themselves whether it does not have its exceptional rather than its usual meaning in this instance. The conjunction $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is a case in point. Professor Misener has ably demonstrated that its meaning is always *for*;¹⁶ but those who have had difficulty in discerning the causal force of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in a few instances of its occurrence have maintained that in those instances it means *indeed*. This leads to interpreting $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ as *indeed* where its meaning is plainly *for*.¹⁷ The same thing has happened to $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$: many scholars, being convinced that $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$ can mean *nowise* just as well as *not yet*, have so interpreted it in a number of verses where no one could possibly be troubled about taking it as *not yet* unless he had become uncertain about the meaning of $\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$. A good example is Boise on A 108, where Agamemnon

¹⁶ Geneva Misener, *Meaning of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$* (University of Chicago dissertation, 1904).

¹⁷ For example, Smyth, *op. cit.*, § 2814, has misunderstood the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ of Xen., *Anab.* I, 8, 21 through supposing that it is confirmatory: $\text{Κῦρος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς . . . ἐπεμελείτο ὅτι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. καὶ γὰρ ᾔδει αὐτὸν ὅτι μέσον ἔχει τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος}$. Smyth translates, "And in fact he knew, etc." But the $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ is surely explanatory of $\text{ἐπεμελείτο ὅτι, κτλ.}$

Some of the modal translations of $\pi\omega$ come dangerously close to *indeed*, that convenient basket in which particles are placed when they are not understood. There is no particle, it seems, that cannot have a "confirmatory sense": $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\gamma\epsilon$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, $\delta\acute{\eta}$, $\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$, $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, even $\pi\omega$ (not to mention *enim*, *quidem*, etc.) can all alike mean *indeed*.

complains to Calchas, ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτε τί πω εἶπας ἔπος οὔτ' ἐτέλεσσας. Who in his right mind can suppose that οὔπω does not mean *not yet* here? Yet Boise makes this comment: ". . . *you have neither spoken any noble word hitherto, nor, etc.* Or, if πῶ here is taken in the sense of πῶς, as seems necessary in some other passages, we may render, *you have neither in any way spoken, etc.*" ¹⁸

Several scholars, including Hentze, Düntzer, and Faesi, have applied the modal interpretation of πω to B 419 and Γ 302. In B 419, after the conclusion of Agamemnon's prayer to Zeus for immediate victory over the Trojans, the poet says: "ὦς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ οἱ ἐπεκράαινε Κρονίων. This simply means, "Thus he spake, but Cronus' son was not yet bringing his words to fulfillment." ¹⁹ Γ 302 is nearly the same; perhaps the proximity of Γ 306 has affected judgment on it. On three verses Cunliffe adopts the modal interpretation, while Ebeling keeps to the temporal: A 224: . . . καὶ οὔπω λῆγε χόλοιο. Athena has restrained Achilles, and he sheathes his sword and refrains from violence. But he has not yet ceased his wrath and speaks bitter words to Agamemnon. θ 540: ἐκ τοῦδ' οὔπω παύσατ' ὀϊζυροῖο γόοιο / ὃ ξείνος. Alcinous is saying that since dinner and the beginning of Demodocus' song Odysseus has not yet ceased weeping. π 143: οὔπω μὲν φασιν φαγέμεν καὶ πείμεν αὐτῶς. Eumaeus tells Telemachus that since he went off to Pylos, Laertes has not yet taken anything to eat or drink. Hentze takes the πω of B 553 modally, while Cauer hesitates as to whether πω or πως should be read; but both Ebeling and Cunliffe agree upon

¹⁸ After this one is not surprised to find Boise equally unsound on γάρ; on A 262 he interprets: "*for not yet have I seen, etc.*; or, if γάρ here is viewed as confirmative, *surely, not yet, etc.*" It is a wonder that neither he nor anyone else has taken the οὔπω of this verse as *nowise*; why not "*for (or surely) by no means have I seen such men*"? I have had students who, misled by their textbooks, have not wanted to take οὔπω as *not yet* in A 262.

¹⁹ Cauer, though distinguishing between πω and πως according to meaning, was affected by the *nowise* theory to the extent that he read πως not only in some of the eleven verses discussed above but also in B 419 and other verses where *not yet* fits the sense admirably. He says, "πω et πως cum secundum significationem distinguerem, incerta vel adversa codicum auctoritate πως scribendum fuit his locis: B 419, Γ 302, 306, Δ 234, M 270, Σ 513. dubito de his: B 553, Ξ 143, P 422, X 279" (*Ilias*, ed. Cauer, *Praefatio*, p. li).

the temporal $\pi\omega$ for this line: $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ δ' οὔπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένητ' ἀνῆρ. This is said of the Athenian Menestheus. But how does this differ from A 262, I 148, 290, ξ 167, σ 36, τ 365, where no one doubts that οὔπω means *not yet*? In Σ 513, οἱ δ' οὔπω πείθοντο, λόχῳ δ' ὑπεθωρήσσοντο, the anonymous Didot translator and A. T. Murray take οὔπω modally, and Causer reads οὔπως, while Ebeling cites this line for temporal $\pi\omega$. The line refers to the people of a besieged city pictured on Achilles' shield. It means simply that the defenders were not yet ready to yield, but were taking measures to help themselves. In β 118, κέρδεά θ' οἱ οὔπω τιν' ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ παλαιῶν (ἐπίστασθαι), Koch and the Liddell-Scott lexicon take οὔπω modally. But this is the same sort of idea as that found in B 553.

Ebeling also cites Ω 767, γ 221, δ 141, δ 269, ψ 240 as evidence for οὔπω = οὔπως; Murray uses *nowise* in Δ 504 and Ω 553; Hentze finds a modal $\pi\omega$ in ξ 509, Paley in P 190, and Liddell and Scott in ε 358. This is throwing caution to the winds. What schoolboy could fail to understand οὔπω as *not yet* in these verses?

I have already mentioned Faesi's theory that οὔπω is to οὔπως as οὔτω to οὔτως, and Buttmann's theory that Homer uses οὔπω before words beginning with consonants. But οὔτω, it must be remembered, never has a different meaning from οὔτως. And Homer has no objection to using οὔπως before consonants; see B 203, Ξ 63, X 126, for instance. And if the theory were correct, should we not find $\pi\omega$ for $\pi\omega\varsigma$ in positive sentences when the following word begins with a consonant? Causer paid no attention to this notion, but boldly read οὔπως before initial consonants wherever he thought οὔπω impossible.

It is true that the origin of $\pi\omega$ is in the Indo-European root * $q^{u}o$, which is also the root of $\pi\omega\varsigma$, $\pi\omega\nu$, $\pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\pi\acute{o}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, etc.²⁰ But we know that often the etymological origin of a word can tell us little of its later semantic development. All that we need ask is what $\pi\omega$ meant to the Greeks of Homer's time and of the centuries following.

Some who feel that οὔπω cannot always mean *not yet* assert that it also means *never*.²¹ They thus keep $\pi\omega$ within the temporal sphere. Now for purposes of translation it is certainly

²⁰ See Boisacq, *loc. cit.*; M. B. Mendes da Costa, *Index etymologicus dictionis Homericae* (Leyden, 1905), p. 235.

²¹ E. g. see Benner's vocabulary, s. v. $\pi\omega$.

permissible to render οὐπω occasionally by *never*.²² But no word can mean both *not yet* and *never*. They are quite different sorts of negation. And in all the verses quoted above οὐπω can be understood without supposing that it means *never*.

Now let us turn to Greek authors after Homer to see whether they give any support to the notion that οὐπω sometimes means *nowise* or *never*. In the Homeric hymns and in Hesiod οὐπω is plainly *not yet* in every instance of its occurrence. Doederlein felt some difficulty in the πω of Hesiod's *Works and Days* 273:

ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐπω ἔολπα τελείν Δία μητιόεντα.

But Hesiod has just said that perhaps the unrighteous man will have the greater right, and adds, "But I'm not yet ready to believe that Zeus will bring that to pass."²³

The most troublesome occurrences of πω in post-Homeric Greek literature are found in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*.²⁴ Liddell and Scott cite verses 105 and 594 as instances of modal πω, and in 1130 οὐπω has also been taken modally or as *never*. Editors are in general agreed that the πω of 594 is *yet*, where Creon says to Oedipus:²⁵

οὐπω τοσοῦτον ἡπατημένος κυρῶ
ὥστ' ἄλλα χρεῖζεν ἢ τὰ σὺν κέρδει καλά (594 f.).

As Jebb puts it, "Not yet am I so misguided as to desire other

²² No doubt the poet would have added ποτε in some cases if the metre had allowed it. οὐπώποτε is common in Homer; e.g. A 106, 154, Γ 442, μ 98. Interesting is *Batrachomyomachia* 178, where Athena says to Zeus: "ὦ πάτερ, οὐκ ἂν πώποτ' ἐγὼ μυσὶ τειρομένοισιν / ἐλθοίμην ἐπαρωγός. . . . Here the force of πω is scarcely felt; but it is in origin temporal. οὐπώποτε, meaning *never yet*, frequently employed with a past or present tense, tends to mean much the same thing as simple οὐποτε, and so becomes used with the future tense or its equivalent as though it were merely οὐποτε.

²³ See H. G. Evelyn-White's translation (London, New York, *L. C. L.*, 1914).

²⁴ The editions that I shall refer to in my discussion of Sophocles' verses are: *Opera*: Lewis Campbell (Oxford, 1879); F. W. Schneidewin, August Nauck (Berlin, 1888-91); W. Dindorf, S. Mekler (Leipzig, 1918); A. C. Pearson (Oxford, 1924). *O. T.*: M. L. Feuillet (Paris, 1898); R. C. Jebb (Cambridge, 1902).

²⁵ F. Ellendt, *Lexicon Sophocleum* (Berlin, 1872), p. 577, denies that πω has a temporal meaning in 594. But see Doederlein, *op. cit.*, p. 261; also Jebb *ad loc.*

honours than those with profit." The $\pi\omega$ lends an ironical touch to the words. In 1130, Oedipus, in pointing out the Corinthian messenger to the Theban herdsman, says, $\tau\acute{o}\nu\delta' \delta\epsilon \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ (οἶσθα μαθών), ἣ συναλλάξας τί $\pi\omega$; $\pi\omega$ is the reading of the Laurentian manuscript. But $\pi\omega\varsigma$ is found in the important manuscript A, Paris 2712, and $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ is read by the Bodleian, a late manuscript. Many editors have adopted $\pi\omega\varsigma$, $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, or $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$, in place of $\pi\omega$. Here no negative is found, but the question is equivalent to a negative. The presence of $\tau\iota$ should be noticed; whether it is ever used with $\pi\omega\varsigma$ after Homer's time I cannot say, but at most the combination is rare. Since $\pi\omega$ has the best manuscript authority it should be read if possible. And it is not difficult to explain it as *yet*. Oedipus asks, "Are you aware of having met this man yet (i. e. before now)?"²⁶ Most difficult is verse 105. Creon has just spoken of Laius, saying that he was king of Thebes before Oedipus came. Oedipus says, $\xi\acute{\xi}\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta' \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu \circ\upsilon \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu \gamma\acute{\epsilon} \pi\omega$. Late manuscripts read $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, and Hartung emended $\gamma\acute{\epsilon} \pi\omega$ to $\gamma' \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$.²⁷ Campbell and Nauck interpret $\circ\upsilon\pi\omega$ as *never*; Feuillet says that it is equivalent to $\circ\upsilon\pi\omega\varsigma$. Doederlein was for adopting $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, and that would do very well; but we should read $\pi\omega$ if possible. Jebb understands $\circ\upsilon\pi\omega$ as *not yet*, believing that it gives a tone of unconcern to Oedipus' words. There is perhaps a suggestion of unconcern in it, but I believe that there is another reason for it: Oedipus means to say that he had not seen Laius up to the time that he first came to Thebes, which was shortly after Laius' death. The chorus have reminded Oedipus of his coming to Thebes (35-39); Creon has just mentioned his succeeding Laius; and that time is never far from his thought throughout the play. So he says, "I know of him by hearsay, since I hadn't yet seen him." The aorist, we know, is often used where we use the pluperfect, especially in clauses introduced by causal or temporal conjunctions.²⁸ Soph., *El.* 403 might also be mentioned here, in which the usual force of $\pi\omega$ has been doubted.²⁹ It is to be interpreted exactly as in *O. T.* 594.

²⁶ See Jebb's translation: "— or of having ever met him before?" Campbell interprets $\pi\omega$ as *ever*.

²⁷ See Pearson's critical apparatus.

²⁸ See Smyth, *op. cit.*, § 1943.

²⁹ $\mu\acute{\eta}\pi\omega \nu\omicron\upsilon \tau\acute{o}\sigma\acute{o}\nu\delta' \epsilon\iota\eta\nu \kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}$.

Also in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 580 some have found it difficult to understand $\sigma\upsilon\pi\omega$ as *not yet*:

Lamachus. Τί δ' εἶπας ἡμᾶς; οὐκ ἐρεῖς; Dicaeopolis. Οὐκ οἶδά πω.
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων εἰλιγγυῶ (580 f.).

Müller and Meineke emended to Δι. Οὐκ οἶδα. Λα. Πῶς; Blaydes suggested Οὐκ οἶδ' ἔτι.³⁰ But, as Doederlein pointed out, verse 581 adequately explains $\sigma\upsilon\pi\omega$. When the blustering Lamachus asks, "What's that you say? Speak up," Dicaeopolis in mock terror replies, "I'm not sure yet, I'm still dizzy from fear."

This is the last passage that need detain us. $\sigma\upsilon\pi\omega$ has been taken as *nowise* or as *never* in Aesch., *frag.* 241, Eur., *Hec.* 1278, Thuc., III, 45, 2, Oppian, *Cyn.* III, 391, Philostratus, *Imagg.* I, 25, 1.³¹ But it is hardly necessary to demonstrate that in each $\sigma\upsilon\pi\omega$ has its usual force. I have found no reason to suppose that its meaning is ever anything but *not yet*.

JOSEPH E. FONTENROSE.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY.

³⁰ See *Acharnians*, ed. C. E. Graves (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 92 f.

³¹ See Doederlein, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

In the course of our work on the papyri and ostraca recovered by the University of Michigan Expedition at Kôm Aushim (Karanis), we have had occasion to review the extant evidence for the *μονοδεσμία*¹ and the *ἔκτον*.² Much that we should like to know regarding the origin, incidence, and rates of these taxes remains obscure, and the difficulties have been increased by the recent publication of a Karanis ostrakon of the second century A. D. which appears to supply a connecting link between them. As transcribed by Leiv Amundsen,³ the text reads

Κερκ(εσούχων) κατοίκ(ων) Γάιος
 Ίούλιος Κλήμης
 (ἔκτον) κα(τοιικῆς) μονο(δεσμίας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β (ἥμισυ),
 ἔκτον βασι(λικῆς) μονο(δεσμίας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ (ἔκτον) κβ,
 γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ε (ἥμισυ) (ἔκτον) κβ.

When the text is examined for form and meaning, a number of difficulties suggest themselves. (1) The heading in line 1 provides the information that this is a receipt for payment of catoeic dues; yet line 4 introduces a payment on crown land. A *κάτοικος* might well lease land of the latter category from the *fiscus*, but would he pay for it under the rubric *κατοίκων*? (2) The tax in question is the *μονοδεσμία χόρτον*, which is found frequently associated with a group of unnamed taxes in the phrase *ὑπὲρ μονοδεσμίας χόρτον καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν*, but elsewhere it is regularly paid in silver. The payments in the Michigan ostrakon are in artabas of wheat.⁴ (3) Heretofore, no relation has been suspected between *ἔκτον* and *μονοδεσμία*, and none can be inferred from the available evidence, which is especially meager for *ἔκτον*. The Karanis ostrakon, with its juxtaposition of discordant

¹ S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton, 1938), pp. 72-74.

² Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 28; A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (*An Economic Survey of Ancient Pome*, ed. by Tenney Frank, II), p. 509.

³ *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection*, Part I, No. 154.

⁴ Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 72f.

elements, does not advance our understanding of either tax.⁶
 (4) The fractions in lines 4 and 5 exhibit a twenty-second of an artaba, and $1/22$ does not belong to any of the series attested for the measurement of artabas. Only three series⁶ occur: $1/2$, $1/4$, $1/8$; $1/3$, $1/6$, $1/12$, $1/24$, $1/48$, etc.; $1/5$, $1/10$. The difficulty is of a palaeographic order. If $1/22$ had been used, it would have looked just like $1/24$. The fractions $1/12$ and $1/24$, for example, in their usual cursive form, show no distinction in the manner of writing β and δ , both of which are reduced to a small loop or circle.⁷

Our revision⁸ of Amundsen's text has resulted in a few significant changes in lines 3-5, and the objections fall away entirely in the light of the new reading.

Κερκ(εσούχων) κατοίκ(ων) Γάιος

Τούλιος Κλήμης

(ἔκτου) <ἔτους> β η $\overline{\text{προ(σμετρουμένων)}}$ γ $\overline{\kappa\delta}$, (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β
 (ἡμισυ),

ἔκτου <ἔτους> β β η $\overline{\text{προ(σμετρουμένων)}}$ γ $\overline{\iota\beta}$, (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ
 (ἔκτου) $\overline{\kappa\delta}$,

γ (ίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ϵ (ἡμισυ) (ἔκτου) $\overline{\kappa\delta}$.

The accounting of the new text may be represented as follows:

line 3 $2 \frac{1}{8}$ artabas + $1/3 \frac{1}{24}$ art. = $2 \frac{1}{2}$ art.

line 4 $2 \frac{2}{3} \frac{1}{8}$ artabas + $1/3 \frac{1}{12}$ art. = $3 \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{24}$ art.

line 5 $5 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{24}$ art.

The payment recorded in line 3 occurs in exactly the same amounts in the *sitologus* day-books of payments of catoeaic and other dues: *Berl. Leihgabe*, No. 3, I, 16 and III, 25, *B. G. U.*, IX,

⁶ Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 384, n. 119: "the significance of ἔκτου in this connection is to me quite obscure."

⁷ Ulrich Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, p. lxix; *P. Fayûm*, 101, introd.

⁸ Wilcken, "Die griech. Ostraka des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande," *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfr. im Rheinl.*, LXXXVI (1888), pp. 239 f.; F. G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford, 1899), p. 156.

⁹ We were unable to see the ostrakon itself, since it has been returned to the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, but we have had the advantage of a beautifully clear photograph made by Mr. G. R. Swain of Ann Arbor.

1893, 487. The προσμετρούμενα or extra charges were $1/6$ of the principal in the calculation of taxes on private land.⁹ On this basis, the extra charge in line 3 would have been, more accurately, $1/3 \frac{1}{48}$ artaba, but in taxes of the kind in question fractions less than $1/24$ are frequently raised to $1/24$.¹⁰ In line 4 an extra charge of $1/3 \frac{1}{12} \frac{1}{24}$ artaba would have been justified, and the absence of $1/24$ may be attributed to carelessness or indifference on the part of the clerk.¹¹

The text of the Karanis ostrakon is a receipt for taxes on catocic land. On the formal side it is extremely concise as compared with the large group of known Fayûm receipts of the same kind.¹² The latter, however, contain all its constituent elements: place, type of taxation, taxpayer, year, payment in quantities of wheat. The ostrakon has a much closer correspondence with the entries in the day-books of the *sitologi*.¹³ B. G. U., IX, 1893, 487 is a close parallel:

Θαῖσάριον Διοδώρου Βερ(νικίδος) κ(ατ)οί(κων) β η' προσμετρονύμένων
γ κδ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β' (ἥμισυ).

The artaba sign is omitted here before the principal sum and the extra charge, just as in the Michigan ostrakon. The entry in the day-book does not give the year because that has already been specified in the general heading in lines 150-155. The number of the year is given, however, in individual entries of a day-book when payments cover more than one year. In *Berl. Leihgabe*, 4 Verso, for example, Col. V, 13 f., has the following record of rents paid by a lessee of crown land:

Ἡρακλῆς Ἀφροδ(ισίου) δη(μοσίων) ε (ἔτους) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μθ.β',
ὁ αὐτὸς λη(μμάτων) δ (ἔτους) Θε(αδελφείας) δη(μοσίων) (πυροῦ
ἀρτάβαι) γ ιβ

⁹ Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.

¹⁰ A cursory examination of *Berl. Leihgabe*, No. 3 and B. G. U., IX, 1893, leaves no doubt on this point. Cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1899), I, pp. 749 f.

¹¹ A similar phenomenon may be observed in money payments. E.g., in the *Tax Rolls from Karanis* (*P. Mich.*, IV), the unit of calculation is 2 chalkoi, but that small sum is occasionally dropped. See *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), p. 467; *P. Rylands*, II, pp. 240 f.

¹² For useful lists see *P. Fayûm*, 81, introd.; *Berl. Leihgabe*, 25, introd.; *P. Oslo*, II, 28, comment. Add *P. Aberdeen*, 32.

¹³ This is equally true of *O. Mich.*, I, 24; see the revision in *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 199-201.

The same form is used for arrears on catocic land in several entries, e. g., Col. X, 19 f.: ἡ αὐτὴ λη(μμάτων) δ (ἔτους) Διονυσι-(ίδος) κ(ατ)οί(κων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) κτλ. As these illustrations show, *Berl. Leihgabe*, 4 Verso sometimes agrees with the ostrakon in placing the year immediately before the statement of artabas. The omission of the symbol for year in the Michigan text is most unusual¹⁴ but explicable on the ground of the characteristic brevity of ostrakon texts. The formulaic omission of the artaba signs may have provided the impulse for further condensation.

HERBERT C. YOUTIE,
ORSAMUS M. PEARL.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

¹⁴ It does happen rarely; see Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, II, Nos. 1474 (cf. Preisigke-Bilabel, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, II, pt. 1, p. 112), 1595, and J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca*, *Flinders Petrie Collection*, No. 135 (p. 97). The omission of the year sign is nevertheless so extraordinary that only comparison of the Michigan ostrakon with the other Fayûm receipts and the day-books has convinced us that ἔκτου <ἔτους> represents the intention of the scribe.

THE ORIGIN OF THE THIRD CYRENAIC LEGION.

Lesquier, *L'Armée Romaine d'Égypte*, p. 56, as well as Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. "Legio," have discussed briefly the origin of *legio III Cyrenaica*. It, as well as the twenty-second legion at first, bore the name *Cyrenaica* not because these two legions were recruited in that province but because they had done service there presumably of a notable character. In 27 B. C. Cyrene became, and thereafter remained, a senatorial province, so that the presence of the legions there must have been before that date. Thus Lesquier, who adds that the notable service was probably the desertion to Octavian after Actium. What is certain is that both received the name *Cyrenaica* and were transferred to the garrison of Egypt, where they served under its first governor, C. Cornelius Gallus, who had persuaded the four legions stationed in Cyrene under Pinarius Scarpus to desert to Octavian. Later the twenty-second legion received the name *Deiotariana*, derived from the famous Tetrarch of Galatia, and thereby fixed its origin in that kingdom and under that ruler. No attempt has been made to trace the *legio III Cyrenaica* earlier than its service in Cyrene, though the desertion of the garrison of Cyrene to Octavian is associated by Lesquier, p. 41, with the desertion of Galatian auxiliaries to Octavian before Actium (Dio Cassius, 50, 13, 8; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 61-63; Velleius Paterculus, 2, 84, 2; Horace, *Epode* 9, 17), and Deiotarus had armed and trained two legions in Roman fashion according to *Bellum Alexandrinum*, 34, 4.

In discussing the inscription *C. I. L.*, III, 6627 Mommsen long ago noted the important evidence given by the record of the birthplaces of thirty-six legionary soldiers, but explained the preponderance of Galatian towns by reference to the known reputation of Galatians as soldiers. Unfortunately the beginning of the inscription is not preserved, so the names of the two legions, shown by parallel columns of soldiers' names and cohort numbers, do not appear. The left-hand column is, however, proved to belong to the Third Cyrenaic legion by the epitaph of one of its soldiers found at Coptos (Lesquier, p. 57). The legion to which the names of the right-hand column belonged is left doubtful by Lesquier, though Mommsen had referred both

columns to the Third and Twenty-second legions without distinguishing. Lesquier's doubt is perhaps because of Strabo, XVII, p. 797, which puts three legions in Egypt in his time. *C. I. L.*, III, 6627 cannot be later than the reign of Tiberius because of the absence of cognomina, but it may belong to the time of Augustus. Strabo's description of Egypt belongs about 21 B. C. (cf. Lesquier, p. 10) and so proves the presence of a third legion only for the very earliest period. No inscriptional evidence for the extra legion has been found. We may then provisionally assume with Mommsen that inscription III, 6627 contains the names of soldiers of the III and XXII legions, and since the left-hand column names are known to belong to the Third legion, the right-hand column must be referred to the Twenty-second legion.

When we examine the birthplaces of these soldiers we find in the Third legion that ten are from Galatian towns and one other from Nicaea of nearby Bithynia, while only two are from a distant province, Gaul, two from Alexandria, and one each from Sidon, Paraetonium, and the camp village.

The right-hand column, referred to the Twenty-second legion, is similar, for nine of the soldiers have Galatian towns as birthplaces, Ancyra furnishing six, while Alexandria has four names, Cyrene, camp, Cyprus, and Syria one each, and one is referred doubtfully to Italy. It is known that most of the legions were originally recruited in Italy and cities of the west possessing citizenship or Latin rights, but the scanty records of later times show a strong tendency to recruit from the province where the legion was located, or from those nearby. A notable example, based on abundant evidence, is *legio VII Claudia*, in which, during the first century A. D., we find nineteen soldiers from Italy, fourteen from Galatia and its neighbors, four from Macedonia, two each from Asia and Moesia, and one each from Gaul and Noricum; but after 109 A. D., when it was located in Upper Moesia, a single inscription shows one hundred and four from Upper Moesia, twelve from Lower Moesia, six from Dacia, eight from Pannonia, five from Dalmatia, and three from Macedonia.

It seems, therefore, rather strange to find so large a percentage of the soldiers of these two legions giving Galatian towns as their place of origin in an inscription which seems best referred to a

period a generation or more after the creation of the two legions. Both the explanation and the confirmation of the assumed date are found in the tribal designation added to the name of each soldier, for twenty-six out of the thirty-six are of the Pollian tribe, which regularly indicates that the recipient, an illegitimate son of a soldier, was given Roman citizenship upon enlistment in a legion. As expected, the two soldiers naming the camp as their birthplace are from the Pollian tribe, but also all of the nineteen from Galatian towns except three from Tavium, who are of the Sergian tribe. Furthermore, the six from Alexandria are of the Pollian tribe, as well as one each from Sidon in Syria and from Cyrene. The one soldier from Vercellae (?) of Italy and another from Paphos in Cyprus are of the Aniensian tribe, one from Paraetonium is of the Pupinian tribe, one from Berytus of the Fabian, one from Nicaea of the Papirian, and two from Lugudunum of the Galerian tribe. These seven, with the three of the Sergian tribe from Tavium, were doubtless real Roman citizens, who were recruited in Roman towns and forwarded to Egypt, or who went to Egypt and enlisted in these legions because they had relatives or friends there. The twenty-six of the Pollian tribe seem all the sons of soldiers, who in all but two cases claimed the nationality of their mothers.¹ Thus sixteen real Galatian soldiers of the early period obtained their wives from their native Galatia, while six married women possessed of Alexandrian citizenship. The early duty of the legion in Cyrene explained the one soldier of the Pollian tribe from that province, and the commerce between Sidon and Alexandria might cause a Sidonian family to change its residence.

If this interpretation is correct, it is necessary to date the inscription III, 6627 a full generation or more after Actium, for most of the soldiers' names seem to show descendants of the original Galatian recruits. Almost equally necessary seems the assumption that as early as the reign of Tiberius the legions in Egypt were being recruited in large measure from the sons of soldiers, though this fact is disguised by the recruits claiming the nationality of their mothers.

Other inscriptions, all belonging to the first century A. D., add four Galatian soldiers to the Third legion and two to the

¹ Children born out of wedlock followed the status of the mother; cf. Roby, *Roman Private Law*, I, p. 20.

Twenty-second. Only three claim homes outside of Galatia, one each from Damascus and Ptolemais are of the Third legion, and one of the Twenty-second legion named Utica as his home. For these the tribal names are not given, but at least no change is indicated in the earlier system of recruiting.

Thus all the evidence available shows the Third Cyrenaic legion as even more strongly Galatian than the Twenty-second Deiotarian. Both legions were almost certainly taken by Antony from the Galatian army of Deiotarus or from his successor Amyntas.

H. A. SANDERS.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

HORACE, ODES, 3, 5, 13-18.

Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
dissentientis condicionibus
foedis et exemplo trahentis
perniciem veniens in aevum
si non periret immiserabilis
captiva pubes.

The difficulty in this passage lies in the words *exemplo trahentis perniciem*, the reading of all the MSS with the single exception of Codex Parisinus 7973, which gives *exemplis*, a palpable dittography.¹ With almost equal universality the editors have accepted Canter's emendation of *trahentis* to *trahenti*, to produce a reading which of course gives excellent sense.² Bentley preferred to emend *exemplo* to *exempli*, because, as he remarks, he could find no reason why a hypothetical *trahenti* should ever have been changed by the scribes to *trahentis*. Some editors,³ perhaps feeling the cogency of Bentley's argument, have returned to the reading of the MSS. They interpret *exemplo* as ablative of source or separation and render: "drawing from such precedent (a presage of) ruin for future time."⁴

With this interpretation there is a fundamental difficulty; if

¹ Cf. Keller-Holder, 1899², on vs. 15.

² Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, 1930⁷, on vs. 13, *ad fin.*: "eben diese *condiciones* würden ein *exemplum* sein, das Verderben nach sich ziehen würde (*trahenti* = *quod traheret* ist notwendige Besserung des überlieferten *trahentis*), wenn es das Leben der Gefangenen rettete."

³ E. g. Shorey-Laing, Bennet-Rolfe.

⁴ Shorey-Laing on vs. 15.

the MS reading is to be retained—and I believe it is—it must be explained in some other way.

In the first place the use of *perniciēs* in the pregnant sense of “a presage of ruin” is, so far as I know, unparalleled. Far more fundamental, however, is the anomalous interpretation of *exemplo* as ablative of separation with the verb *trahere*. In general, certainly, the simple ablative of separation is used only with verbs which contain in themselves the idea of separation or motion away from an object, e. g. *desistere*, *liberare*, *movere*, *abstinere*, *prohibere*, or with verbs compounded with *de*, *ab*, *ex*, etc. If any other verb is used, the idea of separation is made clear by the use of the prepositions *de*, *ab*, or *ex* with the ablative.⁵ This is especially to be observed in the case of *trahere*, which means “draw along” or “draw toward” but not “draw away from.” When the latter meaning is required, *trahere* should properly be followed by the ablative with a preposition.⁶

This awkward if not impossible ablative construction may be abandoned if we take *exemplo* as a dative and interpret the whole phrase *exemplo trahentis perniciem* in the light of legal phraseology. Legal Latin is entirely appropriate here: *Regulus* is arguing in the *curia* against the adoption of a treaty; furthermore a legalistic tone has already been imported into the passage by the use of the legal term *condiciones*, “terms, stipulations.”⁷

In legal Latin the verb *trahere* is used in the technical sense of “assign to a legal category.” For example when Justinian, in the *Institutes*, is discussing the classification of the *donatio mortis causa* he remarks that the ancient jurists were in doubt whether to call it a gift (*donatio*) or a legacy (*legatum*): some assigned it to one category, others to the other: *alii ad alium genus eam retrahebant*.⁸ Again, in discussing the various types of imperial decrees he says: *plane ex his quaedam sunt personales, quae nec ad exemplum trahuntur*: “clearly some of these are personal, and are not assigned to the category of *exemplum* (‘precedent’);” i. e. they do not “set a precedent,” but apply only to the one person for whose punishment or benefit they have been handed down.⁹

⁵ Cf. Roby, *Lat. Gram.*, II, 1262; Allen and Greenough, 400-403.

⁶ See the dictt. s. v.

⁷ Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, *loc. cit.* ⁸ *Inst.*, 2, 7, 1.

⁹ *Inst.*, 1, 2, 6. A modern parallel is to be found in the Act of Congress by which the Congressional Medal of Honor is awarded.

If Horace's *exemplo* be taken as the common poetic dative of the end of motion, the phrase *exemplo trahentis perniciem* will be exactly parallel to the *ad exemplum trahuntur* of the *Institutes*. Regulus "assigns this *perniciem* to the category of *exemplum*," or in simpler words, "claims that this *perniciem* is setting a precedent." The *perniciem* is "this dangerous act," "this source of destruction," the nature of which is explained by the phrase *si non periret immiserabilis captiva pubes*.¹⁰ The phrase *veniens in aevum*, further, is to be construed with *exemplo* rather than with *perniciem*: "a precedent for time to come." Regulus was arguing that, if the Senate accepted the terms of the Carthaginians and ransomed the captive soldiers, this dangerous act would set a precedent for future time, and in future wars Roman soldiers, sure of being ransomed, would surrender rather than fight unto death. The passage may then be translated: "This the presaging mind of Regulus did guard against, for he dissented to the shameful terms, and branded this dangerous action a precedent for time to come, if the captive young men did not perish without pity."

FRANK O. COPLEY.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

THE HESYCHIAN GLOSS FOITA: *OIS "SHEEP."

In the Hesychian gloss *γοῖτα· οἷς*,¹ the initial Γ is almost certainly a misreading for F,² so that the word should be read

¹⁰ A similar use of *perniciem* occurs in Cic., *Verr.*, 1, 1, 2, where Verres is called *perniciem provinciae Siciliae*. Cf. Shorey-Laing, *loc. cit.*

¹ Emendation of *οἷς* to *ῥς*, with comparison of *γοῖ*, *γοῖ* "grunt, grunt" (of pigs), suggested in the *Oxford Greek Dictionary*, p. 356^a, seems unnecessary; and connexion with the Hesychian gloss *γοῖτα· ὕν*. *Μακεδόνας*, proposed by M. Schmidt in his editio minor of Hesychios, 2nd ed. (Jena, 1867), is valueless, since *γοῖτα* is derived from **gūtó- < *g_uu-tó* "befouled" (cf. Sanskrit *gū-tha* "excrement," lexicographical Sanskrit *gav-* "cacare"; cf. Walde-Pokorny, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1930-32], I, 694-696), and its explanation as **h_ufav* (O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen* [Göttingen, 1906], pp. 9, 16, 44) is quite incorrect (for Macedonian *o* = Indo-European *u*, cf. the Macedonian gloss *γοῖτα· ἔντερα*. *Μακεδόνας*: Sanskrit *gudá-* "intestine"; Hoffmann, p. 49; Walde-Pokorny, I, 559).

² G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 116-118; cf. ΓΟΙ, ΓΕ for FOI, FE in the epigrams of Balbilla, I, 7, 15.

φοῖτα. Its etymology then becomes quite evident as a derivative of the base **zoue-* "sheep,"³ of which it is the Z(ero-)N(ormal) grade **uei-*. The various grades of this base historically found are as follows:

NZ **zōui-*: Sanskrit *āvi-* "sheep," *avya-* "relating to sheep," Armenian *hoviw* < **zōui-pā* "shepherd," *awdi* < **zōui-dhi-* "sheep,"⁴ Homeric *δῖς* "sheep," Hesychian *οἶαι· διφθέραι, μῆλωται* < **ōfi-ō-*, *οἶας* (nominative singular?) · *τὰ θήλεα πρόβατα* < **ōfi-ad-*, *οἶας* (accusative plural?) · *τῶν προβάτων τὰ σκεπαστήρια δέρματα* < **ōfi-ia*, *οἶεος* < **ōfi-eios* "relating to sheep," Latin *ovis*, Middle Irish *ói* "sheep," Welsh *ewig*, Old Cornish *euhic* "hind," Gothic *awi-str* "sheep-fold," Anglo-Saxon *éowe*, English *ewe*, Old High German *ou* (plural *owi*) "sheep," Old Prussian *awins* "ram," Lithuanian *avis*, Old Church Slavic *ovī-ca* "sheep";

NR(educed) **zōuei-* > **zōuī-*: Latin *ovī-le* "sheep-fold," *ovī-lis*, *ovī-nus* "relating to sheep," Lithuanian *avý-tė* "little sheep";

RN **zōuēi-* > **zauēi-*: Gothic *awe-pi* "flock of sheep";⁵

RZ **zōui-ēio-*: Sanskrit *avy-āya-* "relating to sheep";

ZN **zōúi-*: Hesychian *φοῖτα* (written γοῖτα).⁶

With infixed *-ze-*,⁷ the NZZ grade of the extended **zo-ze-uei-*

³ For this base, there written **oui-s*, see Walde-Pokorny, I, 167, and cf. the present writer's "Sur l'inflection des prétendus thèmes en -i" in *BSLP*, XXXI (1931), pp. 34-42. In all these Indo-European forms *o* may alternate qualitatively with *e* (for the writer's view of the aspectual reason for this alternation, see his *Foundations of Language* [New York, 1939], pp. 66-67, 213).

⁴ H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, I (Leipzig, 1897), p. 468; A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique*, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1936), p. 31; E. Lidén, *Armenische Studien* (Göteborg, 1906), p. 24; for another interpretation of *hoviw* see H. Pedersen, in *RZ*, XXXVIII (1902), pp. 198-199.

⁵ Cf. S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, 3rd ed. (Leiden, 1939), p. 70a.

⁶ The traditional accent is correct (as in *κοῖτος* "slumber" from the base **ke/oie-*), since the normal grade bears the accent (*φοῖτος* < **fóitos*). The Hesychian glosses *θα καὶ μῆλωτή* (*δῖς δὲ τὸ πρόβατον*) καὶ ἡ σὺν τοῖς ἐρίοις δορά. ἡ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις *θα* and *δέα· μῆλωτή* do not belong to the group of *δῖς*, but come from the base **zeue-* "put on (clothing, etc.)" (cf. Walde-Pokorny, I, 109-110).

⁷ For this type of infixation cf. the writer's forthcoming study on the Indo-European base **do-*, **do-ie-*, **do-ue-*, **do-ze-* "give."

appears as **ḡḡḡi*- > **ḡi*- in Sanskrit *āvi-ka*- "relating to sheep" and Greek *ῥα* < **ḡḡi*-ā "sheepskin (garment) with the wool on."

The ZN grade **ḡi*- seen in *ῥοῖρα* would appear to be a qualitative gradation of what Walde-Pokorny³ regard as an independent base **uei*- "turn, bend," occurring, for our purposes, in the NZ grade **uei*- in Sanskrit *váyati* "weaves" and *vema*- "loom," and in the RZ grade **uei*- in Sanskrit *vaya*- "weaver" (cf. Vedic *vayī* "female weaver"). The simple base **ue*- is seen in the Z grade **u*- in Sanskrit *utá*- < **u-tó*- "woven"; the extension **ue-ḡe*- appears in the NZ grade **ueḡ*- > **ué*- in Sanskrit *vá-tave* "to weave"; and **e/oue*- in the NZ grade **e/ou*- in Sanskrit *ó-tave* "to weave" and in the RZ grade **u-tó*- > **ū-tó*- in Sanskrit *ūta*- "woven."

The ultimate base of the entire group would seem to have been **ḡoue*-, with the extensions **ḡoue-ie*-, **ḡoue-ue*-, **ḡoue-ḡe*-, and **ḡo-ḡe-ue-ie*-, and with the semantic development "turn, bend" > "turn or bend wool" = "spin," so that *ῥις* "sheep" and its cognates were originally regarded as "the woolly animal."

LOUIS H. GRAY.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

NOTE ON PLATO, LAWS 722 c 1.

οὐ γὰρ πειθοῖ κεραννύντες τὴν †μάχην νομοθετοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκράτῳ μόνον τῇ βίᾳ.

μάχην] ἀρχὴν ci. Stallbaum ἀνάγκην Ast (Burnet's text)

For μάχην I suggest the reading τάξιν.

This sentence comes in a speech of the Athenian near the end of Book IV. He has been giving his view that the lawgiver should include in the statement of the law persuasive reasoning for its observance as well as penalties if it is violated; as a liberal physician gives his patient reasons for taking the prescribed treatment and does not just brusquely order him to do-so-and-so in the way of an ill-trained quack treating slaves. The corrupt μάχην is the reading of all the MSS. Most editors

³ I, 223-227.

and translators note the difficulty but no emendation has so far won unanimous approval.

Professor Taylor,¹ the author of the most recent translation into English, reads ἀρχὴν "for purposes of translation"² and renders "authority." But surely the uses of ἀρχή suggest political administration or general "sovereignty" or "empire" rather than the statement of the terms of a law, which must be the sense required here. Bury's³ "compulsion" (from ἀνάγκη) makes the second clause superfluous. It seems implausible to find in κεραννύντες τὴν μάχην a latent quotation from a poet, as England⁴ suggests must be done if μάχην is sound.

The proposed reading, τάξιν, seems to give the required sense, the double sense of the English word "order." This "order" may combine with both "persuasion" and "compulsion" and yet is somehow neither. The language of the pages immediately surrounding 722 c hint at τάξιν: in the analogy of the two kinds of physicians (720 b-e), at 720 c πρὸςτάξας δ' αὐτῶ, 720 d ἐπέταξεν, 721 a κατακοσμήσει ταῖς τάξεσιν, 723 a τὴν ἐπίταξιν, ὃ δὴ ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος. The precise sense of the word, if read here, is paralleled at *Laws* 925 b κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ νόμου, and *Politicus* 305 c παρὰ τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου τάξιν.

J. S. KIEFFER.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE.

¹ *The Laws of Plato*, translated into English by A. E. Taylor (London, 1934).

² P. 106, n. 1.

³ R. G. Bury, *Plato, Laws* (Loeb Classical Library, London and New York, 1926).

⁴ E. B. England, *The Laws of Plato* (London, 1921).

REVIEWS.

SHERMAN LEROY WALLACE. *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*. Princeton, University Press, 1938. Pp. ix + 512.

On the dust-jacket the publishers announce this book as "the first attempt, since publication of Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka*, Vol. I, in 1898, to give a comprehensive survey of the taxation of the Roman province of Egypt." The statement is true enough and can only redound to the credit of the author; the publishers had surely not the intention of encouraging reviewers to judge Wallace's book in the light of Wilcken's epochal achievement. No man of our generation has been able to meet the German master on his own ground. Wilcken possesses in a supreme degree the faculty of logical analysis, and his writing is characterized by simplicity and clarity. Wallace, like myself and others, possesses these virtues in a lesser degree, but he has given us a new survey which deserves and will have a career of its own. The volume makes a great mass of material accessible to specialist and non-specialist alike. Wallace occasionally permits himself grave logical deviations in textual analysis and in historical argumentation and allows himself divergent views on the same subject at different times, as if the book had not been subjected to a final critical reading. Wallace's suggestions now and again suffer from lack of attention to palaeographic canons. To these defects other reviewers¹ have directed attention, but the fact remains that we now have, through Wallace's efforts, a comprehensive handbook of an incredibly thorny field. Wallace is probably the only scholar whose studies have covered the whole ground of taxation in Roman Egypt, and his book is literally a mine of information. The magnitude of his achievement in converting thousands of minutiae into a coherent sketch of Egyptian

¹ Westermann, *American Historical Review*, XLIV (1938), pp. 79-83, has reviewed the logical deficiencies of Wallace's work in such manner as to minimize involuntarily his positive contribution; Miss Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXVI (1938), pp. 421-427, has sinned agreeably in the other direction. Both reviews are well worth reading along with others written by Lewis, *Classical Weekly*, XXXII (1938), pp. 76-77; Bell, *Gnomon*, XV (1939), pp. 248-253; Ensslin, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, LIX (1939), pp. 785-792; and Rostovtzeff, *A. J. A.*, XLIV (1940), pp. 414-415, who hold the balance more evenly between praise and blame while making interesting contributions in matters of detail. To the published criticisms I shall add just a few methodological observations. Much that Wallace has tried to give in a *texte suivi* would be more readily intelligible and useful in tabular form. Further, as with most handbooks, the countless references to papyri and ostraca and the abundant bibliography ought not to be used for serious purposes without verification. Also, the line between fact and fancy must be sharply drawn. Wallace is overfond of conjectural reconstruction, and in consequence the volume bristles with hypotheses. Occasionally he will spin a thread of guesswork for the pure pleasure of breaking it. At the same time, the kind of critical work of which Wallace is capable when he remains within the circle of concrete evidence (e.g., p. 456, n. 53) is not to be surpassed.

taxation comes home with striking force to anyone who works with the book from day to day and ends by discovering that he cannot work without it.

The blurb on the dust-jacket goes on to recommend the book as "a guide and inspiration to legislators and statesmen who, lacking the inventive ingenuity of the Greek and the firm grasp of the Roman, are sometimes slow in finding the vastly increased revenues demanded by modern governments." Legislators and statesmen could do worse than to study Wallace's well-documented treatise on Egyptian taxation, but it would be a serious blunder to draw inspiration for modern needs from the economy of the Romans in Egypt.² A careful reading of Wallace leaves no doubt that Roman imperialism and western democracy are worlds apart. Egypt was for Rome a conquered country, and taxes were the spoils of conquest. The country must feed itself and feed Rome as well. For us taxation is still, in principle, intended to defray the expenses of government and of public improvements. Other differences, also, are easy to see. We function largely on a money economy; ancient Egypt had no coinage of its own before the Ptolemies and throughout Roman times operated on a double economy employing agricultural products as well as money. In addition to this broad distinction, concepts within the realm of taxation, e. g. property-tax³ and income-tax,⁴ necessarily differ from the ancient to the modern world because the objects taxed are variously defined in the two periods. A thoroughly vicious trend, which came to dominate taxation in Egypt and was to a great extent responsible for the semi-feudal development of Byzantine Egypt, led from the system of liturgies, or compulsory public service, to the principle of collective responsibility of the village, the guild, and later the metropolitan senate to the fiscus. No surer way than this of exhausting the productive powers of a community is known. From a close study of the Roman exploitation of Egypt our legislators might learn what not to do when the democracy is functioning normally and what to do grudgingly and under the most rigid control when the machinery has broken down.

Since the Egyptians lived under a double economy, Wallace's book falls roughly into two parts: taxes paid in kind and taxes paid in money. A description of the cadastre in Chap. I provides a summary of land categories and their administration which is indispensable to understanding the principal tax collected *in natura*, bearing chiefly on grain land and hence paid largely in grains, the land tax *par excellence*, of which the incidence and rates are analyzed in Chap. II. The third chapter discusses briefly other obligations in kind, of which the *ἐπιβολή*, the *ἐπιμερισμός*, and the *annona* are perhaps the most significant. This section of the book closes with an investigation of the administrative machinery for the collection of the grain tax. In this connection the author discusses the transport charges *δραγματηγία* (to the threshing-floor), *σακκηγία* (to the granary), and *φόρετρον* (to the harbor).

² This is equally the opinion of Miss Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXVI, pp. 426 f., whose judgment in matters of this kind is extraordinarily keen.

³ Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 385, n. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 388, n. 44.

The economic bearing of the discussion appears when the distinction between taxes and rents is maintained, the former resting on "private" land, i. e., to a great extent, catocic and cleruchic land, the latter on royal domain, which was leased to cultivators officially designated βασιλικοὶ and δημόσιοι γεωργοί. The average rent far exceeded the rate of taxation, and here can be traced the influence of political ideas on the economic system. Catocic land was in the hands of Greeks and Graeco-Egyptians, a cultural class of some wealth which was deliberately favored by the government as a protective measure against the "unruly" Egyptians. The burden of the fiscal policy lay heavily on the lower class, the unhellenized Egyptians with no land of their own. In time, when the poor could not be made poorer, the system of liturgies and the principle of collective responsibility began the exhaustion of the middle class.

Wallace passes from land taxes paid in kind to those paid in money (Chap. V), and this is in great measure equivalent to passing from a consideration of charges on grain land to those on orchards and vineyards. The important group of taxes in this connection comprises ἀπόμειρα, under the Ptolemies a percentage of the yield dedicated to the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus, but converted in Roman times into a fixed charge per aroura; παραγωγή ἐλαίας, a transport tax; ναύβιον, an equivalent of labor on the dikes and canals; ἐπαρούριον, a simple charge, as its name implies, of so much per aroura, which may be regarded as a true land tax; γεωμετρία, the purpose of which has been in dispute, but which was probably intended to cover the expenses of the survey periodically undertaken by reason of the Nile inundation; and ὀκτάδραχμος σπονδὴ Διονύσου, a tax of 8 drachmas plus an extra charge, the name of which points to a religious origin. These are regularly exacted at higher rates from vineyards than from orchards, with the exception of the last, which is applicable only to vineyards. The ὀκτάδραχμος σπονδὴ Διονύσου has recently been the subject of fruitful discussion by Sam Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XVII (1937), pp. 27-41, and by Wallace himself, *P. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), pp. xlix f. Under the heading φόροι (pp. 71 f.) are presented, among others, charges on orchards, vineyards, pastures, and fisheries, which are properly rents, and not what we usually designate as taxes.

Wallace has done perhaps more than anyone else to clarify the meaning of φόρος, and he reaps the profit of his labor in his analysis of taxes on animals (Chap. VI), where he is enabled to make a clear and certain distinction between ἐνόμιον, a license tax involving the privilege of pasture on public land, and φόρος προβάτων, rent for lease of government sheep. He effectively eliminates Miss Avogadro's thesis (*Aegyptus*, XIV [1934], pp. 293-297) that φόρος προβάτων was a property tax on privately owned sheep. This is most interesting because it would appear that the growth of private ownership in animals ran parallel with the same development in land. Chapter VI continues with a careful and shrewd presentation of taxes on sheep, camels, donkeys, horses, and pigs.

With Chapter VII, which describes the operation and purpose of the census, we turn from taxes incident on the possession of land to such as bear on persons and classes. Wallace refers briefly to his thesis that the institution of both the census and the poll tax goes

back to the reign of Philopator.⁵ This view, which makes too great a use of the *argumentum a silentio*, has been the subject of a penetrating critique by Mlle. Claire Préaux.⁶ The fundamental fact, however, that the census served as a basis for the collection of personal taxes, and principally the poll tax (Chap. VIII), is secure. The poll tax was collected from every male Egyptian or Greek, between the ages of fourteen and sixty-two.⁷ Exemption was granted to certain members of the bureaucracy, a restricted number of priests, victors in the athletic games, citizens of Alexandria, and scholars in the Alexandrian museum. Wallace makes out a good argument for the rejection of the view that holders of catœcic land were exempt from poll tax.⁸ The Egyptian population of the Fayûm, on whose shoulders rested the heaviest burden of taxation, paid an annual sum of 40 dr. plus other charges, or a total of 44 dr.; the privileged citizens of the nome-capital, largely Greeks or Graeco-Egyptians, paid 20 dr. At Thebes in Upper Egypt the common rates appear to have been 10 dr. and 24 dr. Wallace tries to draw a parallel between these and the two rates of the Fayûm, and although his argument deserves serious consideration, it seems to me to brush aside too lightly Milne's evidence of still higher rates. With respect to the relation of poll tax and *syntaximon*, Wallace has wisely followed Keyes in his identification of the latter with poll tax at its highest rate in the Fayûm.

The poll tax was a *μερισμός*, an assessment, a distributed tax, in the sense that it rested equally on the members of the same class within a given community. Other important *μερισμοί* (Chap. IX) were collected to cover the deficit caused by the absence of villagers who had fled to the desert or the city to escape the ruinous impositions of the fiscus, to defray the expenses of construction and repair of dikes and canals, to provide salaries for the police, to maintain the public baths. These do not exhaust the list, but they are the most common and their significance is far reaching both economically and politically. Exception might be taken to Wallace's contention that the pig tax was levied as a *μερισμός* on the whole native population of the Fayûm. Granted that it was so levied at Theadelphia in

⁵ Developed at length in his "Census and Poll-Tax under the Ptolemies," *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), pp. 418-442.

⁶ *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939), pp. 385 f.: "L'hypothèse de M. Wallace établit une relation logique entre certains faits: mais, en histoire, il ne suffit pas qu'une hypothèse soit agencée rationnellement pour qu'elle corresponde à la vérité; car nous ne sommes pas en possession de tous les éléments d'un problème et il arrive même ainsi que le problème que nous suscitons n'ait jamais existé. Comme M. Wallace le reconnaît, aucun argument positif ne soutient sa démonstration."

⁷ Sixty years used to be regarded as the age of exemption. Wallace's contention, based on new evidence, receives at least negative confirmation from *P. Mich.* IV, in which a certain Priscus declares himself to be sixty years of age (?) in the 12th yr. of Marcus Aurelius and continues to pay poll tax through the following two years. A table of his payments is given in *P. Mich.* IV, pt. 2, p. 85.

⁸ I hope later to adduce the evidence of *P. Mich.* IV in support of Wallace's conclusion. For the present it will suffice to cite *P. Mich.*, IV, No. 224, 3851, 5079, 6010.

the first century A. D., as the Columbia papyri seem to show, the same situation cannot be demonstrated for Karanis in the second century from the very extensive tax rolls found there. Among the guard taxes Wallace lists a φύλ(ακτρον) ἀπόρων, which he supposes was used to support a kind of "debtor's prison." The tenor of the papyrus from which the words are cited makes it easier to believe that they refer to a subdivision of the μερισμός ἀπόρων intended to make good the deficit in the collections of guard taxes caused by the inability of certain villagers to meet their obligations.

In addition to personal taxes which had a more or less general application, there were others affecting smaller groups (Chap. X). From the time of Vespasian the Jews of Egypt paid the temple tax into the treasury of Jupiter Capitolinus under the name Ἰουδαίων or Ἰουδαϊκὸν τέλεσμα. Along with this they paid a tax called ἀπαρχή. More significant because more germane to the state economy are the ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων and the ἀριθμητικὸν φυλακτιῶν, seemingly intended to discharge the cost of maintaining the records of catoeic and phylactic holdings. Considerable light has lately been thrown on the periodicity of the ἀ. κατοίκων and the nature of the ἡμυτέλειον ἀριθμητικόν by Wallace himself in *P. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), pp. xlix f.⁹

State monopolies developed by the Ptolemies and maintained by the Caesars reveal an interesting phenomenon in the domain of taxation, the consumers' tax (Chap. XI). This had no connection with the purchase of the commodities in question, but was assessed in the manner of a μερισμός on the entire population. Such a tax is known for the salt, beer, and bath monopolies, but is not attested for the oil monopoly, which in Ptolemaic times had been the most important of all. In the free trades it is reasonably certain that no one escaped payment of a license-tax on trades (Chap. XII). The list of these is long, and they must have been a primary source of revenue. However, Chap. XII is, from the reader's point of view, perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book because the evidence is very conflicting. Intelligibility and interest revive in the following chapter, which concludes the section on trades. Wallace again tackles the problems of the *anabolicum* on glass, papyrus, linen, and hemp. The *anabolicum* was, in his opinion, a special levy to help finance military expeditions, by contrast with the military *annona* which provided supplies for legions stationed in Egypt. Taxes on sales and transfers are perhaps the most significant of the others discussed in this chapter.

Two substantial chapters (XIV and XV) on priestly dues and customs provide far-reaching insights into the Roman economy in Egypt. The power of the priests had been much curtailed since Ptolemaic times. Their lands had been largely confiscated; their hierarchy and finances placed under lay supervision; their exemption from poll tax seriously reduced. They were in some measure compensated by government subventions, but they were made to discharge the expenses of the new organization through payment of

⁹ Only an abstract has been published. Wallace's conclusions are important, and he ought not to delay unduly the publication of his article.

the ἐπιστάτικόν, credited to the salary of an ἐπιστάτης not of their own choosing; the εἰσκριτικόν, a kind of license-tax for the exercise of priestly functions; and the γερῶν, a fee for receiving the perquisites of office. The customs fell into three classes and tend to reveal the persistence of sectional separatism within Egypt despite the century-old union of Upper and Lower Egypt under a single crown. Internal customs were levied at Hermopolis, the dividing line between Upper and Middle Egypt, and again at Memphis on the way to the Delta. The nomes, in turn, protected local interest by the imposition of a tariff on imports and exports. The best known of this class of local customs is the 3% levy collected in the villages on the northern border of the Fayûm. Foreign trade from and to the East through the ports on the Red Sea or Pelusium and from and to the West through Alexandria was assessed on an *ad valorem* basis, but very little is known regarding the rates. The income, however, must have been considerable since one of the chief routes from the East terminated at the Red Sea, where goods were transferred to camels and transported to Coptos on the Nile for shipment to Alexandria and thence to Rome.

Of the miscellaneous taxes briefly described in Chapter XVI, the στεφανικόν is by far the most important. The original custom of presenting a gold crown to the ruler on his accession was in time transmuted into a money payment, the *aurum coronarium*. From a purely occasional assessment it was converted into an annual tax. In the third century it became a source of abuse in the hands of emperors who were not content with the annual collection but imposed a special crown tax from time to time on the slightest excuse.

The penultimate chapter examines the mechanism of collection of money taxes. The intricate and often doubtful interrelations of the various agencies of collection—banks, praetors, publicans, supervisors, village elders, municipal senates, decemprimi—are carefully considered with the necessary distinctions of place and time. I continue to be uneasy with regard to the emphasis which Wallace puts on payments made by taxpayers directly to the bank. The receipts show that bankers were in a real sense collectors of taxes, and their activity is especially noticeable in the first century before the creation under Trajan of the πράκτορες ἀργυρικών, but all that we know of Egyptian life under Roman domination makes incredible the thesis that any great number of Egyptians were in the habit of taking a stroll down to the bank to discharge their legal obligations to a foreign power.¹⁰

Under the heading "Surtaxes" Wallace makes a valuable contribution to the technical literature on the προσδιαγραφόμενα which are regularly collected with taxes. The usual rates of extra charges on silver payments was 1/16, but other rates are found, e. g., 1/13, 1/7, and 1/5, especially with copper payments. The treatment of the extra charges is not uniform. Sometimes, it is not specified but included in the principal, which may or may not be qualified by the word ῥυπαρός. In other cases the extra charge is not mentioned at all because its rate is fixed and its payment may be assumed. When principal and προσδιαγραφόμενα are indicated, the latter may include

¹⁰ I hope to examine this question at length in *P. Mich.* IV, pt. 3.

other charges like the *συμβολικόν*. The purpose of the *προσδιαγραφόμενα* is still in dispute; Wallace mentions the possibilities. His analysis of extra charges on dike tax has gone astray through failure to take account of evidence in the Columbia, Berlin, and Michigan papyri. My own analysis has recently appeared in *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), p. 82.

In a final chapter Wallace reviews the literary evidence for the revenues contributed by Egypt to Roman coffers and compares it with the actuality as revealed by the papyri. He concludes with a rapid survey of the evolution of the system of taxation from the first to the third centuries. A brief appendix lists a number of unidentified taxes, and a compact mass of notes (pp. 356-493), hardly less important than the text which they illustrate, places a rich documentation at the disposal of other students in this field. Two indices of words pertaining to taxation, one Greek, the other English and Latin, close the book. Anyone who must henceforth use Wallace's "Taxation" will regret daily the absence of an index of papyri that have received critical treatment.¹¹

A few remarks on matters of detail may not come amiss. Pp. 28, 302: Correct *βαλανικόν* to *βαλανευτικόν*, the correct form which Wallace uses elsewhere; cf. Claire Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte*, XVII, pp. 128 ff. P. 37: For a *σιτομέτρης* who was also a *σακκοφόρος* see *P. Mich.*, IV, 223, 2132; 224, 5948; 225, 1990. Pp. 44, 62: For *ναῦ(λον) φο(ρέτρων)* read *ναῦ(λον) φο(ρτίων)*, which makes an intelligible combination; see *Berichtigungsliste*. Pp. 59, 61: According to Hombert's reading of the gnomon, cultivators of royal domain paid *ναύβιον* and *ἐπαρούριον*. This is strange, and it is curious that the passage in the gnomon would suit admirably the payments due on reed-land, which is found in close association with vineyards; cf. *B. G. U.*, IX, p. 117. P. 61: The exemption from *ναύβιον* which Wallace posits for *ἱερὰ γῆ* is not sustained by *B. G. U.*, IX, 1896, 102, etc. Pp. 62-63: From *B. G. U.*, IX, 1897, 1 and 171, I deduce the existence of a *δωδεκάδραχμος σπονδῆς Διονύσου*.¹² P. 92: In the interests of accuracy I may observe that 5 dr. plus an extra charge of 2 ob. is the amount charged for *πενταδραχμία ὄρων* at Karanis. The amount paid, after all additions, is 4 dr. 14 ob., i. e. 6 dr. on the scale 7 ob. = 1 dr., and this establishes identity with the *ἑξαδραχμία* at Oxyrhynchus. Correct P. O. XII. 1457 to 1438. P. 99: Correct *ἐνοικίων* to *ἐνοίκων*. P. 119: "If there was any logical system of taxation in Egypt it follows that, if the sons of the slaves of catoeci paid a poll-tax, the catoeci also paid the tax." Insistence on the logical principle may lead to grave difficulties. Women did not pay poll tax, but slaves belonging to women were not exempt at Karanis in the second century A. D. See, e. g., *P. Mich.*, IV, No. 223, 101, 676, 2230. Similarly, Roman citizens were exempt from this tax, and yet in the Michigan tax rolls it is collected from Germanus and

¹¹ Such an index has been prepared and deposited in manuscript in the University of Michigan Library with the following title: S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, etc. Supplementary Indexes compiled by H. C. Youtie and F. G. Pray. Students of taxation may be interested to know that Greek indexes of *O. Tait*, compiled by Youtie and Pray, are also available at the Michigan Library.

¹² *C. P.*, XXXIII (1938), p. 425.

Nicephorus, slaves of Longinus Isidorus. P. 120: Among persons with official connections enjoying exemption from poll tax may be reckoned the water guard at Karanis cited for payment of guard taxes in *P. Mich.*, IV, e. g., No. 224, 1195, and the sailor-divers attached to the irrigation department in the Arsinoite nome (*P. Mich.*, III, 174). P. 129: Wilcken's receipts from Ophi for the second century begin with A. D. 133-134. P. 130: Wallace's rejection of Milne's evidence for higher rates of poll tax than 24 dr. at Memnonia on the ground that his receipts probably contain arrears or payments for the following year, is weak. Wallace's illustration of his notion that the receipts in question may include payments on a second year, is not convincing. I do not believe that *O. Strassb.*, 103 and 105, e. g., have the structure which he claims for them. P. 144: "The only exception to this rate is found in the great tax-rolls from Caranis in the collection of the University of Michigan, where the *ὕκη* is everywhere recorded as 5 obols 2 chalci, and this may indicate a local or temporary variation . . ." *P. Mich.*, IV, Pts. 1 and 2, contains a total of only four payments of pig tax; Wallace's "everywhere" is misleading. Another example of pig tax at the same rate is to be found in *P. Columbia*, 1 recto 3, vii, 23. The true explanation of the reduced rate for the Michigan as well as the Columbia rolls is given by Westermann and Keyes in their introduction to *P. Columbia*, 1 recto 3, p. 83. The taxpayer had died before the expiration of the year. P. 148: For the distinction between *φυλάκων* and *στατώνος* see *B. G. U.*, IX, p. 8. P. 153: *ναυλοδόκοι* are here defined as "receivers of ships," which represents a total misunderstanding. *ναυλοδόκοι* are collectors of freight-charges. P. 155: Here and elsewhere Wallace equates *ῥυπαρά δραχμαί* with billon coinage. This definition must be dropped in favor of Milne's sound theory that a sum so marked includes *προσδιαγραφόμενα*, a view which Wallace accepts on p. 324. Pp. 164 f.: Wallace rightly rejects the distinction proposed by the editors of *P. Rylands* between *μερισμὸς ὀνίων* and *μερισμὸς ἐνλείμματος τελωνικῶν* but his argument needs the philological support provided by the editor of *O. Wilbour*, 21. P. 183: For *P. Mich. Car.* read *P. Mich. Tebt.* P. 192: *P. S. I.*, VIII, 871 does not concern a change of residence; it is simply a registration of an apprentice. See *P. Mich.*, III, 170 introd. P. 192: Despite the decision of Vibius Maximus recorded in *S. B.*, 5678 (Oxyrhynchus, 118 A. D.), the language of *P. Mich.*, III, 172, and *O. Wilbour*, 31 show that in Oxyrhynchus in 62 A. D. and in Upper Egypt in 128 A. D. minor apprentices were paying a trade tax. This is also the only reasonable interpretation of *P. Oxy.*, II, 275 (66 A. D.) and XIV, 1647 (late 2nd cent.), which are cited by Wallace. P. 210: Wallace infers from Wilcken, *Gr. Ostr.*, 83 that the tax on courtesans at Elephantine was assessed on an annual basis. This view derives considerable support from *O. Wilbour*, 33, also from Elephantine, where a distinction seems to be made between *χειρωνάξιον μηνιαῖον* and *ἐταιρικόν*. P. 237: On *χαρτηρά* see also *A. J. P.*, LVII (1936), pp. 219 f. P. 268: The statement that "the *ἐπιστρατηγία* of the Heptanomia and Arsinoite nome was not established until the Roman period," is true so far as present knowledge goes, but it needs to be qualified by the new light shed on the *ἐπιστρατηγία* in *P. Tebt.*, III, 778 = 895. Cf. Hunt's introduction, and Skeat in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XII (1936), pp. 40-43. P. 308: The *ἐπιτηρητὴς λεσυνείας* does not belong among

collectors of trade taxes unless "trade" is defined with exceptional latitude; the *λεσωνεία* is an important priestly office. See Wallace, pp. 252; 459, n. 80. P. 318: The supposed imperative *ζή(τη)* has been borrowed from P. Princeton, but surely *ζή(ται)*, *ζή(τησον)*, or *ζη(τητέον)* is intended. P. 322: The most recent discussion of the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander is by H. I. Bell in *J. R. S.*, XXVIII (1938), pp. 1 ff. P. 323: Reinmuth's "unpublished" papyrus is published and discussed at length by Reinmuth in *C. P.*, XXXI (1936), pp. 146 ff. Kase's text of the same papyrus is in *P. Princeton*, II, 20. Pp. 355 and 391, n. 76: *τοκ() τυ() ὑπ(ερ?)* in *P. Tebt.*, II, 358 suggests *τόκ(ου) τι(μῆς) ὑπ(αρχόντων)* as in *P. Mich.*, IV, no. 224, 4857, 5958. P. 356: To the general bibliography add N. Hohlwein, "Le Blé d'Égypte," *Études de papyrologie*, IV (1938), pp. 33-120. P. 357, n. 29: Add A. Délégé, "Les Cadastres antiques," *Ét. de pap.*, II (1934), pp. 111-147. P. 371, n. 42: On the *δεκάπρωτοι* see also Turner in *J. E. A.*, XXII (1936), pp. 7-19. P. 371, n. 43: Add *B. G. U.*, IX, 1893. P. 418, n. 13: On the *μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκῶτων* see also Lewis in *J. E. A.*, XXIII (1937), pp. 63-75. P. 423: The statement that guard taxes are recorded in the Michigan rolls for only 10 men "over 65 years of age" is surprising. I do not know what authority Wallace has for putting their age over 65. P. 428, n. 1: Add Manteuffel in *Actes du 5^e Congrès international de Papyrologie*, pp. 255-257. The texts mentioned by Manteuffel have been published in *P. Edfu*, which I have not yet seen. P. 432, n. 5: Very important is Boak's "An Ordinance of the Salt Merchants," *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), pp. 210-219. P. 436: Wallace conjectures that the constantly recurring *χ()* in *P. Mich.*, IV may be *χειρωναξίων* of the weavers, but it is impossible to believe that the whole body of taxpayers responsible for payment of poll tax was composed of weavers. Pp. 458 f.: To the bibliography on *ἐπιστατικὸν ἱερόν* add P. Fuad Inv. 189 (*Ét. de pap.*, IV, 203 = *P. Fuad*, I, 14). Pp. 462 ff.: To the lists of customs receipts add A. E. R. Boak, *Soknopaiou Nesos*, Univ. Mich. Studies, Hum. Series, XXXIX, Chap. II; *P. Aberdeen*, 37-44.

HERBERT C. YOUTIE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

Menandri Quae Supersunt. Pars Prior: Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Vetustissimis Servatae. Tertium edidit ALFREDUS KOERTE. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1938. Pp. lxxviii + 150. RM. 7.60 (bound).

The present volume, which constitutes the first of a complete edition of Menander in two volumes, adds only two papyri to those found in the well-known edition of Jensen (1929). One contains a fragment of the *Theophoroumene*, the other, scraps from the *Georgos*. This new edition is important, however, not only on account of these minor additions, but also because the text of all the fragments has been revised. Körte's revision, however, was completed and the type set before he discovered the important work of

Octave Guéraud on the Cairo papyrus.¹ This was published in 1928, even before the edition of Jensen, and it is very unfortunate that Körte was satisfied by merely inserting in the critical apparatus the more certain of Guéraud's readings. Thus in *Epit.* 405, Körte still reads *δοκεῖν*, as he did in his first and second editions, though Guéraud, as Körte remarks in his critical notes, says that this cannot be the reading here. This instance is not an isolated one but is typical of many readings which Körte's text contains, and it seems unfortunate that a new text has been published without a thorough reëxamination of the papyrus in the light of the findings of Guéraud and the necessary revision of the text. In general, this third edition of Körte is probably the best text of Menander, though one may occasionally prefer the reading or line assignment of Jensen or some earlier editor. The second volume of this edition of Menander with a complete word index will be eagerly awaited. We can only wish that the author might be persuaded to publish a commentary on the longer fragments.

A few mechanical features may be noticed. The volume is published in a slightly larger format than the standard Bibliotheca Teubneriana and is printed in the same pleasing type font as Körte's previous editions. Facility in referring to the very useful introduction would have been aided by placing the name of the play or subject under consideration at the top of each odd page instead of the useless "praefatio" which appears there. It has been necessary again to change the numbering of the *Epitrepontes*, and even the editor has occasionally become confused in his references.² More serious is a certain inconsistency in the printing of the text itself. We assume that the author is producing a composite text. He does so where two papyri are extant for the same lines (*Epit.* 560-81, etc.). Further, notae personae, though usually in parentheses, are printed in capital letters in the text when there are notae in the margin (e.g., *Epit.* 334-35), and such marginalia are not printed in the text at all if the editor considers them incorrect (e.g., *Epit.* 193), although even in a composite text we should expect these to be included, placed, perhaps, in double square brackets to indicate the editor's rejection of them.³ At other times, however,

¹ Octave Guéraud, "Quelques notes sur le papyrus de Ménandre," *Bull. de l'Institut. Fran. d'Archéol. Orient.*, XXVII (1928), pp. 127 ff. Körte includes fifteen lines of a prologue found in the *Papyrus Didotiana*, which are not included in Jensen.

² On page XIII most of the references are according to the new numbering of the present edition, but the references to *Epit.* 21 (new, 62) and 332 (new, 373) are according to the old numbering, which is conveniently included on the right margin in parentheses. All references to the *Epitrepontes* in this review are according to Körte's new numbering, which begins with the *Membranae Petropolitanae*, thus adding 41 to all numbers up to vs. 468 old (509 new). Fragment Z is then added in, consisting of 23 verses. Thus 64 is added to old numbers from 469 to 610, where two groups of six lines each are added, so that from 611 old to 625 old, 70 is added, and from 626 old to the end of the play, 76 is added.

³ According to the editor's system, the nota at *Epit.* 439 should be in capitals (perhaps in the middle of the line; cf. praef., p. XIII); so at vs. 488, with no parentheses.

the text appears to be an apograph of one papyrus (although, of course, corrections are freely introduced). Thus in *Epit.* 501-02, certain words and letters are bracketed as if mere conjectures like the vast majority of letters thus enclosed, whereas these words and letters are actually taken from fragment 177 Kock. An extreme case is found in *Georgos* 129-133, where whole lines are thus bracketed. Although the situation is explained in the notes, it would seem more consistent to print without brackets all words for which there is any MS authority and describe the lacunae of the papyri in the critical notes, or perhaps it would be more desirable to use very thin lines to distinguish between MS and papyrus (cf. Körte's text of *Epit.* 614-23), or possibly square half brackets might be so used. The insertion of the dramatis personae printed in the Latin alphabet, as in Körte's previous editions, is very welcome, but it would seem advisable to print in the Latin alphabet (rather than in smaller Greek letters) scene headings, also, in order that it may be obvious that these are not in the papyrus. How deceptive or at least puzzling this practice of both Jensen and Körte becomes, may be observed at the opening of the *Heros*, where only the size of the Greek type in Körte's edition distinguishes the inserted scene heading from the immediately preceding dramatis personae (here in the papyrus). In the editions of both Sudhaus and Jensen, there is no distinction here whatever.

Adequate discussion of the text itself is impossible without at least a photographic reproduction of the papyri, which has not been available to the present reviewer. In scores of line assignments and perhaps hundreds of restorations, Körte differs from Jensen. We may note a few examples of these. There are five different line assignments in *Epit.* 1-41 (*Membranae Petropolitanae*). The assignment of the latter part of *Epit.* 7 to Smirines seems to do violence to the sense, but Körte following Hütloff thinks the spacing and punctuation (one point) of the MS indicate a change of speakers. But this MS (reproduced as the frontispiece in the edition of Capps) contains a beautiful example of one point and space after *λελόγισται* in *Epit.* 14. This fact is not mentioned in Körte's apparatus, but, to the present reviewer, it is sufficient to prove that such punctuation in this MS does not necessarily indicate a change of speakers (but cf. *Epit.* 17), for certainly no editor could allow a change of speakers after this word in *Epit.* 14. In short, Hütloff and Körte are obviously unjustified in changing speakers in the latter part of *Epit.* 7. Again, in *Perikeiromene* 229-30, Körte's assignment of part of these lines to Polemon seems to do violence to the sense in view of verse 231, and the lack of a connective is no objection to considering this a continuation of Sosias' speech, since asyndeton is a marked characteristic of his angry speeches in this scene (cf. *Peri.* 217-18; 228-29). Here again the presence of a double point in the papyrus is cited as justification of the change of speakers. Just how important this punctuation is in the papyri one cannot discover from the discussion of punctuation in the praefatio, pp. XII-XIII, and the case in the MS of *Epit.* 7 leads one to suspect that a reëxamination of the papyri, also, with special attention to punctuation and change of speakers might be profitable, especially since there are still so many uncertainties in regard to line assignments.

The reviewer is still of the opinion that *Peri.* 171, etc., should be assigned to Davus, not Doris. The observation of Guéraud on the uncertain *nota personae* opposite verse 187 corroborates this view; in fact, if correct, it removes the only justification for assigning the lines to Doris. Without repeating the arguments previously made at length, the language of the lines does not suit the rôle of Doris, who of course is on intimate terms with Sosias and Polemon (cf. *Peri.* 62-70; 207-16; 398 ff.), and whose view of the present situation is not that expressed in *Peri.* 171-75 (cf. 65-70). These lines fit the bewildered Davus precisely and only him. The oath by Apollo should be spoken by a man, and unless Davus appears from his retirement on stage, not from the house, then verses 183-84 are meaningless.

A few other minor points may be mentioned. After *Epit.* 41, it would be advisable to indicate in the text as well as in the critical apparatus that a part of the play is missing. The cacophonous *τὴν δὲ τοῦδε* restored in *Epit.* 163 (cf. Capps *ad hoc*) may be questioned. At least, Wilamowitz' objection to the order of *τὴν αὐτοῦ* does not seem justified in the light of such passages as Plato, *Sym.* 189 d, etc. In *Epit.* 302 (end), Körte follows the reading of the papyrus, which seems a distinct improvement over the emendation of Wilamowitz, whom Jensen followed. In *Epit.* 381, Körte's text is disfigured by a German comma (in the editions of Sudhaus and Jensen, but not in that of Wilamowitz or the second edition of Körte). One may question the advisability of the use of the double point in *Epit.* 618, since this punctuation is not used consistently wherever it occurs in the papyrus. The punctuation and quotation marks in *Epit.* 592 (cf. 608) seem an improvement over that of Jensen. In *Epit.* 752, a comma should be placed before *Σμικρίνη*. A breathing sign has been omitted in *Theophoroumene* 2.

An index to papyri included or cited in the introduction would be useful and should include recent papyri attributed to Menander, though the editor may not accept the attribution or include them in his text. At least one item (G. Manteuffel) cited in the recent report in *Jahresbericht* (CCLXIII [1939], pp. 84-91) is not included in the bibliography.

Such minor shortcomings detract little from the essential soundness of this new edition, but they do suggest that, in spite of the very good work of Körte and many others on the text of Menander during the last thirty years, there is still need of further work.

PHILIP W. HARSH.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

A. H. M. JONES. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces.* Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1937. Pp. xv + 576; 6 maps.

The purpose of this book is to trace after the manner of a historical geography the diffusion of the Greek city as a form of political organization throughout the eastern Roman provinces. This limitation in space is sound from most points of view since it would

mar the unity of the book to include the hellenistic foundations farther east, but the cities of the lower valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates could profitably have been discussed. As the title suggests, the author follows for the most part the list of the Roman provinces, breaking it only to give separate chapters to certain well-defined areas such as Lycia or to an alien stock such as the Gauls. The Greek homeland and Macedonia are of course omitted, and Thrace is the only European province included. The author begins with the first Greek settlements on the coast of Asia Minor but discusses in greatest detail the millenium from Alexander to Justinian. His method is that of a geographical survey which presents clearly and concisely the history of urbanization in each region during each period, the kings, the Republic, the Principate, and the late Empire. The whole is intended to provide the foundation for a future second volume which will analyse and appraise the internal political, social, and economic life of the cities. Upon the conclusions reached in this second volume will chiefly depend the judgment that historians will pass upon both.

Meantime the author has accomplished much in giving us a survey of the cities which is of lasting value as a reference work. I wish we had one as good available for the non-urban communities. His use of ancient sources and modern studies is thorough, apt, and critical. Sound scholarship has laid epigraphy, papyrology, numismatics, and literary sources under contribution. The notes are well-documented, if somewhat inconveniently arranged. The appendices contain valuable analyses of geographical sources and a useful set of tables. The volume has been admirably produced.

The author has had to use the word city in a very broad sense: any self-governing unit with an urban centre. But he has remained aware how different the municipalities of the Empire became from what the Greeks or even the hellenistic kings understood by a city, how non-urban many of them really were, and how limited the degree to which in many regions they changed the mode of life of the mass of the population. He has kept a sense of the wide differences that existed in the geographical conditions and historical development of the various areas, with results of special value in his chapter on Syria. His study of the development of the metropolis of the nome in Egypt is an outstanding contribution. With his conclusions regarding the time and the method of the formal urbanization of the provinces I am in agreement; those regarding its social and economic meaning cannot fairly be weighed until the second volume appears.

I am inclined to disagree with his views regarding tenure of land in Asia Minor. He holds "that all directly administered territory was the property of the crown and private ownership existed in principle only in the territories of cities or other communities," that these crown lands became public lands under Rome, and that they were gradually merged during the Principate into the imperial estates. All three of these propositions are open to modification or doubt. There is no question that crown lands and feudalized lands existed under the kings, but I know no certain evidence that tribal lands were considered crown lands, nor is it sure that "Alexander in stating that a piece of land which the Prieniens claimed was his

own implies that all land not belonging to cities was his property" (p. 387, n. 28). Our evidence seems to come from the feudalized areas. I have elsewhere tried to show that there is no proof that the Romans treated crown land as public land of Rome, at least in those portions of Asia Minor that were occupied under the Republic (*T. A. P. A.*, LXV, pp. 207 ff.; cf. Frank, *J. R. S.*, XVII, pp. 141 ff.). The personal estates of the kings, which Mr. Jones does not distinguish from the crown land, and the territories confiscated in war are sufficient to account for any public land that we know. Even if we grant that the large territories given by Pompey to the Pontic cities were crown lands, there is no evidence that Pompey considered them public, nor is it sure that Rullus thought they ought to be so (p. 160). Similarly, the large territories attached to Nicæa and other Bithynian cities (p. 162) were simply attributed to them while they were held responsible for order and for the collection of the tithe. This tithe remained a separate account because, like the Bithynian population, the territory was long considered apart from the regular organization of the Greek cities. The tithe was no proof of public ownership in Asia, and public land paid both tithe and rent. Third, Mr. Jones does not allow for the immense amount of land that accrued to the imperial estates during the Principate through inheritance and confiscation, particularly under Septimius Severus, and is therefore too much inclined to see a direct connection between royal land or land that might have been public during the Republic and the early Empire and the huge imperial holdings of the late Empire. There is no proof that the estates about Ormela were royal or public or imperial before the late Empire; in fact they were senatorial, and near them at Alastus lay the estate of a member of a native family which rose to senatorial rank, M. Calpurnius Longus (p. 76; cf. *Economic Survey*, IV, p. 673). The lands confiscated by Servilius Isauricus were probably sold or colonized (pp. 139 f.; cf. on Attaleia *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI, p. 23). Augustus probably used most of the land available in his day for his Pisidian colonies; at any rate there is a considerable lapse of time before imperial estates appear in Pisidia and Lycaonia.

The importance of this book will perhaps excuse the addition of some comments on points of detail in the chapters on Asia Minor. The tribe of the Milatae in Mysia, which the author uses frequently as an example of the urbanization of a tribe, probably never existed (pp. 36, 88, 90, 93 f., 401 n. 3; cf. Ruge, *R.-E.*, XV, 2, 1585). P. 38: the late date for which craft guilds are attested in these towns casts doubt on their importance in the civic organization in early times, see *Econ. Survey*, IV, pp. 841 ff. Pp. 57 and 77: on Larba-Sebastopolis, see L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 337. P. 60: discussion of the early administration of Roman Asia should explain *O. G. I.*, 438-9, Οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ κατ' ἀνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλία. P. 78: Larisa may have become the property of Artemis rather than merely a part of the territory of Ephesus. Strabo's phrase κόμη τῆς Ἐφεσίας (XIII, 3, 2) can bear this meaning. In one inscription it is called ἱερὰ κατοικία while another is a dedication to Artemis and the village (κατοικία), Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, pp. 213 ff. P. 82: on Satala, see L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 93 ff. P. 83: Sari Çam is a

plausible site for Hierolophus; only if it were situated there is it reasonably certain that it possessed a temple of the Persian goddess; see L. Robert, *Villes*, pp. 84, 90. P. 86: Caesar settled colonists along the coast about Lampsacus, so G(emella?) in the title of Parium perhaps refers to the combination of Caesarian and Augustan colonists there, App., *B. C.*, V, 137. P. 105 ff.: see L. Robert, *Villes*, p. 55, on the Lycian sympoliteiai. Pp. 123 and 211: Germa and Ninica are both colonies of Augustus, not Domitian. Both have the title Julia Augusta Felix, and the latter placed on its coins the type of the founder ploughing, which is found in Asia Minor only on the coins of colonies of Caesar and Augustus. Ninica can plausibly be located at Sevasti but a double community at Claudiopolis (Mut) would not be surprising. The strategic importance of Mut might favor placing a colony there after the Isaurian uprising. Julia the daughter of Titus is an unlikely source for the titles Julia Augusta. P. 133: Pamphylia was for a time attached to Asia, Cic., *Fam.*, XII, 15, 5. P. 143: on Pogla, see *T. A. P. A.*, LXV, pp. 229 f. P. 149: there was also a Phocaeen element in Amisus, Miltner, *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, pp. 191 ff. P. 154: Kalinka, in *J. A. O. L.*, XXVIII, beibl. 95, no. 67, shows that *I. G. R.*, III, 79 was misread. The formula, confirmed by another inscription, *ibid.*, 73, no. 21, is simply the "Koinon of the Cities in Pontus." Heracleia is probably to be reckoned among Pompey's eleven cities. It accepted a garrison from Mithridates and was included in the Roman district of Pontus, cf. Anderson, *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 4. It is uncertain what was the status at that time of the rival candidate Abonuteichus. Coinage under Mithridates is no proof of its independence. P. 172: on Colonia see *Econ. Survey*, IV, p. 735. In proportion to the detail involved the book is remarkably free from slips. I note that on p. 60 Metropolis should be placed in the Cayster valley, not Caria north of the Maeander. P. 72: the Sibliani are above Peltae in the Maeander valley, not below it. P. 151: Heracleia was appointed guardian under the will of Nicomedes I not of Ziaelas but of his rivals, the minor children of Nicomedes by a second marriage; and on p. 157 Prusias I, not II, is evidently intended.

T. R. S. BROUGHTON.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work, 1933-1934 and 1934-1935. Edited by M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF, F. E. BROWN and C. B. WELLES. New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz; Prague, Kondakov Institute, 1939. Pp. xxiv + 461; frontispiece, 57 plates, 86 figures in text, map. \$7.50.

Like its predecessors, this volume brings a number of notable contributions. One is the description of the Mithraeum, by Messrs. Pearson, Rostovtzeff, Cumont, and others. This is the first Mithraeum in the East which is well preserved and systematically exca-

vated, and one of the few sanctuaries whose decoration is almost intact. The discovery makes important additions to our knowledge of the religion. Built *ca.* A. D. 168, the shrine was twice enlarged and was destroyed after A. D. 256. Remains of the decoration include two cult bas-reliefs and paintings of the cosmogony of the mysteries and of the life of Mithras and of two *magi* who were the authors or interpreters of the books of Mithraism. The scene of Mithras the hunter will, among other things, provide useful material in connection with the hunting scenes which figure so prominently in the official art of the Roman and Byzantine Empires (see A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* [Paris, 1936], pp. 57-62, 133-144).

Five temples are described. A shrine of the Phoenician Adonis-Eshmoun, with his mother-consort Atargatis, built *ca.* A. D. 150-160, is unique, for no other sanctuary dedicated to his worship as god paramount has yet been found. A temple of Zeus Theos, built *ca.* A. D. 110-123, yielded a remarkably complete set of the apparatus of worship. A temple of the Gaddé, built by Palmyrene residents, dates from the late first century B. C. (with subsequent enlargements). Considerable remains of wall-paintings found in these shrines make valuable additions to the history of ancient art. A fourth temple is of Ba'al Shamin-Zeus Kyrios, erected *ca.* A. D. 30 and later rebuilt. A temple to various Palmyrene gods, built 33 B. C., was found in the necropolis.

One of the interesting features of certain of the temples is the presence of the "chapels." The existence in temples near Palmyra of analogous "chapels" obviously designed for the sacred repasts, *εὐχῆαι*, which are known in Syrian cults, suggests, as Mr. Brown points out (p. 157), that the rooms at Dura served a similar purpose. Attention may be drawn to the mosaic from Antioch (*Antioch-on-the-Orontes, II: The Excavations, 1933-1936*, ed. by R. Stillwell [Princeton, 1938], Pl. 55) representing a banquet which bears the labels MNHMOΣYNH and AIOXIA. If, as seems likely, the latter word is a curious misspelling of *εὐχῆαι*, the Antioch mosaic may represent a banquet in remembrance of the dead (cf. also *Dura Report VI*, pp. 155 ff.). It must be noted that what looks like a short diagonal stroke in the second letter of AIOXIA, which would suggest that *αὐχῆαι* is to be read, is not really a part of the letter, but is a gap caused by the loss of some of the light cubes of the background.

Three painted wooden shields, buried about A. D. 256, will take an important place in the history of ancient art. One, the Homeric shield, shows the Trojan horse and a scene from the sack of Troy. The second shows a combat of Greeks and Amazons. Scholars will be especially grateful for the color reproductions of these. The third shield is decorated with the figure of a warrior god, probably Arsu. Mr. Hopkins' discussion of the Homeric scenes and of the Amazonomachy, while it is necessarily a brief preliminary statement, leaves something to be desired. While Mr. Hopkins naturally distinguishes various elements in the style of the pictures, it appears to the reviewer that he has been led, by the circumstance that the shields were found at Dura, to lay too much weight on the possibility that they were painted there, and to accept too readily the

presence of certain supposed eastern traits as evidence in support of local origin or local styles. Mr. Brown is more nearly right in his observation (p. 331, n. 7) that the painter was, from his style, not a native of Dura but a West Syrian. Mr. Hopkins fails to do justice to the paintings when he omits to point out their importance in connection with the illustrations of the Joshua Roll. The effort which he makes to show a relationship between the scene of the Trojan horse and the miniature of the same scene in the *Codex Romanus* will not meet with universal approval because the two pictures are actually different both in content and in style. Again, some scholars will not be inclined to accept without hesitation Mr. Hopkins' opinion that, in the scene of the Trojan horse, the Trojan stands beside and in front of the horse. While the condition of the shield may render the point uncertain, Mr. Gute's painting shows the figure astride the horse, and the photograph appears to support this interpretation (cf. also the editorial note, p. 334, n. 2). It is to be hoped that the final cleaning of the shields, which it is understood is still in progress (p. 326), will clarify this matter.

In another respect Mr. Hopkins' comparison of the Homeric scenes and the miniatures of the Vatican Vergils is affected by a point on which he does not seem to be well informed. He dates the manuscripts in the fourth century, and gives the impression that there is no doubt about this. The *Codex Romanus* has been dated all the way from the third or fourth to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, but the dating that seems to fit the various factors best is the fifth century (probably the latter half). The second Vatican Vergil has been most satisfactorily dated ca. 420 (J. de Wit, "Die Datierung der spätantiken illustrierten Vergilhandschrift," *Mnemosyne*, ser. 3, III [1936], pp. 75-82).

The question of the purpose for which the shields with the Homeric scenes and the Amazonomachy were made is important. Mr. Brown discusses the possibilities (pp. 330-331), but some scholars may wish to consider the matter a little further. It seems hazardous to suppose that "there is no reason to assume that they were not originally intended to receive *umbones* and to see actual service as arms." On the contrary, the reviewer finds it difficult to believe that such elegant productions can have been intended to face inevitable wear and easy damage in actual service. The presence of the holes for the grip, and the reservation by the painter of space for the *umbones*, without these having been added, does not seem to the reviewer (as it does to Mr. Brown) to exclude the possibility that the shields were votive pieces.

A study by Mr. von Gerkan adds to previous knowledge of the defences, which were originally constructed in the Hellenistic period and successively strengthened by the Parthians and the Romans.

Analysis of a mid third century hoard of bronze coins provides Mr. Bellinger with material for a useful discussion of the way in which the bronze issues of local mints in the East were arranged and controlled by coöperation of the cities involved, by the Roman governors of the districts, and by the central government itself. Analyses of other hoards are given. Mr. Welles publishes a parchment of A. D. 86/7 recording an agreement among four heirs concerning the division of two houses, and a papyrus deed of sale of

land dated A. D. 227. Among the various Greek and Semitic inscriptions may be mentioned the earliest Palmyrene inscription thus far discovered (33 B. C.). Some of the minor finds are described. To the parallels cited (p. 373) for the graffito of a lion with body in side view and the head full front, one may add the lion similarly drawn in a mosaic at Antioch (C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch* [New York, 1938], p. 36).

Two maps of the city are provided, one on a plate, the other loose in a pocket inside the back cover. It will be useful to point out that because of difficulties of transportation which existed at the time in Europe, where the book was printed, some copies seem to have been sent to this country without the loose map. Readers whose copies lack this map may obtain it from the Yale University Press.

The excavators of Dura are to be congratulated not only upon the variety and importance of their discoveries but also upon these admirable preliminary reports, and scholars will be thankful for the modesty of the price at which this rich volume is offered.

GLANVILLE DOWNEY.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

LILLIAN M. WILSON. *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. xiii + 178. (*The Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology*, XXIV.)

In this book Dr. Wilson has followed a plan similar to that employed in her well-known monograph, *The Roman Toga* (Baltimore, 1924), which was the first in the series of *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology*. Her new work consists of thirteen chapters, of which the first two describe the raw materials of clothing and their preparation, the third deals very briefly with Sewing, Garment Fastening, and Jewelry, while the remaining ten chapters describe individual garments, their origin and development.

The author's chief sources of information are Latin literature and Roman sculpture. Obviously, the former source is far from adequate, since in literature the mention of clothing is mainly incidental, and scanty references by writers from widely separated periods often prove difficult to reconcile. But Roman sculpture, with its characteristic realism, does afford faithful evidence about Roman clothing as it appears in the splendid pictorial reliefs of contemporaneous events and in the scenes from private life which adorn sarcophagi. The book contains 95 excellent full-page plates (118 illustrations). The period covered by the study is approximately from the middle of V century B. C. to the middle of the V century A. D.

Valuable even for the general reader will be the clear account and beautiful illustrations of the development of the loom and of the processes of spinning and weaving, processes which, in the case of wool, seem to have constituted an important home-industry well into the Empire (cf., however, T. Frank, *Rome and Italy of the*

Republic, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome I [Baltimore, 1933], pp. 374-375), whereas dyeing and fulling, which required much water and expensive apparatus, were done in factories and shops.

Interesting, too, is the account of the rediscovery in the nineteenth century of the ancient art of making purple dye from the *murex*. But long before the loss of this art the costliness of the dye had led to the use of inexpensive substitutes, some recipes for which are still extant (*Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis* [Uppsala, 1913]). With the help of two chemists Dr. Wilson has reproduced these ancient vegetable and mineral substitutes, and the colored frontispiece of her book shows seven shades of purple made from these ancient formulae.

In selecting for Chapter IV the most important results of her earlier study of the *toga* the author has wisely stressed the way in which this badge of Roman citizenship changed with the changing times; how from the beautiful austerity of the *Arringatore* the *toga* increased in amplitude and intricacy of draping to the stately forms shown on the reliefs of the *Ara Pacis*, and still on to the ever more cumbersome Imperial styles, finally shrinking in size and significance with the advance of Oriental influence.

Helpful in the account of the tunic is the evidence on the troublesome question of the stripes and on the varying length of the sleeves.

The largest single section of the work consists of four chapters (VI-IX), devoted to Roman cloaks, civilian and military. These comprise eight or nine types, with some variants, and seem all to have been borrowed or adapted from foreign sources. Their use marks increasing contact with the outer world, with Gaul and the North, with Greece and the Orient. Some are difficult to identify. Especially common were the *pallium* and the *lacerna*. Such cloaks owed their popularity to the fact that they were practical and convenient; they did not require the frequent pressing and the careful draping which the Imperial *toga* demanded. A special favorite was the *lacerna*, which, with its varied lengths and cuts, served now as a rain-coat, now as a riding-coat, but, when made up in glowing purple with gold ornamentation, could grace the most formal occasion. The patriotic appeals of Cicero and Augustus and Hadrian failed to induce young Romans to sacrifice for the ancestral *toga* this comfortable and practical style.

The quaint appearance of little children in Roman art is due to the fact that their garments were miniature copies of those of their parents. In this connection the author reviews the uncertain evidence for the wearing of the *toga praetexta* by girls.

For the dress of Roman women the evidence is surprisingly scant, save in cases where they are involved in some ceremonial. Of these cases the most notable example is, of course, that of the Roman bride, whose tunic long continued to be woven on the old Homeric loom and was supposed to bring good luck; whose hair, arranged like that of a Vestal, was bound with a fillet, symbol of purity; whose voluminous veil, like that worn by the wife of a *flamen*, enveloped her as a mantle and typified the indissoluble character of the marriage-bond. If we may trust the relatively small amount

of extant evidence, the styles of women's garments changed slowly and were always more conservative than men's styles.

Prominent among the author's contributions to her subject are directions for reconstructing all the most important garments. One can hardly estimate the painstaking experimentation which went into the making of these clear and exact instructions. In the face of so much that is excellent it seems captious to question the admission of a few passages from the *fabulae palliatae* as evidence for Roman dress, or to regret on the score of inconvenience certain omissions from the Index, or to wish that the author had capped her study with a chapter on some of the large aspects of her theme, such, for example, as Etruscan and Greek influence on Roman dress. Our concern here is with something that is more than ordinary garment-making; for, in the case of the Romans, dress was, to an exceptional degree, an expression of a people's attitude to society and to life. Roman dress took account of class-distinctions, it was prescribed in some detail for important persons,—for priests, consuls, emperors, triumphing generals; it stands in significant contrast with the garb of the individualistic Greeks.

CATHARINE SAUNDERS.

VASSAR COLLEGE.

MARCO GALDI. *Saggi Boeziani*. Pisa, U. Giardini, 1938. Pp. 301.

Everyone must regret the untimely death of Dr. Galdi, who had once been a teacher of the Classics at Pavia and most fittingly had devoted many years to the study of Boethius. The eighteen essays in the volume, which deal almost entirely with aspects of the *Consolatio Philosophiae* and its influence, have been published by the author's brother just as they were left; some are finished chapters and some merely tentative sketches or collections of material.

Ten of the chapters are devoted to questions of Boethius' style and his debt to ancient authors. "Emotività e fantasia in Boezio" (VIII) maintains that beneath the austerity of the philosopher Boethius betrays a warm poetic feeling for nature and music. In "L'Apologia di Boezio" (XIV) the fourth prose of Book I is seen to strike a happy medium between rhetorical elegance and severe plainness. By having converted the myths of Orpheus, Circe, and Hercules into parables, Boethius is thought of as opening the way "a quel simbolismo etico-didascalico" characteristic of mediaeval literature (XV). Galdi sees the influence of Dio Chrysostom in the accounts of Hercules and Circe. The author cautiously suggests that there are traces in the *Consolatio* of Boethius' reading of the *Aetna* (VII), Pliny's Letters (XVI), and Cassian (XIII). In "Il canto dell' amore universale" (IX) there is a good, if not new, interpretation of *Cons.* II, m. 8 and criticisms of previous interpretations. "Boezio e Proclo" (X) does not seek to alter materially prevailing ideas of Boethius' debt to Proclus but offers suggestions with regard to details. More direct influence of Plato in *Cons.* III, m. 9 is surmised by Galdi than by Klingner (*De Boethii Consolatione Phil.*, 1921, pp. 38-62, etc.). Much is made of Boethius' having combined

ideas of Proclus and Plotinus in his concept of *Fati series* and Providence. In this Galdi follows Patch ("Fate in Boethius and the Neoplatonists," *Speculum*, IV [1929]). While rejecting many previously alleged Plutarch parallels (XII), the author thinks *Consol. ad Uxorem* may have suggested Boethius' handling of the theme of *Consolatio* Book II. It is thought that further study of Boethius and *de exilio* might produce interesting results. Galdi is inclined to think that Boethius read some pseudo-Plutarchian writings also. The chapter closes with a discussion of *Cons.* III, p. 7, in the course of which the author rather surprisingly takes exception to the reading *tortorem* (III, p. 7, 14) in the text of Stewart and Rand on the ground that the reading has no manuscript authority. There are good arguments for *tortores*, it is true, but a quick glance at Peiper's or Weinberger's apparatus would show that the manuscripts support *tortorem* just as well.

A most interesting department of Boethius studies is that of his influence in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The author has ranged over the whole field and looked into obscure corners of Boethiana. His chapters in some ways provide an interesting supplement to H. R. Patch's *Tradition of Boethius* (1935), a work which Galdi was not able to use. "Boezio e l'abate di Ferrières" (III) contains a convenient summary of Lupus' references to Boethius in his letters. "Spigolature boeziane" (XI), a title that would have fitted admirably the *Saggi* as a whole, has rather the character of a notebook and defies systematic analysis. There are notes on the *Ecbasis Captivi*, Liutprand's *Antapodosis*, Alain de Lille, Waldramus of Salzburg, Alberto da Brescia, etc. Chronology is disregarded to make room for paragraphs on Cicero and Boethius, Paulinus of Nola and Boethius, etc. There is a good statement of Boethius' claims to originality (p. 184). Over a dozen pages are devoted to the controversy started by Lorenzo Valla's superficial criticism of Boethius. The controversy itself is eloquent testimony to Boethius' continued popularity among the humanists. Other matters discussed in this miscellaneous chapter are the study of Boethius in the English speaking countries, Salutati on the banishment of the Muses, Boethius as critic of Vergil, the influence of Boethius upon Carducci and Rapisardi. "Boezio e Petrarca" (I) contains important matter, but should be provided with more cross-references to previous literature on the subject.¹ Further gleanings are chapter II on the Messinese mathematician Maurolico and his abridgment of the *Institutio musica*, Boethius and "Mantuanus Minor" (IV), and "La figura di

¹ Some of the same questions were discussed by V. Grasso, *Il De Consolatione Philosophiae di Boezio in Dante, Petrarca, Chaucer* [Catania, 1923], pp. 57-72. Galdi goes considerably beyond the results set forth in Grasso's brief chapter, but more generous references are wanted to make clear the exact extent of Galdi's contribution.

Apropos of the quotation from Euripides' *Andromache* in *Cons.* III, p. 6 (discussed by Galdi, p. 18) Galdi remarks: "Confesso intanto di non comprendere bene l'interpretazione che ne dà (i. e. of Euripides' Greek) la Venuti-De Dominicis (Teresa V.-De D., *Boezio*, 1911): 'o gloria, o gloria, non sei altro per migliaia di uomini che un'enfiagione di orecchie.'" Is it possible that the version of Venuti-De Dominicis rests on the mediaeval gloss on this passage: *o gloria gloria in milibus mortalium nihil facta aliud quam aurium inflatio magna?* Cf. *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, IX (1935), p. 137.

Boezio sulle scene" (V), the latter being a review of the rather unhappy attempts that have been made to dramatize Boethius' story. Galdi would have read with interest Aurelia Jozs's *Severino Boezio* (Milan, Treves, 1937). Italian critics and translators pass in review in chapter VI with special mention of Tiraboschi and Varchi. There appears to be one curious misstatement, to the effect that Roeca's high opinion of Boethius (as not inferior to Cicero) coincides with that of Notker Labeo "nella vita Boethii da lui scritta e premessa dal re Alfredo alla sua traduzione di Boezio." I can find nothing of the sort in Notker's or Alfred's *Boethius* but the idea is elaborated in the first and fourth of the *vitae* published by Peiper (edition of the *Cons.* [1871], pp. xxx, xxxiii), which Galdi actually quotes without giving a reference (p. 88). Like Dr. H. F. Stewart (*Boethius*, 1891), Galdi has praise for the literary quality of Maximus Planudes' Greek translation of the *Consolatio* (XVII). To judge from Galdi's one quotation (p. 266), the metrical comments prefixed by Planudes to the poems of the *Consolatio* are in some way connected with Lupus' treatise (cf. Peiper, p. xxv). The Greek translator, perhaps, worked from a manuscript provided with notes derived from Lupus or Lupus' source. In the "Conclusione" (XVIII) Galdi gives a general estimate of Boethius and his influence, laying emphasis upon Boethius' conception of his philosophical labors as a patriotic duty.

Had he lived, the author would undoubtedly have added an index, more generous references to literature dealing with Boethius, and made more precise many references that are now tantalizingly vague. Little, however, would be gained in pointing out here the minor defects that the author's *ultima manus* would have removed. The *Saggi* will be read with profit by many and will be frequently cited in the next annotated edition of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*.

EDMUND T. SILK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

ΜΑΝΟΛΗΣ ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ. *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική. Πρώτος τόμος. Ιστορική εισαγωγή. Ἀθήνα, Δημητράκου, 1938. Pp. 15 + 667; 13 maps, 7 tables. Drs. 350.*

As the title indicates, this volume is merely the historical introduction to a larger work that plans to cover completely the grammatical details of the modern Greek language. The writer has set himself the task of supplying to his countrymen in their own language information hitherto meagerly and inconveniently furnished, scattered about in works more concerned with the ancient language than with the modern. In this first volume, at least, which supplies the historical background of the language, he has performed his task extremely well.

The historical development of the language is treated in the first 169 pages, divided as follows:

- pp. 1-22, the ancient language to 330 A. D.
- pp. 23-45, the language of the Middle Ages (*μεσαιωνική γλώσσα*).
- pp. 46-169, the modern language (*νέα γλώσσα*).

From this division it can be seen that emphasis is laid on the modern period, and justly so, for the early period has been thoroughly treated by many other scholars. In the early pages, however, the influence of the ancient dialects on the development of the modern tongues has been fully studied.

Since his years as a student—in Athens with Hatzidakis, Lambros, and Bernardakis, in Munich with Crusius and Krumbacher, to mention the most important of his teachers—, years which culminated in his doctoral dissertation at Munich (*Studien zu den Lehnwörtern der mittelhellenischen Vulgärliteratur* [Marburg, 1909]), Dr. Triantaphyllides has been a devoted champion of the cause of demotic Greek as against the high-style (*καθαρεύουσα*). In Greece books and newspapers are written, public speeches are declaimed in a language designed by the purists of a hundred years ago to approximate the language of the ancients, while in daily intercourse quite a different speech is used. Except for poetry, the popular speech was long deemed by educated people unworthy as a vehicle for literary thought, an opinion that still is widely prevalent. It is noteworthy that in a scholarly work Dr. Triantaphyllides has employed the popular speech throughout the book, except in quotations.

As might be expected, full attention has been paid to the history of the conflict that has long raged between the proponents of the two languages, a conflict that in the early part of this century entailed riots and deaths. In Greece the Language Question is taken as seriously as are questions of religion or politics. Such disputes rouse more animosity than they do in Western lands. The Language Question, moreover, is one which cannot be settled by mere arguing or by appeals to reason and, least of all, by the intervention of foreign scholars. Its solution must come by a process of evolution, assisted by some great writer still unborn, who will produce a work in a "compromise" language that will become standard. The situation somewhat resembles that existing in Italy before the appearance of Dante.

The volume under consideration appears as a graphic witness of the evolution that has taken place since the time of the Gospel Riots at the beginning of the century, riots caused by the attempted introduction at the University of a translation of the Gospels that was too "demotic." The grammar, written in the popular language, in a clear and simple style, illustrates the undeniable fact that the demotic must borrow words from the other camp to supplement its meager vocabulary. It foreshadows a time when the two languages will unite on a closer footing, the elaborate diction of the *καθαρεύουσα* having yielded somewhat to the simpler locutions of the other, but having enriched it the while with countless words and phrases. To the evolution the newspapers and radio are contributing in no small degree. As in all languages that have a written language there exist small differences between the written and the spoken language, similar differences will always remain in Greek, but the disparity that now exists will tend to diminish.

Beyond p. 170, to the end of the book, there is a mine of information for the student, and a store of practice material for anyone who desires to attain proficiency in the reading of Greek. There are copious extracts from Greek literature of all periods, chosen to

illustrate the historical matter of the previous pages, especially extracts from the writers of the popular speech from the earliest times to the present. The Attic and dialectic inscriptions and the papyri are heavily requisitioned. A reluctance to extend the book unreasonably probably precluded the inclusion of some of the colloquial portions of Aristophanes, but the abundance of illustrative material is more than ample. Although the excerpts have been chosen for their value as illustration, this fact does not preclude their interest. This part of the book can be recommended as an excellent Reader in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek. Each passage chosen is fully commented on, with full documentation. The bibliographies, especially that on the Language Question, are extremely valuable.

In paper and typography the book is an example of the excellent printed matter that can now be produced in Greece.

SHIRLEY H. WEBER.

THE GENNADEION, ATHENS.

DONALD EUGENE FIELDS. *The Technique of Exposition in Roman Comedy*. Private ed. distributed by the Univ. of Chicago Libraries, 1938. Pp. iii + 200.

Dr. Fields defines exposition as "the relation of the facts and conditions that prevailed prior to the beginning of the play" (p. 1) and is concerned, therefore, only with the presuppositions of the plot, not with the development of the action within the play. In the first half of his dissertation the author summarizes the exposition in each comedy of Plautus and Terence and shows the extent to which the necessary facts are presented gradually throughout the plays; in the second part of the work he analyzes the exposition in the opening scenes of each play, explains the dramatist's choice of certain characters for the purpose of giving exposition; he treats also the various methods of introducing and motivating the presuppositions and discusses the motivation of the entrance of the characters who give the necessary facts. All this helps to throw considerable light on the methods not only of Plautus and Terence but also of the authors of the Greek originals and will therefore be very useful to all students of ancient dramatic technique. The material, in the first half especially, is somewhat mechanically presented, and the arrangement of the book renders unavoidable a certain amount of repetition, since the reader returns from time to time to the same play or group of scenes. Unfortunately there is no index, and a reader, wishing material on a particular play, must go through the entire book and assemble for himself the necessary passages.

Dr. Fields is familiar with much recent work on the various plays, and often in lengthy footnotes reviews the theories of Fraenkel, Jachmann, Hough, Drexler, and other scholars who deal with problems of exposition (e. g. pp. 13, n. 1; 59, n. 4; 60, n. 2; 87, n. 1; 90, n. 1); the discussion of the unusual features in the exposition of the

Epidicus (p. 140, n. 1) would have been improved by a mention of Dziatzko's generally accepted theory of the change which Plautus made in the conclusion of the play. Kuiper's recent work which deals considerably with matters of exposition was apparently published too late to be available to Fields. The author's purpose is primarily descriptive and analytical, e.g. he shows that the introductory exposition (by means of dialogue) is motivated by questions, requests for help, statements of returning characters, announcements by messengers, disputes, instructions to servants, etc., but the numerous citations and parallel passages are extremely useful. Often interesting points emerge; the discussion of the mechanical and unconvincing rôle of the protatic slave in the *Andria* (p. 108, n. 1; cf. pp. 156 f.) gives added proof that Norwood unjustly criticizes Plautus for his handling of the protatic character, minimizing the more obvious flaws in Terence's technique.

The author shows that in the plays of Plautus which have no recognition scenes all the necessary information is given before the action of the play begins; in the other plays of Plautus, as well as in those of Terence, the exposition is gradual; the regular technique in these plays is as follows (p. 35): "the giving of the expository information necessary for the understanding of the action preceding the denouement is completed before the action begins; the exposition is gradual in so far as certain facts, affecting the recognition, are reserved until the recognition occurs, or until very shortly before." In these plays, therefore, Plautus and Terence handle their exposition in similar fashion, and the Plautine plays with recognition scenes (e.g. *Menaechmi*, *Captivi*, *Cistellaria*, *Poenulus*, *Rudens*, etc.) do not in most cases need the detailed prologues which they have.

The most significant fact concerning Fields' treatment of the exposition is his failure to give due consideration to the Plautine prologues; on the contrary he intentionally limits his study to "the technique used within the play itself" (p. 2).¹ This procedure, it seems to me, materially lessens the value of his results and constitutes the major weakness of the book. If in a given comedy the exposition is spread throughout the play (the *Rudens* is the best illustration, pp. 84 ff.), this proves little if the same information has already been given to the spectators by means of a prologue. Fields often states (pp. 10, 24, 30 f., 33, 36, etc.) that the facts of the prologue are (or, occasionally, are not) repeated in the play itself, either before the action begins or gradually throughout the play, but he does not make sufficiently clear whether the facts given in the play itself present to the audience knowledge which they did not acquire from the prologue. If in all the plays with prologues the facts which are given gradually later on merely repeat what the spectators already know, then the gradual revelation of these facts seems of less value in arousing or maintaining the interest of the audience. In fairness to the author, however, it must be admitted that he considers the problem merely from the standpoint of the technique of the dramatists, not from the equally important view

¹ But in the *Miles Gloriosus* and the *Mercator* the presuppositions are given completely in the prologues; cf. pp. 7, 10.

of the possible effect of the exposition upon the interest of the spectators. Dr. Fields has given us a useful and thorough study of one phase of ancient dramatic technique; further investigation may yield still more fruitful results.

GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

HAROLD FUCHS. *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt.* Berlin, De Gruyter and Co., 1938. Pp. 102.

This inaugural lecture, delivered at the University of Basel in 1933, is now published with the addition of sixty-six pages of notes, which consist partly of ancient testimonia to support the author's arguments, partly of discussions of controversial matters. Professor Fuchs' thesis is to show that Rome and her imperial structure were at all times the target of hostile criticism and then to illustrate this by examples extending in time over six centuries, from Polybius and Carneades to the later years of Augustine. The result is a readable and stimulating essay, while the elaborate annotations form a valuable repertorium of ancient sources and modern interpretations that bears witness to the author's unusual erudition. At the same time, though Professor Fuchs has indisputably made a weighty contribution to a subject of great interest both to the historian and the political philosopher, his book should be used with caution, or rather, with mental reservations, because in the main he is stating only one side of the case. Thus, for instance, it is well to remind oneself that, in contrast to the hostile judgments on Rome expressed in contemporary literature, the epigraphic records bear eloquent testimony to the gratitude of the common man for an imperial organization that made the *pax romana* a reality at least in the first and second centuries of our era. Professor Fuchs makes no mention of this inscriptional evidence, just as he passes over in silence Aelius Aristides. Yet Aristides' discourse "To Rome" is not a mere rhetorical flourish but, as Rostovtzeff has rightly stressed, a historical document of great moment filled with genuine admiration of Rome. Again, where Professor Fuchs in passing does draw attention to ancient verdicts favorable to Rome, he does not always allow them full weight. Thus he quotes a number of passages from the *Sibylline Oracles*, all of them hostile to Rome, and examines them at considerable length (pp. 30-36 and later), but he is content to allude in a very few lines and without discussion to the pro-Roman utterances scattered through the twelfth and fourteenth books of the *Oracula*.

Professor Fuchs is an eloquent advocate, but the soundness of his historical judgment is occasionally open to question. Would not a historical generalization like the following (p. 21), "Das antike Judentum hat die Feindschaft gegen Rom grundsätzlich niemals überwunden," need considerable qualification before it could be accepted as true? Or again, is the evidence for Carneades' lectures at Rome in 156 B. C. really sufficient to justify Professor Fuchs' elaborate reconstruction (pp. 2-4)? Virtually our only source for

the episode is Lactantius, since most of that portion in Cicero's *De republica* which deals with Carneades' orations is lost. And, even if we had Cicero's description intact, should we be justified in treating it as an historically accurate account? Cicero's practice in his other philosophical and in his rhetorical dialogues suggests that he allowed himself a good deal of latitude both in his use of historical *exempla* and in stating the views that he attributes to Greek and Roman worthies of the past. It may further be suggested that Professor Fuchs (p. 11) misunderstands or misinterprets Cicero's reference (*De lege agraria*, I, 18) to Capua as a "second Rome," because he ignores the immediate circumstances in which the orator delivered his speeches against Rullus' agrarian bill. They were essentially party utterances levelled against the political opponents of Pompey and the senate; and just as Cicero, to stir up popular opposition, warns against those who are trying to make themselves *reges* in fact though not in name, so he emphasises Capua because it had once been Rome's greatest rival among the Italian cities and had actually gone over to Rome's chief enemy, Hannibal. Finally, when Professor Fuchs, in the course of his remarks (p. 23) on the *De civitate dei*, stresses Augustine's comparison between small states and a vast organism like the Roman empire—a comparison unfavorable to Rome—does he make sufficient allowance for the historical circumstances which impelled Augustine to compose his greatest work? We should surely not forget that its main theme is the antithesis between the *civitas terrena*—in the last analysis, any human or temporal state—and the *civitas dei*. Consequently we should not overemphasise Augustine's strictures on the political organism with which he was most familiar, since he was himself a member of it. As he himself remarks (*Retract.*, II, 69), when concluding the analysis of his masterpiece: *ita omnes viginti duo libri cum sint de utraque civitate conscripti, titulum tamen a meliore acceperunt, ut de civitate dei potius vocarentur.*

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

HANS WINTERSCHIEDT. *Aigina: Eine Untersuchung über seine Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft.* Würzburg, 1938. Pp. iv + 59. (Köln dissertation.)

The aim of this essay is to sketch the sociological and economic history of Aegina from the middle of the seventh century to 431 B. C., the year of the installation of the Athenian cleruchy. The first chapter, devoted to the geography of Aegina, makes the common observations on the significance of the island's location, warns against the ancient tradition of its agricultural poverty, and closes with an account of the three harbors of Aegina—an account which is occasionally at variance with the determinations made in Lehmann-Hartleben's *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (*Klio*, Beiheft XIV, 1923). The greater part of the sociological observations are set down in the second chapter, together with an

admixture of political history that makes no serious effort to deal with the problems it entails. The writer argues for a social and political organization which emphasizes the rôle of an agrarian nobility, minimizes that of a merchant class which he holds to be without importance in the political life of the island; his thesis is by no means established. The third chapter, very short, contains the writer's remarks on the Aeginetan economy; none is extraordinary.

The chief value of this booklet is that it assembles a fair amount of the ancient testimonia for Aegina and a not inconsiderable list of modern works. Omitted, however, are the recent publications of Gabriel Welter: *Aigina* (Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, Berlin, 1938) and *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, pp. 1-33 and pp. 480-540, all particularly important for the archaeological material they contain; omitted, too, is Fritz Heichelheim's *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums* (Leiden, 1938), where especially chapters V and VI might have contributed to this study of Aeginetan society and economy. These omissions, of course, are undoubtedly due to the fact that the works did not appear in time for Winterscheidt to make use of them.

If this dissertation on Aegina falls short of perfection, it is at least not without a certain usefulness—moreover, some further commendation is due the work, in these days, because it fails to exploit such pernicious nonsense as that found in the final sentences of Fritz Schachermeyr's article on the Philaidai in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*, XIX, 2 (Stuttgart, 1938): Athen verdankte ihm [the family of the Philaidai] die glanzvollste und überzeugendste Vertretung eines politischen Standpunktes, welcher der naturgegebenen Tatsache der Auslese Rechnung zu tragen gesonnen war und den demokratischen Machtansprüchen entschlossen begegnete. In unsern Augen gewinnt das politische Verhalten der P[hilaidai] eine noch erhöhte Rechtfertigung durch Überlegungen rassenkundlicher Art. Waren die breiten Volksmassen der thetischen Klasse, welche durch die Demokratie zur Macht gelangten, doch zugleich die Träger einer ungünstigeren Blutmischung. Wenn die P[hilaidai] demgegenüber die Vorrechte der Auslese betonten, so verteidigten sie damit den Anspruch des nordischen Blutes auf seinen Leitcharakter im politischen Leben des attischen Volkstumes.

PAUL A. CLEMENT.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

ENGBERT JAN JONKERS. Invloed van het Christendom op de Romeinsche wetgeving betreffende het concubinatus en de echtscheiding. Wegeningen, H. Veenman & Zonen, 1938. Pp. viii + 224.

In this Amsterdam dissertation Jonkers is inspired by the protest of his teacher, Hoetink, against the ignoring of social and economic conditions by students of Roman law. The task here undertaken is to show that the legislation about concubinage and divorce

from Constantine to Justinian was motivated solely by the financial interests of the State, and not by Christian teaching. Jonkers follows the complicated legislation step by step, insisting that definite Christian influence can nowhere be proved and in most cases is clearly out of the question.

The treatment of the subject is ample. The sources are quoted in full, and material is introduced far beyond the limits of the announced subject. For instance, after stating the ancient Christian views on divorce and remarriage, twelve pages (128-139) are devoted to mediaeval writers and councils, leaders of the Reformation, and modern churchmen, with a reference to the Anglican discussion about the marriage of the former king, Edward VIII, to the divorced Mrs. Simpson.

Another twenty-seven pages (8-34) give an account of concubinage under the Republic, but without giving any clear evidence of its existence (that is, as a recognized institution, like the later *concubinatus*). During the Empire the word *concubinatus* is the legal term for a lasting union of a man and woman not legally married, but it is also used then, as during the Republic, to describe any illicit union. It is easy to assume, as Jonkers does (pp. 11, 21, etc.) that unions of both kinds existed under the Republic, but that is of little importance unless it can be shown that the first (the subject of this dissertation) was then recognized as something distinct.

Jonkers finds one cause for the institution in the prohibition (until the time of Augustus) of marriage between the free born and the ex-slaves. But it is doubtful whether there ever was such a prohibition. Corbett (*Roman Law of Marriage*, pp. 31-34) offers the latest and fullest discussion of the question, deciding that it is unproved and improbable. Jonkers cites Corbett, along with earlier writers (p. 24, n. 1), but without noticing his arguments.

Another supposed proof for the republican concubinate is found in the story of Carvilius (pp. 29-35). Jonkers follows Savigny in understanding the oath "*se uxorem liberorum quaerendorum gratia habere*" to refer to a distinction between a wife and a concubine. But Corbett (*Roman Law of Marriage*, pp. 218-228) has shown the legendary character of the story, invented as an account of the first divorce in Rome. Even if the oath existed, it need not imply the existence of the *concubinatus*. Savigny supposes that the oath was applied to everyone, as part of the procedure of the census (*Abh. d. K. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Berlin*, 1814-1815, Hist.-phil. Klasse, pp. 61-66) whereas Jonkers less plausibly thinks that it was especially applied to Carvilius, to elicit the facts regarding his domestic status. He then concludes that Carvilius' wife must have been a free born Roman, else the woman's accent and physical type would have betrayed her slave origin and concubine status, and the censors would not have troubled Carvilius with the question!

Jonkers (p. 40) follows Tenney Frank in taking *ars ludicra* to refer only to "*de variété- en cabaretartiste.*" For a later discussion of the question, see *Class. Phil.*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 301-304.

Jonkers makes a good affirmative case to show that economic motives dominated the course of legislation regarding concubinage and divorce. But his negative thesis, that religious motives never

played a part, can hardly be proved. As the later Emperors enact laws to make divorce more and more difficult, it is entirely credible, as Theodosius and Valentinian state, that the leading motive was a consideration for the interests of the children (*Cod.*, 5, 17, 8 pr. *Solutionem matrimonii difficiliorem debere esse favor imperat liberorum*. Quoted p. 190, n. 1). But may not Christian sentiments have coincided with the practical considerations in the matter? Indeed, when Justinian boldly abolished divorce by mutual consent (*Nov.*, 117, 10), religious prejudices seem to have unwisely prevailed. For the next Emperor, Justin, found it necessary to repeal the law, explaining that his father, in view of his own strong character, did not consider the weakness of the rest of mankind (*Nov.*, 140 pr.). Justinian was certainly a zealous churchman and a learned theologian, and it would be strange if this had never influenced his legislation. So we need not share Jonkers' amazement (p. 180) at the rule that allows divorce when either party, or both, choose the monastic life. Jonkers admits "coöperation" between Church and State in the law which assigned to a monastery the person and property of one who attempted divorce without legal cause (pp. 185 f.). This admission should qualify the repeated denial of "Christian influence" upon legislation.

WILLIAM M. GREEN.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

FRIDERICUS KLINGNER. Q. Horati Flacci Carmina. Leipzig, Teubner, 1939. Pp. xx + 379.

Klingner, in presenting his text edition of Horace, starts with the premise that Keller and Holder took much for granted in their tripartite classification of the manuscripts of Horace. Klingner then notes that Vollmer, though holding to a dual tradition, failed to make out his case. Lejay, Villeneuve, and Lenchantin accepted the latter alternative but did not go into the merits of the matter. Klingner recognizing the hugeness of the task as a whole would at least go fully into the light that Vaticanus R may throw on the problem. He concludes that there were two (Ξ and Ψ) Horatian traditions going back to classical times and that during the Middle Ages a third recension arose (Q) deriving from both of the ancient sources. The mediaeval redactor (Q) preferred Ξ in the *Odes*, followed one or the other in the *Ars Poetica*, *Epodes*, and *Epistles*, and in the *Satires* usually chose the better reading without prejudice. The editor fits the extant manuscripts quite definitely into their respective classes. He places the scholia in Q. These conclusions as set forth in the preface, pp. iv-vii, seem to be borne out remarkably by the variant readings appearing in the critical notes throughout the text.

Aside from presenting his edition of Horace with the critical apparatus, the editor includes the *Vita* of Suetonius with variant readings and critical notes. Mr. Klingner also subjoins throughout the text separately pertinent material from the scholiasts, commentators, and classical writers. Indices include Vollmer's *Conspectus*

Metrorum; his *Metrica et Prosodiaca* and *Notabilia Grammatica*. There is also an *Index Nominum*. A checking of many references taken *passim* revealed no errors in documentation. The editor, to say the least, has not gone out of his way to find authority for unusual readings. Thus the only significant variant from the Oxford text in the first six of the odes is *pinnis* for *pennis* in *Carmina*, I, 3, 35.

ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities*, with an English Translation by EARNEST CARY. Volume II (Books III-IV). *The Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. v + 532.

This reviewer believes that in the interest of better translations, all use of italics for emphasis should be forbidden. "Nay, do *you*, answer *me* rather" (p. 379) should be "On the contrary, it is for you to answer me." Here we recognize *μὲν οὖν* = *immo vero*, a force overlooked again in IV, 31, 3. The italicized *you* in IV, 36 (beginning) might be avoided by writing "It is you who astonish me." In IV, 33, 3 the point of *τοιούτοις* = *τούτοις τοῖς ἐπικινδύνοις* is missed; the meaning is "In spite of the fact that I was in charge of such a perilous situation, nevertheless, . . ." The hortative *ἀλλά* with imperatives deserves something better than "but": "Act promptly, therefore" (IV, 39, 2). In IV, 28, 2 *ἐναντία συναφθεῖς τύχη* is rather "wedded to an adverse destiny" than "joined by an adverse fate." The translator seems confident (p. 357 note) that "The Romans got their alphabet from the Greeks (Chalcidians) who settled at Cumae and Naples." It might have been mentioned (pp. 395-7) that the senate-house was not in the Forum and that the removal of the old Rostra altered the aspect of things there during the lifetime of Dionysius.

Every translator, of course, like Homer, is entitled to an occasional nod. This volume is really superior to its predecessor. The version is rather more vigorous and even. The text reveals the personal attention of the editor, Edward Capps, which is as it should be. The proof-reading is excellent, though "seeming" (p. 437) should be "seeing." It is gratifying that such a dull author should be available in so attractive a form.

NORMAN W. DEWITT.

VICTORIA COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

MARY N. PORTER PACKER. Cicero's Presentation of Epicurean Ethics. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. 127. Columbia Diss.

This study is most commendable. It is clearly written and well printed, acutely reasoned and amply documented. The treatment confines itself to *De Finibus* I-II and is divided into two chapters: 1. Cicero's Presentation of Epicurean Philosophy in *De Finibus* I. 2. Cicero's Critique of Epicurean Philosophy, Presented in *De Finibus* I and II. Each chapter concludes with a summary, and the text of Epicurus himself is abundantly cited. The conclusion is that Cicero failed "to understand Epicureanism as a consistently unified philosophy (p. 81)," but is acquitted of having been "deliberately and intentionally unfair (p. 119)."

It is only to this acquittal that I take exception. Every debater has the choice of arguing to reveal the truth in its entirety or of arguing to make points. The former method is adapted to the Supreme Court, the latter to a trial by jury. Cicero was a crafty old trial lawyer and he deliberately argued to make points, because he was pleading before a reading audience, which functions like a jury, and his shrewd legal mind had long discerned the vulnerability of Epicureanism before this style of attack. His attitude was that of William J. Bryan toward biological evolution, and his pleadings are comparable to a Scopes trial, but I do not believe he could have misrepresented the truth so successfully had he not understood it completely. In the Scopes trial, the crafty old lawyer was on the opposite side—Clarence Darrow.

NORMAN W. DEWITT.

VICTORIA COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

Dioscoride Latino. *Materia Medica*, libro primo, a cura di H. MIHĂESCU. Iași, Tipografia Alexandru A. Terek, 1938. Pp. viii + 72.

The *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides was translated as a whole or in parts at least three times in the early Middle Ages. Numerous fragments of such a translation are preserved as interpolations to the *Herbarius Pseudo-Apulei* in one group of manuscripts (represented by Cod. Harleian. 4986 and Cod. Vindob. 187). Quotations from the same version occur in Isidorus of Seville. Not a literal translation but a short compilation from Dioscorides and other sources is the so-called *Liber Dioscoridis de Herbis Femininis* describing 71 medicinal herbs and their therapeutic virtue (edited by Kästner, *Hermes*, XXXI [1896], pp. 578-636). This is possibly the *Herbarius Dioscoridis* mentioned by Cassiodorus (*De Inst. Div. Litt.*, Cap. 31).

By far the most important early mediaeval translation is the one preserved in the two manuscripts: Monacensis latinus 337, written in the 8th century in Monte Cassino, and Parisinus latinus 9332, written in the 9th century in Chartres. Two leaves of the latter were cut out while the book was still in Chartres and are preserved today

in the Municipal and University Library of Berne (Codex A 91). When K. Hofmann and T. M. Auracher began to edit the Latin Dioscorides in 1882 (*Romanische Forschungen*, herausg. von Karl Vollmöller [Erlangen, 1882], I, pp. 49-105) only the Munich manuscript was known to them so that the first book of the *Materia Medica* was edited from one manuscript alone. After a long interruption H. Stadler continued the edition (*Romanische Forschungen*, X, pp. 181-247; XI, pp. 1-121; XIII, pp. 161-243; XIV, pp. 601-636) and in the meantime the Paris manuscript and the Berne fragments had been identified so that there was a much more solid foundation for the edition of Books II to V.

Stadler intended to reëdit Book I but he never did it, and now the gap has just been filled by H. Mihăescu who gives us a new edition of Book I based on all existing manuscripts. At last we have a complete critical edition of this particular Latin translation of Dioscorides. Mihăescu is now working on a monograph that will give an analysis of the language of this translation. He will follow the example set so very successfully by the school of Einar Löfstedt in Sweden.

HENRY E. SIGERIST.

INSTITUTE OF THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE,
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD. *The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times*. New York, The Ronald Press Co., 1938. Pp. xxi + 618, frontispiece, 64 plates, 11 maps, 9 chronological tables. \$4.50.

CHARLES EDWARD SMITH and PAUL GRADY MOORHEAD. *A Short History of the Ancient World*. New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939. Pp. xvii + 653, frontispiece, 10 plates, 7 maps. \$3.75.

ALBERT A. TREVER. *History of Ancient Civilization* (Vol. I: *The Ancient Near East and Greece*, pp. xx + 585, frontispiece, 18 plates, 14 maps, 4 charts; Vol. II: *The Roman World*, pp. xviii + 817, frontispiece, 22 plates, 7 maps, 4 charts). New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936 and 1939. \$4 each volume.

The first two of these three works, those of Miss Sanford and of Smith and Moorhead, may be discussed together. Both are one-volume histories of the ancient world; both are mindful of the new knowledge gained by excavations. Miss Sanford gives good guidance for readings in the sources; Smith and Moorhead give none. Both are well organized in general. Miss Sanford deserves praise for her plan of keeping the reader aware of the Mediterranean world from period to period, a plan which is carefully worked out. The execution—that is, the text—unfortunately leaves much to be desired in both books. The specialist or the experienced teacher will note innumerable small slips. Very few of these are serious and pre-

sumably they will be corrected in the second editions. A more serious fault is that the exposition does not seem to have been thoroughly worked into shape in either book. In many places the beginner will be unable to understand what the text means, and in other places he will be misled. A short ancient history can be very useful, but only if the material is presented with the utmost clarity. Still and all, those who need a one-volume ancient history would do well to examine these two.

Trever has taken advantage of the two volumes allowed him by his publishers to give a fairly full account of his subject at all points. All sides of ancient life are presented, and there are frequent discussions and judgments which will make a good basis for classroom discussion. To illustrate this by an exception, the short statement (I, p. 217) that "the Milesian school ceased to develop because of the Persian conquest of the Ionian cities" is exceptional in being a categorical (and obviously wrong) answer to a complicated question; the pros, cons, and possibilities are usually presented. The Hellenistic Age receives a more adequate treatment than is usual in textbooks, as does the modern inheritance from Greece and Rome.

The books have an excellent bibliography of sources and secondary works, and the author evidently has read widely in both. Occasionally he seems to have had difficulty in choosing between two views and has tried to reconcile them with unfortunate results (e. g., II, pp. 116-117), but in general his treatment of contested points will not mislead the beginner. He makes few slips.

An objection should be made to the Tiberian terror (R. S. Rogers' study is not listed in the bibliography) and to DeSanctis' theory of the cause of the Jugurthine War, which was adopted in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

The map in the back cover of Vol. II is a careless and inexact piece of work. The legends accompanying the plates are not to be trusted.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

KATHARINE EVERETT GILBERT and HELMUT KUHN. *A History of Esthetics*. New York, Macmillan, 1939. Pp. xx + 582. \$4.25.

Though this history of aesthetics covers twenty-five centuries, four of the nineteen chapters are given over to classical theories of art and beauty. Pre-Platonic aesthetics are derived from fragments of Heraclitus and Xenophanes attacking Homer and Hesiod and from the structure of cosmological theories. The former are not of course attacks on poetry, and there is just as much reason to hold that aesthetic prejudices determined cosmological structure as that cosmology determined aesthetic preferences. But since little is made of the former and since speculation is permissible in the latter field, no great harm is done. The chapters on Plato and Aristotle are solid studies based on the texts themselves and, though specialists are bound to differ on certain details, there is no reason to criticise the general

interpretation which the authors make of the fathers of aesthetics. The Hellenistic and Roman periods are presented by Theophrastus, Aristoxenus, Cicero, and writers of *obiter dicta* on the arts and beauty, but culminate with Plotinus. The nature of the material does not permit a genuine historical continuity—as is possible in the case of Plato and Aristotle—but the authors have done an excellent piece of work nevertheless in suggesting, rather than dogmatically asserting, certain affiliations of ideas. Strictly speaking, the material simply does not exist for writing a history of aesthetics in ancient times; the authors cannot be criticised for attempting one so long as they admit the incompleteness of their product.

The later chapters of the book are of interest to classicists largely as they show the effects of classical theory. The works of Aristotle and, to a smaller extent, of Plato have been used for centuries as authorities in the field of aesthetic criticism. It is important for students of these authors to see how they were interpreted in later times.

GEORGE BOAS.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

At its annual meeting in New York the CAAS appointed a committee to arrange and facilitate the exchange of positions between classics professors in the universities of the country. The value of such exchanges is very considerable, and the CAAS felt in setting up the bureau that it was promoting cordial coöperation and understanding between members of wide-flung university staffs. The committee consists of Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., Chairman, Professor Ernest L. Hettich and Professor George D. Hadzsits. The procedure adopted is simple. Applications may be made to the chairman of the committee at New York University, who will forward a questionnaire to be filled out in triplicate. When suitable matches are found, the questionnaire will be sent to the parties concerned, who will then proceed to make the final arrangements. There is to be no fee, and inasmuch as the bureau is in effect really a clearing house, no responsibility is to attach either to the committee or to the CAAS for failure to conclude exchanges.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

The Annual of the British School at Athens, XXXVII (1936-37). Papers Presented to Professor J. L. Myres in Honour of his 70th Birthday. London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1940. Pp. x + 286; frontispiece; 30 plates.

Bardino (Lice). L'Argenis di John Barclay e il romanzo greco. Palermo, Casa ed. Trimarchi, no date. Pp. 125 (*Studi Palermitani*, No. 3.)

Brommer (P.). *Eidos et idéa. Étude sémantique et chronologique des oeuvres de Platon*. Assen, Van Gorcum, 1940. Pp. 277. Fl. 4.90. (*Philosophia Critica*, I.)

Brown (W. Norman). A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura, India, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Philadelphia, *Univ. of Pennsylvania Press*, 1940. Pp. xii + 88.

Campbell (A. Y.). The Agamemnon of Aeschylus, Translated into English Verse with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes and an Appendix of New Notes on the Text. London, *Univ. Press of Liverpool, Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd.*, 1940. Pp. xxi + 95. 3s. 6d.

Colonna (Aristide). "Heliodorea" and "Due papiri di Achille Tazio." *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia, Rendiconti*, ser. VII, Suppl. to Vol. I, pp. 41-60; 61-83. Rome, 1940.

Dauids (H. L.). De Gnomologieën van Sint Gregorius van Nazianze. Nijmegen-Utrecht, *Dekker en Van de Veegt N. V.*, 1940. Pp. 164. Fl. holl. 2.90.

Davis (Rose Mary). The Good Lord Lyttelton. A Study in Eighteenth Century Politics and Culture. Bethlehem, Pa., *Times Publ. Co.*, 1939. Pp. xiv + 443. (Columbia diss.)

DeGroot (A. W.). Neutralisation d'oppositions. Groningen, *J. B. Wolters*, no date. Pp. 19. (Overdruk uit *Neophilologus*, XXV, 2.)

Devoto (Giacomo). Storia di Roma: Storia della lingua di Roma. Bologna, *Licinio Cappelli*, 1940. Pp. 423. L. 55. (*Storia di Roma*, XXIII.)

Farrington (Benjamin). Science and Politics in the Ancient World. New York, *Oxford Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. 243. \$2.50.

Halliwell (Rev. William J.). The Style of Pope St. Leo the Great. Washington, D. C., *Catholic Univ. of America*, 1939. Pp. xvi + 98. (*Patristic Studies*, LIX.)

Kerényi (Carlo). La religione antica nelle sue linee fondamentali. Bologna, *Nicola Zanichelli*, 1940. Pp. xvi + 285. L. 30. (*Storia delle religioni*, XIV.)

Rosenberger (Grete). Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek VI: Griechische Verwaltungsurkunden von Tebtynis aus dem Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (*P. Bibl. Univ. Giss.*, XLVII-LIII). Giessen, Privatdruck, 1939. Pp. iv + 44.

Rostovtzeff (M. I.), Brown (F. E.), and Welles (C. B.), editors. The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work 1933-1934 and 1934-1935. New Haven, *Yale Univ. Press*, 1939. Pp. xxiv + 461; frontispiece; 57 plates; 86 text figures; map. \$7.50.

Sbordone (Francesco). Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica. Saggio introduttivo. Edizione critica del testo e commento. Naples, *Luigi Loffredo*, 1940. Pp. lxvi + 226. L. 80.

Stevens (Gorham Phillips). The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon. *American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1940. Pp. 91; 66 text figures. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. III.)

Stirling (M. W.). An Initial Series from Tres Zapotes, Vera Cruz, Mexico. Washington, D. C., 1940. Pp. 15. (National Geographic Society, *Mexican Archeology Series*, I, no. 1.)

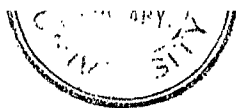
Watters (R. E.). Melville's Metaphysics of Evil. Reprinted from *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, IX, no. 2, Jan. 1940. Pp. 170-182.

Weekley (Ernest). Jack and Jill. A Study of our Christian Names. New York, *E. P. Dutton & Co.*, 1940. Pp. xii + 193. \$1.50.

Whitehall (Harold). Middle English *ū* and Related Sounds, Their Development in Early American English. Supplement to *Language*, XV, no. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1939. Pp. 79. (*Language Monograph* No. 19.)

Wilcox (Stanley). The Destructive Hypothetical Syllogism in Greek Logic and in Attic Oratory. Yale diss., 1938.

Youtie (Herbert Chayyim) and Pearl (Orsamus Merrill), editors. Michigan Papyri, IV, Pt. II, Tax Rolls from Karanis, Text and Indexes. Ann Arbor, *Univ. of Michigan Press*, 1939. Pp. xv + 266; 3 plates. \$4.



AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LXII, 2

WHOLE No. 246

RATIO > *RACE*.

In opposition to the theory of Salvioni and the *Rom. Etym. Wb.*, who had posited Ital. *razza* "race" = *generatio*,¹ I have already (*Z.R.Ph.*, LIII, p. 300) endeavored to prove, by phonetic and semantic reasons, that the Latin *ratio* in a learned form is at the bottom of our modern expressions for "race"—or, more specifically, of the Italian *razza*, from which the other languages seem to have borrowed;² my point of departure was

¹ The last edition of Kluge's etymological dictionary of German by A. Götze (1934) still gives (as Lokotsch did in 1927) the Arabic *ra's* "head" as the etymon of *race*. This etymon has, however, long been discarded by Romance philologists, and for a variety of reasons: (1) this Arabic word appears in Spanish *res*, Port. *rez* "head of cattle" which contain the sound *-s-* (not the *-z-* of Sp. *raza*) and the Arabic *imela* (*a* > *e* as in Port. *Tejo*, the Arabicized form of *Tagus*): there is no trace of either phoneme in Sp. *raza*; (2) thus far the first attestation of the word is not in the Pyreneic peninsula (Nebrija does not list it and the Sp. passages I quoted in my first article must be interpreted otherwise, cf. *Hisp. Review*, 1940), so that there is little likelihood of Arabic influence; (3) it must be a principle of our etymology to turn to an oriental word only in the event that there is no explanation of a Romance word forthcoming from the Latin-Romance stock, cf. Sainéan, *Les sources indigènes de l'étymologie française*.—The dissertation of Hans Flasche, *Die begriff. Entwicklung des Wortes ratio im Franz. bis 1500* (Bonn, 1935) denies categorically the equation *race* = *ratio*, without giving any reasons.—As for the Belluno *naraccia* "race" (with the variants in Ruzzante *nar(r)ation*) which seemed to Salvioni to be the missing link between *generatio* and *razza*, I consider it = *narratio* in the meaning "denomination, description" (e.g. according to Du Cange *narratio feodata* or *nominatio* was a list of fiefs with their description, already in Latin *cibos* . . . *narrare* "to enumerate"—for the meaning "kind, species" cf. the Engl. *description*).

² I think, however, that the date of the first appearance of our word in

such an example as the Ciceronian passage cited by Georges: *disseruerunt de generibus et rationibus civitatum* (Georges translated: "Verhältnis, Beschaffenheit, Natur, Art und Weise, Einrichtung"). It was, at the time of the publication of my article (1933), a malicious pleasure to propose to Germany the idea: "Das Wort, das heute im *Gegensatz* zu 'Geist' verwendet wird, hat also einen höchst geistigen Ursprung."

Romance is much earlier than has been hitherto believed: first I shall mention the Catalanian poet Auzias March († 1458), who says:

Bondat, virtut han perduda sa *raça*
cossos humans han molt disminuït.

Here, in accordance with the commonplace mediaeval pattern of melancholy complaints on the decline of ages, abstract virtues are represented as having lost their vitality; that *raça* is thought of in a fleshly way is proved by the following *cossos humans* "human bodies [have lost of their valor]." The Catalanian dictionary of Aguiló which gives this text mentions also a *Cançon de Zaragoza* which I am unable to date but which also has our word in the characteristic connection with animals: *qui té falco, ocell o ca* [= *canis*] *de bona rassa* But older than all these attestations is the Provençal passage of Bertran de Born listed in Levy's *Prov. Supplement-Wörterbuch*, s. v. *rasa*:

Rassa vilana, tafura,
Plena d'enjan e d'usura,
D'orguolh e de desmesura

A. Tobler, Chabaneau, and A. Thomas saw in this the Fr. *race*, but Gröber answered with the "vicious circle" statement that this word is not to be found in the Middle Ages. Suchier pointed to Du Cange's item *rassa* "conjuratio" to be found in mediaeval Latin texts originating in France, and Levy gives several juridical prose passages with an O. Prov. *rassa* "Abkommen, Vereinigung, Bund, Komplott" (where *rassa* is sometimes coupled with *trassa* as in the Du Cange texts which also show *monopolium*—both words meaning something like "conspiracy"); he proposes for the passage in B. de Born the interpretation "Vereinigung, Bande." But it is obvious that *rassa vilana, tafura* means "race," "people" and is synonymous with *gens* in O. Prov.: *avol gens tafura* "méchante gent perfide" (G. Faydit, quoted by Raynouard s. v. *tafur*), *gent christiana* "gent chrétienne" (B. de Ventadour, Raynouard, III, 460), and *la gent trotte-menu* of La Fontaine (cf. note 11). From "race, people, troop" (this last meaning is attested several times for *gent* in O. Prov., cf. Levy) it is not far to "gang, conspiracy."—There is still in the poems of Bertran de Born the recurrent *senhal* (pseudonym) for Geoffrey of Brittany, with whom he was closely associated in his fight against his father Henry II of England: *Rassa*, the meaning of which has not yet been cleared up. But since the *razo* (anonymous prose prologue of one of Bertran's love poems *Rassa, tan*

In 1938 Angelico Prati in *L'Italia dialettale*, XIV, pp. 182 ff. adduced substantial evidence to support my etymon—an etymon which Canello (*Riv. d. fil. rom.*, I, p. 132) had already proposed. Prati pointed out: (1) in Italian writers from the 13th century on *ragione*, the popular representative of *ratio*, occurs with the meaning "quality, species, sort" (of animals, herbs), e. g. Brunetto Latini: *E tanti altri animali . . . di sì fera ragione, E di sì strana taglia*, and the Venetian dialect still has *raſon* in the same sense; (2) the first attestation of *razza* is a masculine *razzo* (said of a horse) in the 14th century poem *Intelligenza*; in Pulci we find the feminine *razza*. Prati also found *ratio* "genus, progenies" in the *Lex Salica* (5th century), though Du Cange is not quite sure of this interpretation in the one passage from this work that he cites.

I am aware, however, that the semantic development is not yet quite clarified: it is to the purpose of attempting such a clarification that the following lines are devoted.

While reading Professor Lovejoy's masterly book *The Great Chain of Being* I was struck by the following passage (p. 87) which resumes the teaching of Thomas Aquinas:

God in willing himself wills all the things which are in himself; but all things in a certain manner pre-exist in him by their types (*rationes*).

creis e monta e poja . . .) says: *Bertrans de Born si s'apelava Rassa ab lo comte Jaufré de Bretanha* (while the poem itself calls Geoffrey *Rassa*—a contradiction which nobody has as yet pointed out), we may assume that each of them called the other by the same name and that "[member of the same] gang" was a very appropriate familiar name. (Whether the family name *Rassa*, *Raza*, etc. found by D. Serra, *Dacoromania*, IV, p. 539 in 15th century documents of Canavese, Piedmont, where the appellative *rasa*, *raſa* in the meaning "race" exists today, is connected with this Prov. name is doubtful.) There is still another *rasa* in Guiraut Riquier's Prov. didactic poem about jongleurs, which was addressed to King Alfonso X of Castile in 1275: here it is said of bad jongleurs: *e que menon vils rassas a deshonor viven*; this must mean something like "who play bad tricks," and may have to do with *rasa* "gang" (or with the other Span. *raza* treated in *Hisp. Review*, loc. cit.). Thus, the contention that *race* "race" is unknown in the Middle Ages is no longer tenable: with Bertran de Born we are back in the XII century and Provence is the very first Romance country to show our word. It must be granted that this first attestation has a *rasa* "evil race" (pejorative).

The Thomistic use of *rationes* "types" occurs in a sentence which clearly develops the Platonic conception of the *ideas* pre-existent to things: according to this Christianized Platonism—which may be epitomized in the lines of the 16th century French poet Dubartas:

Or donc avant tout temps, matiere, forme et lieu,
Dieu tout en tout estoit, et tout estoit en Dieu—

God, as *the* Idea of the universe, contains in himself all the ideas of the things, which are integrated in one great being: one may perceive the Christian fixation of the monotheistic tendency to be found in Platonism.³ Thus *rationes* is a rendering of *idéαι* and

³ The earliest extant treatment of all the (Platonic) ideas as thoughts of God is that of Philo Judaeus. Here is a statement of Dr. L. Cohn's in the introduction to his translation of Philo (*Die Werke Philos von Alexandria*, pp. 15-16):

Philos Gottesbegriff und seine Lehre vom Monotheismus beruht natürlich auf der biblischen Anschauung vom einzigem Gotte: für Philo ist Gott mehr als Platos "Idee des Guten." Aber alle näheren Bestimmungen, mit denen er den Begriff ausstattet, und alle Attribute, die er Gott beilegt, hat er aus der griechischen Philosophie, teils aus Plato teils aus dem Stoizismus, genommen . . . Die ihm eigentümliche Lehre vom Logos und den göttlichen Mittelkräften ist aus einer Verbindung der Platonischen Ideenlehre und der stoischen Lehre von den wirkenden Kräften in der Natur (*λόγοι σπερματικοί*) hervorgegangen. Gott selbst steht nach Philo als unendliches Wesen zu hoch, als dass ihm unmittelbare Berührung mit der endlichen Schöpfung, mit der Materie, zugeschrieben werden dürfte . . . Er verkehrt daher mit der Welt und wirkt auf sie nur durch Vermittelung der göttlichen Kräfte und des Logos. Philos Logos entspricht im allgemeinen dem Logos der Stoiker, die ihre "Weltseele," d. h. die das Weltall beseelende und durchdringende göttliche Vernunft auch mit diesem Ausdruck bezeichneten. Bei den Stoikern aber ist die Weltvernunft oder die beseelte Materie, wie bei Heraklit, mit der Gottheit identisch, der stoische Standpunkt ist Pantheismus. Mit der jüdischreligiösen Anschauung ist nun aber die Lehre von der Immanenz Gottes unvereinbar, für einen gläubigen Juden wie Philo war die Transzendenz und das ausserweltliche Dasein Gottes ein feststehender Grundsatz. Daher verband er—vielleicht hatte das vor ihm schon Posidonius getan—die als Teile der Weltseele wirkenden Kräfte der Stoiker mit den Ideen Platos. Diese Ideen oder geistigen Kräfte (*νοηταὶ δυνάμεις*) nimmt Philo ebenso wie Plato ausserhalb der Welt an, aber nicht ausserhalb der Gottheit, er denkt sie sich vielmehr in Gott selbst (daher *δυνάμεις θεοῦ*), von ihm ausgehend und das Weltall durchdringend und alles belebend und ordnend (wie die stoischen *λόγοι σπερματικοί*). Alle diese Ideen oder göttlichen Kräfte haben ihren Mittelpunkt in der obersten Idee (*ιδέα τῶν ιδεῶν*), in der göttlichen Vernunft, im Logos; in dem Logos sind alle Kräfte oder Wirkungen Gottes zu einer Einheit zusammengefasst.

Thus, *ιδέα τῶν ιδεῶν* (an amalgam and derivative of the Aristotelian

can shift to the meaning "types" (> "races") precisely because all the different *rationes* of things are integrated in the creator of things.

Now I had only to consult Part I, Question XV, Article II of the *Summa Theologiae* (the chapter bearing the title "Utrum sint plures ideae" [*scil.* in Deo]) where I found a quotation by Thomas of Saint Augustine, lib. LXXXIII, Quaest. 9, 46:⁴

[ideae sunt] principales quaedam formae, vel *rationes rerum* stabiles atque incommutabiles quae ipsae formatae non sunt; ac per hoc aeterna ac semper eo modo se habentes, quae divina intelligentia continentur: sed cum ipsae neque

eidos eideōn and of the Hebrew pattern "King of kings") = λόγος. There is a significant sentence in *De opificio mundi* (26): . . . οὐδ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ιδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον ἂν ἔχοι τόπον ἢ τὸν θεῖον λόγον τὸν ταῦτα διακομήσαντα. God first created the bodiless "ideas" of things and then, after these "patterns" (*παράδειγματα*), the things themselves, e. g. ἀέρος ιδέα (29), the ideas of the morning and evening: ὅλως οὐδὲν αἰσθητὸν ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα ιδεῖαι καὶ μέτρα καὶ τύποι καὶ σφραγίδες εἰς γένεσιν ἄλλων ἀσώματα σωμάτων (34)—note that "ideas" and "types" are presented as identical.

⁴ The Augustinian passage is to be found in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XL, 39 ("De ideis"). It is preceded by the statement:

Ideas igitur latine possumus vel *formas* vel *species* dicere, ut verbum e verbo transferre videamur. Si autem *rationes* eas vocemus, ab interpretandi quidem proprietate discedemus; rationes enim graece λόγοι appellantur, non ideae; sed tamen quisquis hoc vocabulo uti voluerit, a re ipsa non aberrabit,

and at the end of the chapter there reappears the same idea of the (perhaps equivocal) use of *ratio* as a translation of *ιδέα* with the apology that it is not the question of terminology that matters, but the understanding of the underlying truth:

Quas *rationes*, ut dictum est, sive *ideas*, sive *formas*, sive *species*, sive *rationes* licet vocare, et multis conceditur quod libet, sed paucissimis videre quod verum est.

This passage is most important for our equations *ratio* = *idea* = *forma* = *species*—as if Augustine were conscious of the literal rendering (*ut verbum e verbo transferre videamur*) of the etymological value of *ιδέα* and perhaps found the translation of *ιδέα* (or λόγοι) by *ratio* extant (though I am not able to trace it back to classical writers).—There are two linguistic currents well-known in patristic writers: purism and graecism (cf. *baptisma*, which Tertullian attempted to render by (*in*) *tinctio*, Rheinfelder, *Kultsprache u. Profänsprache*, p. 47). C. T. Balmut, *Étude sur le style de Saint Augustin* (1930), p. 87, insists on the purism of Augustine who, though knowing Greek quite well, introduced only three Greek words into his *Confessions*. As a matter of fact, *idea* had already been used by Cicero and Seneca.

oriantur, neque intereant, secundum eas tamen formari dicitur omne quod oriri et interire potest, et omne quod oritur et interit

and Thomas concludes:

Cum in mente divina sint omnium rerum *propriae rationes*, plures ideas in ejus mente esse necesse est.

The French edition with commentary of the *Somme Theologique* prepared by F. Lachat (Paris, 1880, I, p. 324) translates the *rationes rerum* of the Augustinian passage as "leurs types immuables et permanents" and that of the Thomistic conclusions as "les exemplaires de tous les êtres."

There are several other passages in this chapter and the following one of the *Summa* which contain our *ratio* "idea, type":

Ratio autem alicuius totius haberi non potest, nisi habeantur *propriae rationes* eorum ex quibus totum constituitur; sicut aedificator *speciem* domus concipere non possit, nisi apud eum esset *propria ratio* cujuslibet partis ejus. Sic igitur oportet quod in mente divina sint *proprie rationes* omnium rerum. Unde dicit Augustinus in lib. LXXXIII *Quaest.* ut supr.,⁵ quod "singula *propriis rationibus* a Deo ornata sunt." Unde sequitur quod in mente divina sunt plures *ideae*.

⁵ The whole passage reads as follows (Migne, *loc. cit.*):

Quis autem religiosus et vera religione imbutus, quamvis nondum possit haec intueri, negare tamen audeat, imo non etiam profiteatur, omnia quae sunt, id est *quaecumque in suo genere propria quadam natura continentur*, ut sint, Deo auctore esse procreata, eoque auctore omnia quae vivunt vivere . . . ? Quo constituto et concesso, quis audeat dicere Deum irrationabiliter omnia condidisse? Quod si recte dici vel credi non potest, restat ut omnia ratione sint condita. Nec eadem ratione homo, qua equus: hoc enim absurdum est existimare. Singula igitur *propriis sunt creata rationibus*. Has autem rationes ubi arbitrandum est esse, nisi in ipsa mente creatoris? . . . Quod si hae rerum omnium creandarum creaturarumve rationes in divina mente continentur, neque in divina mente quidquam nisi aeternum atque incommutabile potest esse; atque *has rerum rationes principales* appellat ideas Plato: non solum sunt *ideae*, sed ipsae verae sunt, quia aeternae sunt, et ejusmodi atque incommutabiles manent; quarum participatione fit ut sit quidquid est, quoquomodo est.

I have underlined the passages *in suo genere propria quadam natura* and *has rerum rationes principales* because an identification of the "ideas of things" with "natural types" is here latent.

In the French translation we find:

or on ne peut avoir l'*idée* d'un ensemble, d'un tout organique, sans avoir celle des parties qui le composent: l'architecte, par exemple, s'efforcerait vainement de concevoir le *plan* d'un édifice, s'il n'en connaissait point les bases. . . . Dieu a donc *les images* de toutes les choses: "Il a," dit saint Augustin . . . , "les types du [read: de] tout ce qu'il a créé"; en un mot, il a plusieurs idées.

One may observe (1) that the French rendering of *ratio* reveals the identification in modern thought *ratio* = *idée*, since it replaces the former by *idée*, *image*, *type*, whereas Augustine and Thomas distinguish between *propriae rationes*, as the ideas of the parts of a whole, and the *idea* of the whole which God has; (2) that *species*, which we generally know as "species, type," is very close in meaning to *idea* and may be translated by *plan*: *species* and *ratio* come close together in an association wherein their differences tend to be obliterated—indeed *species* renders *είδος*, the near relative or *idée* (cf. *C. G. L.*: "*species*—*είδος*, *είδέα*" [sic]). L. Schütz, in his *Thomas-Lexikon* gives the translation "Erkenntnisform, Erkenntnisbild" and identifies the expression *species exemplaris* with *forma exemplaris*.

Further on we find *species*, *idea*, and *ratio* used also as synonyms:

Unaquaeque autem creatura habet *propriam speciem*, secundum quod aliquo modo participat divinae essentiae similitudinem: sic igitur in quantum Deus cognoscit suam essentiam ut sic imitabilem a tali creatura, cognoscit eam ut *propriam rationem et ideam* hujus creaturae, et similiter de aliis. Et sic patet quod Deus intelligit plures *rationes proprias* plurium rerum, quae sunt plures *ideae*.

(Lachat translates the last *rationes* by "natures particulières"; later on, in a repeated comparison of God with an architect, *idea vel ratio domus* is rendered by "l'idée," and *plures rationes rerum vel plures ideas esse in intellectu ejus* [Dei] *ut intellectas* by "c'est là connaître *les types et les raisons des êtres* . . .")

In the next article (III) Thomas declares:

Ideae sunt *rationes* in mente divina existentes, ut per Augustinum patet; sed omnium quae cognoscit Deus, habet *proprias rationes*; ergo omnium quae cognoscit, habet *ideam*,

and he goes on to say that the Platonic ideas are the principle of cognizance and of production of things: as principle of production they may also be called *exemplar*, "les exemplaires et les types des êtres"; as principle of cognizance *ratio* = "les raisons des êtres" (for *exemplum* -ar and their Greek antecedent *παράδειγμα* cf. H. Kornhardt, *Exemplum* [Göttingen, 1936]).

Here Lachat⁶ puts a very enlightening note concerning *rationes rerum*:

Dans *raison des choses*, *ratio rerum*, le premier terme est la traduction de *νόος* ou de *λόγος* esprit ou verbe. . . . Ces mots signifient ce par quoi l'intelligence raisonne ou se parle à elle-même; c'est la forme, la similitude, l'image, l'idée des choses; c'est aussi ce que les espèces intelligibles représentent, la nature où l'essence des êtres. Ainsi le mot *raison* désigne: primitivement la faculté qui perçoit, l'intelligence; puis, secondairement, ce que l'intelligence perçoit, l'idée; puis, dans un sens plus éloigné encore, ce que l'idée représente, la nature des êtres. On voit que dans ces deux dernières significations, le terme dont il s'agit exprime le contenant pour le contenu.

The conception of *raison des choses* as a *raison objective* had been opposed to the *raison subjective* or *raison de l'homme* by Cournot in the 19th century (Lalande, *Voc. de la philosophie*, s. v. *raison*, G: "principe d'explication au sens théorique; raison d'être; ce qui rend compte d'un effet" with the example taken from Cournot: "Une de ces facultés [par lesquelles l'homme dépasse l'animal] est celle de concevoir la *raison des choses*" and the

⁶ Schütz in his *Thomas-Lexikon* translates *ratio* by "Verständnis, Plan" in a passage like: "necesse est quod *ratio ordinis rerum* in finem in mente divina praeexistet, *ratio autem ordinandorum* in finem proprie providentia est" or "in quolibet artifice praeexistit *ratio* eorum quae constituuntur per artem." The passages with *ratio* as a synonym of *idea* are listed partly under his item *ratio* ("Idee, Begriff, intellektuelle Vorstellung"); partly s. v. *idea* (e. g. "in divina sapientia sunt *rationes omnium rerum* quas supra diximus *ideas*, id est *formas exemplares* in mente divina existentes"). Then Schütz s. v. *ratio* has also an item "Seinsmoment, Anlage" (*rationes seminales* "keimhafte Anlagen"—*rationes causales* "ursächliche A."—*rationes ideales* "ideenhafte oder vorbildliche Anlagen": *rationes seminales* = the Stoic *σπερματικοὶ λόγοι* which contains the biological nuance perceptible even in the Aristotelian determination of *εἶδος*—*λόγος*. Meillet-Ernout, *Dict. étym.*, mention only the "calque" of *ratio* according to *λόγος*, not the influence of *idéa*—nor do they list the Augustinian meaning "type."

explanation: "Il oppose la raison, en ce sens, soit à la simple causalité efficiente, soit à la démonstration logique . . ."). The original Platonic theory of ideas itself was a systematic substitution of the *causa cognoscendi* for the *causa essendi*.

Thus in *ratio* there converge several Greek terms: λόγος (λόγοι), νοῦς "the cognitive instrument of man, reason" and (as Lachar seems to imply, though he fails to bring this out) ἰδέα "the idea of things pre-existent to their nature," εἶδος "the nature of things,"—and also αἰτία = *causa*.⁷ The *proprieae rationes* are very similar to the *proprieae species*: the different natures of things, to the "types of things"—these latter being very close to the mediaeval conception of the *proprietales* or *dignitates*, *virtutes rerum*, the proper qualities of things. *ratio* lent itself to a rendition of all these Greek notions precisely because it was capable of shades of meaning both subjective and objective: "the human reason" and "the nature of things accessible to human cognizance." Latin, poorer in words than was Greek, would, at any rate, have had to crowd into one word notions which may seem contradictory to us, if all these meanings had not already been comprehended, however confusedly, in the technical term λόγος of the Platonizing Stoics whose terminology dominated later antiquity. For mediaeval man the comprehensiveness of this word *ratio* was fertile: the intellect could pass from the nature of things to the idea of them as pre-existent in God's mind, from the content to the container of thought: this was the truth stored up for the believer in the word *ratio*, which seemed to contain an "etymon," a "truth." Probably the fact that the term *species*, also, covered the range from "species" to "example, form, idea" made it possible for *ratio* "idea," "type," to meet it halfway.

By now it has become clear that Augustine, before Thomas, had already brought about the adaptation of the Latin word to Platonic philosophy (we have seen two quotations from Augustine in the text of Thomas). And it was precisely the notion of

⁷ In fact, when Tertullian speaks of the Platonic theory, he refers to *causae* where Augustine has *rationes* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, II, 678):

Vult enim Plato esse quasdam substantias invisibiles . . . quas appellat ideas, id est formas, exempla, et causas naturalium istorum manifestorum, et subjacentium corporalibus sensibus.

There may even be included in *ratio* the nuance of κόσμος "the rationally ordered world" = ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμος, of Philo (see note 3 *supra*).

rationes rerum as ideas of distinctive parts of the whole which led to the semantic development "types" (< "races"^s)—a term descriptive of the "natures of things" which in the course of time came to be used without any memory of the philosophical background, God's ideation; these *rationes* became, as it were, secularized "ideas."

What a significant comment this affords on the modern "racial" beliefs! As these are "abandoned, forsaken" by God, so the notion of divine participation is lost in the term "race." It is not merely a pun if I say that modern racialism is not only "geistverlassen" (as I intimated in my first paper) but also "god-forsaken." And the Augustine who says so often in the much-quoted chapter that only the pure religious and charitable mind can approach intuition of those God-willed ideas of things would surely protest against the modern rationalistic anticipation of an "idea of a race" as representing an encroachment on God's λόγος, and an absurd attempt to see with "bodily eyes" what only spiritual vision may attain to:

[the anima rationalis of man] Deo proxima est, quando pura est; eique in quantum charitate cohaeserit, in tantum ab eo lumine illo intelligibili perfusa quodam modo et illustrata cernit, non per corporeos oculos, sed per ipsius sui principale, quo excellit, id est per intelligentiam suam, istas rationes, quarum visione fit beatissima.

The solely biological approach to a divine idea, in the stead of recourse to the *visio beatifica*, would be pure heresy to this Father of the Church. But this same modern, biological approach (which has been purposely emphasized in the recent German coinages *artfremd*, *arthaft*, *arteigen*, *artbedingt*, with *Art* serving as in *die Arten der Tiere*!) is, we must admit, anticipated in some way by the semantic development of *ratio* to "species" alone (without the idea of the divine mind in which the species pre-exists): we may find *ratio* = *species* in such a French text as Oresme's translation (14th century) of the Aristotelian *Ethics* (VIII, 12, quoted by Littré—a passage which I am unable to locate): "Honneur, prudence et delectations sont de diverses raisons et espèces quant à leur bonté." (Godefroy translates too

^s *species* which, as we said, means as well *τύπος* as *ιδέα*, develops likewise the meaning "race" in old Fr. (2 examples in Godefroy, s. v. *espece*).

freely by "manière, méthode"). Here is, represented in French, the Aristotelian connection of λόγος and εἶδος from which the long course of development took its start.

The same connection of *espèce* with *race* is to be seen in Olivier de Serres (16th century): "Contemplés curieusement les especes des raisons qu'y verrés, afin d'en tirer, en la saison, des races, s'il y'en a, qui vous agréent"; Littré, who quotes these lines, warns us to use (in zoölogical reference) *espèce* as representing a broader conception in respect to "race": *espèce bovine*, but *race bovine de Durham*—a distinction which has not been respected by the language. It is to be noted that Italian *razza* was used mostly of animals, as *razza di cani*:⁹ Tommaseo-Bellini says, "Razza è tuttodi più di bestie; d'uomini, familiare, non sempre in dispr. [ezzo] però";¹⁰ in French, the expression *méchante petite race!*, said to children, implies that they are little animals—cf. a similar use of *canaille*; the same holds for Spanish: Oudin s. v. *raça* says: "en lignage de personnes [= for human beings], se prend en mauvaise part, comme de race de Juifs, ou de Mores."

The Italian novelist Panzini in his *Viaggio con una giovane*

⁹ The Toscan proverb *chi troppo ride, ha natura di matto; chi non ride è di razza di gatto* shows a relationship on the one hand to "nature," on the other to "species of animals."

¹⁰ This remark is important: the pejorative use of *razza*, *race*, etc. is probably (but see note 2 *supra*) not the original one in Romance, as is clearly shown by the text of the Italian *Intelligenza* (*destrier di grande* [!] *razzo*), as well as by others listed by Tommaseo-Bellini. The use of *cavallo di razza* and, subsequently, of Fr. *un écrivain de race* is an emphatic one: "of a good race" (cf. *un homme de goût, de qualité = de bon goût, de bonne qualité*); an expression of this sort insists on the "born writer"—as if to be born such were a matter of heredity. Nor would a pejorative use be in keeping with the lofty tone of the late Latin texts. The reason why the Italian word was borrowed by the French (if it was borrowed, see note 2 *supra*) is yet to be found: Wind, *Les mots italiens introduits en français au XVI^e siècle*, does not mention it in her chapter on horses (pp. 163-67), but *cavallo di razza*, *far* (*tenere*) *razza*, *razza* "stud," etc. could well find their place therein among the many words borrowed from Italian (*cavalier*, *cavale*, etc.). I recall the remark of Oudin, *Tesoro* (1675) on Span. *raça*: "Race ou haras de chevaux excellents, que l'on marque pour estre reconnus; chaque Prince ou Seigneur y fait mettre sa marque particulière"—princely studs from Spain and elsewhere were perhaps an Italian fashion! (cf. the English "a studde or race of mares," from a Privy Council Act, 1547 [NED]).

ebrea (1935) reveals the genuine feelings of Italians of that time when faced with German *razzismo*: they were able to think only of zoölogical expressions like *razza di cane*! The same writer in his *Dizionario moderno* (edition of 1927) emphasizes that *di razza* is said of animals, especially of horses and "talora per estensione" of human beings; this use, according to him, comes from French (*cheval de race*). This latter assertion, however, is not true (for already in Pulci [14th century] we find *Lor capitano er' un di franca razza*), but it betrays the feeling of the Italians in the period around 1927. The evolution of this feeling and of the corresponding connotation of the word can be traced in comparing the article *razza* in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1935) and the postscript to this article in the appendix of 1939 from the pen of Virginio Gayda. The first passage states that *razza* is a zoölogico-biological notion, *popolo* a sociological, and *nazione* a political one;¹¹ that, consequently, there is only an Italian people and nation, not one Italian race; that there is no Jewish and ("the worst error") no Aryan race.¹² But four

¹¹ It must be noted that Fr. *race* was often equivalent to "people," e. g. in the first example of Lemaire de Belges: *il estoit extrait de la mesme rasse et pais des Turcs; la race des financiers*, equal to La Fontaine's use of *la gent trotte-menu* (= *gens, stirps*), and the *rasa* of Bertran de Born, etc. In Spanish *el día de la raza*, celebrated on the same day in the European peninsula and in Latin America, is surely the festival, not of a Latin race, but of a people, a civilization. When Rubén Darío in a kind of *carmen saeculare* predicts the deeds of a Latin "race" he chooses the word derived from Lat. *stirps*: *La latina estirpe verá la gran alba futura*. On the other hand, *nation* was sometimes not very different from *race*, as is shown by the O. Fr. idiom *nace* (*nate*) *que nace* (*nate*) "a way (litt. an inborn way of being) is what a way is," i. e. a way of its own holds fast; Catalanian *nèscia*, *nissaga* "progeny," "descendants" (*R. E. W.*, 5848a), old Vicenza *nagia* "nascita," and Friulan *naje* "genia, plebaglia" which Salvioni explains by *natalia* (*R. E. W.*, s. v.) but in which I prefer to see a *natio* (a back-formation from **nagione*, cf. the *nagia* in Old Vicenzian and Canavese *raša, rasa*, from **ragione*).

¹² It has become traditional to quote the words of Mussolini to Emil Ludwig in 1932:

Rasse: das ist ein Gefühl, keine Realität, 95 Prozent sind Gefühl. Ich werde nie glauben, dass sich die mehr oder weniger reine Rasse biologisch beweisen lässt . . . Entsprechendes wird bei uns nie vorkommen . . . Der Nationalstolz braucht durchaus keine Delirien der Rasse.

One may also cite the sentence of a great Italian scholar which serves as the motto of the *Revue de linguistique romane*: . . . *razze latine non esistono; esiste la latinità*. . .

years later Gayda declares that the "Italian race" is to be defined by the following statements: (1) "La *popolazione* (!) dell' Italia attuale è *nella maggioranza* (!) di *origine* (!) ariana e la sua civiltà è ariana"; (2) since the invasion of the Longobards there has been no "movimento di *popolo*" capable of influencing "la *fisionomia razziale della nazione*"; (3) the Jews "consider themselves" everywhere as a "razza diversa dalle altre." The choice of ambiguous terms, the refusal to define race biologically, and the "escapism" of basing oneself on movements "of *populations*" and on racial *feelings* (i. e., of the Jews, at that, not of the Christians) could hardly be carried further.

In Germany *Rasse* (originally written in the French way *Race*¹³) was likewise first confined to animals. The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* contains the Herder passage where *Menschenrasse* is characterized as an inappropriate, metaphorical, "ignoble" neologism:

gingen wir wie hâr und affe auf allén vieren, so lasset uns nicht zweifeln, dass auch die menschenrassen (wenn mir das unedle wort erlaubt ist) ihr eingeschränktes vaterland haben und nie verlassen würden,

and in Schiller's "Wallensteins Lager" the use of *Rasse* for human beings gives an impression of "coarseness":

Wachtmeister: Ja ihr gehört auch so zur ganzen masse.

Erster Jäger: Ihr seid wohl von einer besondern rasse?

Today it has, even and precisely when used of men, the purely zoölogical connotation: a staunch believer in racial values (G. Moldenhauer, *Die neueren Sprachen*, 1940, p. 22), when faced with French phrases like *race picarde*, *normande*, etc., must state that nothing is more confusing than the homonymy coupled with semantic divergence of the two words German *Rasse* and French *race*: one could not translate *race picarde* by German *Volk* or *Stamm* (which involve according to Moldenhauer "Ganzheit") and, of course, not by *Rasse*: "Denn französisch 'race' hat im Lauf der Jahrhunderte eine *Begriffsspanne* erhalten, die vom Menschengeschlecht über *Volk* oder irgend eine willkürlich

¹³ This is to be found sporadically in German in the 17th century; in the 18th it was borrowed more systematically, probably as a consequence of the achievements of French biologists who endeavored to define the "race," and whom Kant followed in 1775.

abgegrenzte blutsmässige Einheit, über Fürsten-, Adels- und bürgerliches Geschlecht, Sippe und Familie bis zur Nachkommenschaft (sogar in Gestalt *eines* Sprosses) reicht, von Belegen aus Tier- und Pflanzenreich ganz zu schweigen." Thus, German *Rasse* has no *Begriffsspanne* and has completely severed its ties with the universalistic *ratio*.

Now we must consider the question: from which of the Latin uses of the word *ratio* was the Augustinian and Thomistic use derived? The monograph of Mr. A. Yon, *Ratio et les mots de la famille de reor* (Paris, 1933) is rather parsimonious in regard to information about later Latin, but we can safely guess which were the Latin germs of the later semantic development. *Ratio*, according to Yon, meant originally "count, calculation" ("compte"), and was a technical term belonging to the language of the accountant (*rationes reddere* = *rendre compte*); from this we come to the interpretation given by Yon (p. 174) "premeditation," "reflexion" (e. g. Cic.: *consilium est aliquid faciendi non faciendive excogitata ratio* "l'intention est le calcul réfléchi de . . ."; *mulier abundat audacia, consilio et ratione deficitur* "she is lacking in thoughtfulness"). Now we know that the Platonic *idéa* could be rendered by a word implying "pre-existing thought" (cf. Forcellini: "modo, metodo, ordine, regola"). The previous development of *λόγος* from Plato, through Aristotle, to the Stoics enables us to understand the identification of *idéa* (of which Yon does not speak) with *ratio*.¹⁴

On the other hand the meaning "reason why," "cause, motive," derived from "to give account" > "to give reasons," could lead to the objective use of *rationes rerum* "raison des choses" (cf. Fr. *raison d'être* "the rational ground of existence")—and also to the meaning defined by Forcellini "genus, natura, conditio, qualitas": *modo, qualità, natura* (Cael. Aurel. *sui ratione* "ex sua natura"): indeed, the reason for the existence of something converges with the nature of the thing, this motivates that.

¹⁴ Debrunner, *Idg. Forsch.*, LI, p. 206 attests a neo-greek *λογή* from 300 A.D. on, with the meaning "class, sort (of goods)," "Art und Weise" and "regard" ("Rücksicht"); he compares the similar meanings of Latin *ratio*. In our present state of information we may not judge which of these words precedes, or derives from, the other. *λόγος* in O. Gr. had the meaning "account, calculation" and it is assumed by Ernout-Meillet and Yon that the meaning "reason" was given to *ratio* under the influence of *λόγος* "account" and "reason."

Our study has brought out the laicization and trivialization of concepts belonging to the religious philosophy of early Christianity—a laicization beginning already in the middle ages and carried still further by the modern world. It is sad to have to state that the popular mind was unable to retain the wide range ascribed to a notion by speculative geniuses. But, on the other hand, it is comforting to see that our most popular notions have their roots in the speculations of great thinkers such as Plato, Philo, Augustine, and Saint Thomas.

Thus we may end ¹⁵ with the well-poised statement of James Howell (1650), so opposed to the *πάντα ῥεῖ* evolution current in linguistics of today, which Miss Wind selected as a motto for her monograph (cf. note 9):

For languages are as slow rivers, (that) by insensible alluvions take in and let out the waters that feed them, yet are they said to have still the same beds.

LEO SPITZER.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

ADDENDUM.

Eric Voegelin has dealt in *The Review of Politics*, II, p. 283 with the history of "The race idea." While still endorsing the Arabic origin of the word, he sees in the conception of the race "the last link in a historic chain of body ideas": it presupposes the Greek idea of the "likemindedness" of men, the Christian idea of the *corpus mysticum* with its emphasis on the pneumatic tie uniting all the believers, and, finally, a non-Christian anthropology trying to bridge the gulf between flesh and spirit; according to Mr. Voegelin this anthropology emerges in the middle of the nineteenth century but is latent in Goethe's conception of the "demonic personality." It seems to me that this non-Christian anthropology was likely to be revived with the Renaissance ideas of the body and with its pantheism and that the Platonic and Christian idea of species as realizations of pre-existent *rationes*, as stressed in this paper, must be taken into consideration for the history of the word. Interesting examples of the eighteenth century use of *race*, *Rasse* are to be found on pp. 296-7 of Mr. Voegelin's study.

¹⁵ I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Cherniss for his suggestions concerning my treatment of ancient philosophical terms.

SOLON'S AGRARIAN LEGISLATION.

I

In an admirable book¹ which marked the end of a long and fruitful life, W. J. Woodhouse recently put the study of Solon's agrarian legislation on an entirely new footing. My purpose in this article is to take issue with part of his presentation of the conditions leading to the crisis which Solon was called upon to resolve, and to correct somewhat his picture of the effects of Solon's legislation.

Briefly, Woodhouse views the development of the agrarian crisis in seventh-century Attica as follows:

1. Land in Attica had in early times been divided among the citizen families, and was in pre-Solonian times held under a system of family (*genos*) tenure. Individual lots (*kleroi*) were hereditary and inalienable.² Hence all loans were secured upon the person of the debtor, not upon his land; yet, before Solon decreed his *seisachtheia*, the land had passed into the hands of a few large landholders.³ How are we to explain this apparent contradiction?

2. The economic development of the seventh century—especially the widespread use of money and the expansion of commerce, with their effect on agricultural prices—destroyed the economic self-sufficiency of the independent small farmer. The only agricultural enterprise now profitable in Attica was large-scale production of olives and wine for export. The result was an "agricultural revolution which substituted 'long future' husbandry for 'short future' cereal production."⁴ Under these new conditions, the peasant cultivator, lacking capital, found it difficult to maintain himself on his land,⁵ while the aristocrat cast about for additional land in which to invest his idle capital.

¹ *Solon the Liberator. A Study of the Agrarian Problem in Attika in the Seventh Century* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1938). This book will hereafter be referred to by the abbreviation W.

² W., p. 75; cf. note 12 *infra*.

³ Cf. Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 2, 2, ἡ δὲ πᾶσα γῆ δι' ὀλίγων ἦν... καὶ οἱ δανεισμοὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς σάμασιν ἦσαν μέχρι Σόλωνος, and 4, 5.

⁴ W., p. 164; cf. p. 65.

⁵ To buy mature, fruit-bearing olive trees would demand a large capital

3. The situation was thus set for the passage of land from small independent farmers to wealthy proprietors: it merely remained to circumvent the traditional inalienability of the land. A fiction was soon developed to suit the need: in form, but not in intention, it was essentially the "sale with option of redemption" (*πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*) of fourth-century business practice. The needy farmer who borrowed from the neighboring lord no longer pledged his body as security; instead he gave his land, under this fictional "sale." The "option of redemption," unlimited in time, preserved the true title in the family of the debtor. "The contract did not . . . transfer ownership, but only possession."⁶ Moreover, the seller was retained on his land as a tenant.

4. As a tenant, he paid his lord a rent which, in effect, constituted interest on the lord's loan. However, instead of being fixed (as in the fourth century) according to the amount of the loan, or "purchase price," which must have been substantially less than the true value of the *kleros*,⁷ the interest-rent was in the seventh century fixed arbitrarily at one-sixth the annual produce of the tenancy.⁸

5. When, because of poor crops or other reasons, the tenant found himself unable to pay the rent and survive, his arrears of rent were funded as a new loan, at interest of one-sixth. The land being already encumbered, *this new loan was secured upon the debtor's body*. When he defaulted on this new debt, he was *ἀγώγμος* and could be sold into slavery to satisfy the debt.⁹

6. "In the course of time, and in response to new needs," the nobility developed "an alternative and upon the whole a less inhumane" method of dealing with defaulting tenants. "Under this new method, the likelier sort of insolvent debtors, instead of being sold abroad or kept in Attika as chattel slaves, became hinds or serfs, along with wife and family, on their creditors'

outlay. To buy young trees and raise them to maturity would necessitate capital to tide the peasant over the long unproductive years, since olives "do not bear a full crop for sixteen or eighteen years, and it is forty to sixty years before they are at their best" (A. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*⁵, p. 54).

⁶ W., p. 150.

⁸ Cf. W., pp. 124, 156-158.

⁷ Cf. note 23 *infra*.

⁹ Cf. W., especially pp. 157-158.

estates. . . . These serfs it was that constituted the class known as Hektemors, a class of hereditary villeins bound to their lord's estate, perhaps in many cases to the very holdings which for generations they and their ancestors as free peasants had once possessed in perpetual succession by right of primordial allocation. Henceforth as serfs they must cultivate for the benefit of their respective lords their assigned parcels of ground, drawing a sustenance allowance at a flat rate of one-sixth the annual yield."¹⁰

Thus "the noble families of early Attika had by Solon's time succeeded in bringing under their control perhaps the majority of the holdings of the peasantry of their day, and not the holdings alone, but also, by the operation of the law of personal security for loan, the bodies of a large number of the peasants themselves."¹¹

In Woodhouse's system as outlined above, points 1 and 2 hardly admit of dispute.¹² Further, I find myself in agreement through point 4 and with the proposition that reduction to Hektemor

¹⁰ W., p. 160.

¹¹ W., p. 97; cf. pp. 156, 200.

¹² The last serious attempt to reject the now prevalent view that the land was held in family ownership was that of H. Swoboda, *Beiträge zur griechischen Rechtsgeschichte* (in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Roman. Abt.*, XXVI [1905], pp. 236-245). F. E. Adcock, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, p. 34 and note 1, follows Swoboda, but on pp. 42-43 he seriously modifies his position in the direction of the generally held view. Here, as so often, Woodhouse summarizes the case admirably (p. 81): "Naturally it is out of the question that we should be called upon to stand and deliver chapter and verse in proof of the legal inalienability of family estate, for Attika, previous to Solon's time. It is indeed not susceptible of direct proof in so many words referable to some primitive legal Code. We are necessarily confined to reasonable inference from such fragments of practice and statement as have survived. . . . Fragmentary as is the evidence, it is sufficient to allow us to assert that the entire congeries of estates in Attika was historically simply a number of 'allotments,' that at some time or other had been officially distributed in perpetuity to the citizen households. What legal sanctions were in operation in early days to prevent alienation, or whether there ever had been any definite sanctions at all, we cannot say. To part with family estate was one of the things that were 'not done'; the group feeling was against it, let alone the fact that in the earliest times tenure of allotment was also a man's title to citizenship." Cf. also note 46 *infra*.

status develops as an alternative to enslavement.¹³ But I consider all these facts and premises capable of a simple, logical explanation. I find Woodhouse's reasoning in points 5 and 6 superfine, and even self-contradictory in places.

Put still more briefly, Woodhouse's hypothesis attempts to show that, by preferring the land of peasant debtors to their persons as security, the creditor lords succeeded in getting possession not only of the debtors' land but eventually also of their persons as well. To this end, he is compelled to create the dichotomy:

- a) principal debt secured by fictitious "sale" of land with option of redemption,
- b) rent-arrears debt secured on person;

so that enslavement for default, or its alternative, reduction to Hektemor status, can proceed only from the second debt. This is precisely the central flaw in Woodhouse's system. In the first place, Aristotle calls the tenants Hektemors when they have not yet defaulted on their rent.¹⁴ In the second place, and more important: was not the first debt also secured ultimately on the person of the debtor, since legally, with the land inalienable, "no other form of security was at all possible"?¹⁵ Surely it is wrong to deduce from Aristotle that *only* tenants who did not pay their rents were liable to distraint and enslavement. Aristotle follows immediately with the explicit statement that "loans for all were upon the body until (the time of) Solon,"¹⁶ and Woodhouse, commenting, himself remarks, "Although the old law of debt, under which the peasant's person was security, could give the creditor his debtor's body, it could never give him his debtor's land."¹⁷ Was not the "sale with option of redemption"

¹³ Basic to Woodhouse's and my argument is the assumption that loans were contracted, as a general rule, outside the *genos*. This view seems justified by what we know of the existence of rich families and poor families in post-Solonian Attica. However, where—as no doubt sometimes happened—the loan was contracted within the *genos*, the situation would not be radically altered, since even within the family the *kleroi* must have passed according to fixed lines of succession.

¹⁴ *Const. Ath.*, 2, 2, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο πελάται καὶ ἐκτῆμοροι· κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν μίσθωσιν ἡργάζοντο τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς ἀγροὺς . . . καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις ἀποδίδοιεν, ἀγῶγιμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐγγίγνοντο.

¹⁵ W., p. 74.

¹⁶ *Const. Ath.*, 2, 2 (note 3, *supra*).

¹⁷ W., pp. 155-156.



precisely a fiction designed to circumvent the inalienability of the land and transfer to the land-seeking capitalist at least the right of possession and exploitation, if he could not have outright ownership? What legal form would the execution of the first debt, thus privately compounded between the two parties, have taken? Certainly not foreclosure of the farm—the land was inalienable. The only legal execution available was execution upon the person of the debtor.¹⁸

We have here the explanation of *why* the indebted owner was retained on the land as a tenant. Woodhouse thinks that by the perpetual option of redemption and the retention of the debtor as tenant for life¹⁹ “the inalienable legal interests of the corporation of the family would be fully recognized and safeguarded.”²⁰ But the family interest is sufficiently protected by the law: the land is inalienable. The perpetual option of redemption is an inevitable corollary of that law. The retention of the debtor as a tenant on the farm is for the protection, not of his family, *but of his creditor's claim to possession*. In other words, the creditor is compelled to retain the debtor on the land in order to retain the land against any possible claim by the debtor's next of kin. He cannot simply put the debtor off the land, for the debtor is the titular owner. He can, of course, proceed to sell the defaulting debtor into slavery in execution of the debt, but this will satisfy the debt, and the *kleros* will immediately devolve, free of debt, to the enslaved debtor's next of kin. Enslavement of the defaulting debtor and retention of the debtor's land by the creditor are mutually exclusive.

Woodhouse sees this problem and faces it courageously. And it is the further refinement to which he is driven to fit this situation within the framework of his scheme that perhaps best reveals the invalidity of that scheme, which is designed, as we have seen, to permit the passage into the creditors' hands of both the debtors' land and their bodies. Within Woodhouse's system, where enslavement results from and satisfies only default on the second

¹⁸ Woodhouse himself states this explicitly, p. 125 (quoted p. 153 *infra*).

¹⁹ Woodhouse thinks that “the vendor, and his heirs in tail, had absolute right of tenancy” (p. 154). This is, of course, a pure assumption, and an entirely unnecessary one if we believe that land was held under a system of family tenure.

²⁰ W., p. 150.

(rent-arrears) debt, there passes to the debtor's next of kin not an estate, but merely an option of redemption. The validity of this conclusion that only the option passed to the next of kin is open to serious question: since, as pointed out above, the original loan must also have been secured in the last analysis on the person, why should not enslavement have satisfied that debt too? Still, to confine ourselves to Woodhouse's own argument on this point, if the next of kin is able to avail himself of the option to redeem, the creditor loses the land which he has acquired for a song, from which he is getting a very profitable return, and which he desires above all to retain. Therefore—see the position to which Woodhouse is driven even on his own premises—in order to be able to produce the insolvent debtor whom he has sold into slavery and thus foil, in case of need, any claim of a next of kin, the creditor “sold the insolvent tenant . . . to some friend across the border, retaining the option of redemption, though he never expected to use it.”²¹ What is this but an involved confession that, at bottom, enslavement of the defaulting debtor and retention of the debtor's land by the creditor are mutually exclusive under a system of family land tenure? The second is an 'extra-legal, private agreement in place of the traditional, legal first. It cannot be both substitute and adjunct.

Thus Woodhouse's dichotomous scheme collapses on its own premises. In its place we may set a view at once simpler and in harmony with the evidence. In the century before Solon there developed, as a result of changing economic conditions which made the landed aristocracy eager for the acquisition of additional lands on which to grow olives and grapes for export purposes, an extra-legal substitute for personal execution of defaulted debts, which permitted the nobles to circumvent the inalienability of the land and acquire a possessory right over the peasants' holdings. This substitute was the fictitious “sale with option of redemption.” By this the insolvent debtor²² trans-

²¹ W., p. 181.

²² In view of what has been said, it is probably preferable, if not unavoidable, to regard the loan as being made under the usual terms of personal security and the fictional sale as being arranged upon default of the loan. In other words, the actual transfer of the land is not security for the loan (as it was in the later *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* when ownership could be conveyed), but an alternative to personal execution, to enslavement.

ferred to his creditor the possession of his land instead of his body and was retained on the land as a rent-paying tenant. These tenants, who by this means escaped enslavement, were the Hektemors. Arrears of rent, if any, must obviously have increased the original debt and made redemption of the land that much harder.²³

This practice developed because it was more satisfactory than personal execution to both creditor and debtor: the former received a much more profitable and certain return on his loan, "a solid and unwasting asset, which might greatly increase in value as time went on";²⁴ the latter was spared enslavement and remained as a rent-paying tenant on his land. There remained over the debtor's head, of course, a constant threat of enslavement, since the creditor could at any time have recourse to legal, i. e. personal, execution. True, the creditor could not resort to personal execution without losing the debtor's land which he held. But the threat of such action must have given the creditor, while remaining in possession of the land, a control in effect if not in law, of the debtor's person and actions. It would be surprising indeed if he did not avail himself of that advantage.

II

The question of whether the Hektemors retained one-sixth or five-sixths of the farm's produce has thus far been deliberately avoided as being unessential to an understanding of the development of the conditions of land tenure in Attica before Solon. This is, moreover, a question on which universal agreement will probably never be reached on the basis of the sources presently available. In *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 54-61, Professor von Fritz argues cogently for the point of view that the Hektemors paid a rent of one-sixth. Perhaps the principal argument of those who reject this conclusion is an "appeal . . . to 'common sense,' with the argument that if the rent to be paid was fixed at

²³ Of course, since the basic security was still the debtor's body, the creditor would, in protection of his own interests, probably not allow the cumulative debt to exceed what he might expect to get if he sold the debtor into slavery. Given the complex of forces at play, however, and the multitude of private arrangements of individual matters available, this problem need have arisen rarely enough.

²⁴ *W.*, p. 72.

only one-sixth of the yield it is 'difficult to see where the oppression came in,' about which the Hektemors are supposed to have made outcry."²⁵ But, unless we are to disbelieve Aristotle's explicit statements (cited in the next paragraph), it was not their economic oppression but their politico-social status "which constituted the gravamen of the complainings of the Hektemor class."²⁶ Woodhouse himself makes this point with his customary lucidity and vigor.²⁷ It is a further reflection of the contradictions inherent in his over-refined system that despite this, he concludes, through the elaboration outlined above, that Hektemors were serfs who surrendered five-sixths of their produce—a status to which they were reduced as an alternative to enslavement for unpaid rent-arrears.

²⁵ W., p. 45. K. von Fritz, *op. cit.*, p. 58, attempts to answer the "appeal to common sense" argument by using the story of Pisistratus and the peasant (*Const. Ath.*, 16, 6) to prove "that in fact a rent or tax, not of one-sixth, but of one-tenth of the produce, was considered a heavy burden even under the better economic conditions of the time of Pisistratus." "The significant fact here," he says, "is not so much the complaint of the peasant . . . but the fact that Pisistratus relieves him from the tax, and so implicitly acknowledges that the complaint was justified." Where that conclusion is implicit in the story I fail to see. The story has it that Pisistratus granted the peasant exemption from *all* taxes because he was "pleased by the (peasant's) frankness of speech and love of work." Admittedly, the story can hardly be expected to give us the true motive for Pisistratus' action. But that is merely admitting that the whole anecdote, which is repeated several times in later writings (e. g., Diodoros, IX, 37) and seems to have been invented to explain how the place on Hymettus called *Χωριον 'Αρελῆς* got its name or how the proverb *καὶ σφάκελοι ποιοῦσιν ἀρέλαια* arose, is hardly admissible as valid evidence.

On the "appeal to common sense" argument Woodhouse is surely right when he says (pp. 47-48): "It is idle to argue that it cannot have been possible for a family to subsist on one-sixth of the produce of its farm, in a country as poor as Attika. Problems of ancient history and economics do not submit to solution after that airy fashion. No one now alive knows on how little a Hektemor of the seventh century before Christ, with wife and family, could make shift to exist. . . . Conversely, elaborate arguments marshalled to prove that a rent of even only one-sixth of the gross yield must at that date have been high enough in all conscience, are but labour lost."

²⁶ W., p. 58.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, and p. 46. Cf. also Woodhouse's statements quoted in the next paragraph and referred to in note 37 *infra*, and von Fritz, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

It would be idle to attempt to deny the obvious connection between the politico-social status and the economic condition of the Hektemors. Equally obvious, however, is the fact that Aristotle, in speaking of them, is thinking in political terms, in terms of the πολιτεία: ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀλιγαρχικῇ πᾶσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐδούλευον οἱ πένητες τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο πελάται καὶ ἐκτῆμοροι . . . χαλεπώτατον μὲν οὖν καὶ πικρότατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ δουλεύειν . . . τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὕσης ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δουλευόντων τοῖς ὀλίγοις . . .²⁸ The question, then, becomes: exactly what is meant here by δουλεύειν? Woodhouse²⁹ and von Fritz³⁰ both point out that the verb here denotes not actual but figurative slavery. Von Fritz rightly sees that Aristotle's statement that loans were secured upon the person until the time of Solon³¹ is meant to explain this "slavery," but goes on to suggest that it consisted in the fact that: a) the Hektemor could be enslaved if he did not pay his rent; and b) "when the tenant was still able to pay his rent and hence was not yet ἀγώγιμος," he was not free to leave the farm, but "he and his family were kept in bondage and had to stay on it either until they were able to buy it back—which may have occurred rarely—or until they were unable to meet their obligations and so, at the will of their creditor and landlord, could be sold as slaves."³² It is worth noting that von Fritz thus, by implication, rightly sees the retention of the debtor on the land as protecting the creditor's interests, although he does not see the details of the situation correctly.³³ He bases his conclusion on the supposition that the Hektemor was anxious to leave the land, the possession of which he had surrendered. But this must have been the exception

²⁸ *Const. Ath.*, 2, 2; 2, 3; 5, 1; cf. Solon, frag. 4 (Bergk), 17-19:

τοῦτ' ἤδη πάση πόλει ἔρχεται ἔλκος ἀφυκτον·
eis δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἤλυθε δουλοσύνην,
ἡ στάσις ἐμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὕδοντ' ἐπεγείρει.

²⁹ Pp. 58-63.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

³¹ *Const. Ath.*, 2, 2 (note 3 *supra*). Von Fritz uses the text of Kaibel and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, καὶ γὰρ δεδεμένοι τοῖς δανείσασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἦσαν μέχρι Σόλωνος, which is not now generally accepted but gives the same sense.

³² *Loc. cit.*

³³ See p. 148 *supra*.

rather than the rule. Athenian farmers in the seventh century still took very slowly to the new, non-agricultural trades, which, moreover, had not yet shown any important development in Attica. In most cases the Hektemors must have been glad to remain on their land, even at an exorbitant rent. There must have been, on the other hand, many cases where the large landholder would have been glad to oust the Hektemor and have the farm tilled by some of his already large staff of slaves and serfs. He had to keep the Hektemor, as we have seen,³⁴ if he wanted to keep the Hektemor's land.

The best expression of Woodhouse's view, put forth in several places, is the following: "In pre-Solonian Attika, to judge from the silence of our authorities, it was not so much the scale or proportion exacted by way of interest or rent that constituted the grievance of the farming population . . . as the inevitable personal liability in the event of default. The burden of indebtedness, *whether in respect of loan or of rent*,³⁵ could not be thrown upon the land, but must continue to be borne solely by the person in legal occupancy of the land, or in whom the legal right of such occupancy vested. This in itself marked a grave disability of the unprivileged and poorer section of the community, from the ranks of which the borrowers were derived almost entirely. . . . Hence Solon refused to interfere with interest rates, which either adjust themselves or else defy adjustment by external authority, but made haste to deal with *the standing menace to the borrower's personal freedom* [*italics mine*]." ³⁶

This and related statements of Woodhouse,³⁷ it seems to me, come closest to rendering the full force of δουλεύειν in the passages under discussion. In contrasting the position of the Hektemors with that of the Helots of Sparta, Woodhouse points out that "there can be no manner of doubt that the Attic Hektemors were theoretically just as indefeasibly members of the Athenian body politic as the proudest aristocrats of those for whose enrichment they must toil."³⁸ At the same time, as Woodhouse justly repeatedly stresses,³⁹ the decision as to the treatment to be accorded the defaulting debtor lay with the creditor—it was he who made the choice between enslavement and reduction to

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

³⁵ Cf. note 18 *supra*.

³⁶ W., pp. 124-125.

³⁷ See especially pp. 60-61, 63.

³⁸ W., p. 57.

³⁹ E. g., p. 158.

Hektemor status. Does not τὸ δουλεύειν refer, then, to the fact that, because of this threat of enslavement that hung constantly over their heads, the Hektemors were not free agents but virtual slaves? Their greatest grievance was the political use of this threat. For what finer political weapon could the wealthy have had to strengthen their oligarchic rule, to keep the Hektemors silent and obedient, and to prevent them, as far and as long as possible, from uniting in opposition⁴⁰ than the constant threat of enslavement that they held over the heads of the impoverished masses?

III

"Solon was no mere visionary or precipitate doctrinaire grasping a heaven-sent opportunity of putting in practice pet economic and political nostrums."⁴¹ His laws were the result of "his prudential recognition of the tendency of the society of his day to cut loose from the old tribal moralities."⁴² The truth of this general estimate is nowhere so apparent as in the specific matter of land tenure and alienability with which this discussion is concerned. Here Solon's legislation, in effect, merely gave the force of law to a custom that had grown up outside the law. The landed aristocrat was interested in acquiring more land, the indigent, debt-laden peasant in retaining at least his freedom. To their mutual, if unequal, advantage, therefore, they had developed a legal fiction to accomplish those purposes. Solon removed the necessity, for the future, of recourse to the fictional sale. By forbidding the securing of loans upon the person⁴³ he ensured the people against enslavement: this was "the beginning of Athenian democracy."⁴⁴ By cancelling agricultural debts he gave the people back their land.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ As Plutarch, *Solon*, 13, 3, tells us they did. Cf. the statements of Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, 5, 1, and Solon, frag. 4 (Bergk), 18-19 (note 28 *supra*), that the "slavery" of the people brought about civil war.

⁴¹ W., p. 167.

⁴² W., p. 81; cf. also p. 200.

⁴³ κύριος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων Σόλων τὸν τε δῆμον ἡλευθέρωσε καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον, κωλύσας δανείζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, 6, 1; πρὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι μηδένα δανείζειν, Plutarch, *Solon*, 15, 3.

⁴⁴ *Const. Ath.*, 41, 2.

⁴⁵ καὶ νόμους ἔθηκε καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐποίησε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τῶν

But he also permitted a man without sons to bequeath his property, and thus "made property the personal possessions of their owners."⁴⁶ Whether or not "we should properly regard that enactment as but a single element in a whole body of similar legislation,"⁴⁷ Solon here took the first step toward making land legally alienable and permitting the aristocracy to acquire estates in outright ownership, not merely in possessory right. The wealthy thus got something which more than compensated them for any deprivations caused by the laws advantageous to the *demos*.⁴⁸ "Timidly at first, but with increasing frequency as time went on, the old taboo or interdiction was transgressed, so that family estate before very long became fully commercialized, and passed from hand to hand without at any rate any restraint of law."⁴⁹ As Woodhouse justly remarks,⁵⁰ it is now that the true mortgage—and, we might add, the true sale—develops as a legal instrument.

Woodhouse is, however, too sanguine about the effects of Solon's agrarian legislation when he pictures the peasant restored thereby to a position of economic security, with all worries gone.⁵¹

δημοσίων, ἃς σεισάχθειαν καλοῦσιν, ὡς ἀποσεισάμενοι τὸ βῆρος, Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, 6, 1; cf. 12, 4, vv. 5-7 (= Solon, frag. 36 [Bergk], 3-5) and 13, 3, and Plutarch, *Solon*, 15, 3-5. On the nature and effect of this measure cf. W., especially pp. 174-177, 190-195.

⁴⁶ Plutarch, *Solon*, 21, 2, τὰ χρήματα κτήματα τῶν ἐχόντων ἐποίησεν. The full significance of this penetrating appraisal of the effect of Solon's measure has been generally overlooked. As far as I know, only M. Wilbrandt has called attention to it (*De rerum privatarum ante Solonis tempus in Attica statu* [Rostock diss., 1895], p. 50). Plutarch's wording is very precise, and reveals that Plutarch (or his source) understood that land in pre-Solonian Attica was held under a system of family tenure and could not pass out of the family: before Solon's law the *kleros* was something of which its holder enjoyed only the use (χρῆμα), thereafter it became his private possession (κτήμα).

On Solon's law cf. Demosth., 20, 102; [46, 14]; Isaeus, 3, 68.

⁴⁷ W., p. 199.

⁴⁸ Cf., in this light, Solon, frag. 5 (Bergk), 3-4:

οἱ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγῆτοί,
καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν.

⁴⁹ W., p. 199.

⁵⁰ Pp. 199-202.

⁵¹ P. 198: "It is possible, that Solon did set a legal limit to the acquisitiveness of the wealthy. More effective is the check that works as it were from within. That is to say, the most effective check is found

Did not the same causes subsist which had driven the peasant to borrow before? Plutarch tells us that Solon was himself aware of the fact that the Attic soil could give but a bare subsistence to those who tilled it.⁵² However Woodhouse may try to hedge about in uncertainty the identity of the recipients of the State loans instituted by Pisistratus,⁵³ the very need for these loans to farmers—their very existence—proves that the causes of borrowing did subsist after Solon. It is true that “from that monstrous evil, the evil of *latifundia*, Attic agrarian history, thanks primarily to Solon, continued free.”⁵⁴ But that was not because Solon set the small landholder and farmer on such a secure economic basis that he would not part with his land; it was because his laws on inheritance assured the constant division of large estates.⁵⁵ Woodhouse is much more realistic when he concludes, “By declaring illegal the lending upon security of the body, Solon could and did guarantee the personal freedom of the borrower; but he did not guarantee, and in the nature of things could not guarantee, the permanent freedom of the rescued estates. For Solon did not declare illegal the giving of security for loan; he declared illegal only a particular type of security. So far as his own action and regulations went, there was nothing whatever in them to prevent every newly liberated farm in Attika from being next day mortgaged up to the hilt and falling ultimately once more into the hands of noble capitalists.”⁵⁶

NAPHTALI LEWIS.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

in a general unreadiness of small land-owners and proprietors of moderate estate to part with their holdings. If the land is thus firmly held by the small freeholder, the land-hungry capitalist finds it uneconomical to tempt him to sell—the game is not worth the candle. For what should a man take in lieu of the farm on which he is making a good living?”

⁵² *Solon*, 22, 3: Σόλων δὲ . . . τῆς χάρας τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶν τοῖς γεωργοῦσι γλίσχρως διαρκούσαν.

⁵³ Pp. 196-198.

⁵⁴ W., p. 198.

⁵⁵ Cf. [Demosth.], *C. Macart.* (or. 43), *passim*, especially 51, 62; and L. Beauchet, *Histoire du droit privé de la république Athénienne*, III, pp. 442-452 (especially pp. 451-452).

⁵⁶ W., p. 206.

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE ISSUES OF SEVERAL GREEK MINTS.

In his competent review of *Olynthus*, IX. (*A. J. P.*, LXI [1940], pp. 102-105), Alfred R. Bellinger touched the problem of the extent to which one is justified in admitting an Olynthus provenience among the evidence pertinent to the determination of the date of autonomous Greek coins. It is little doubted, I think, that the body of numismatic evidence indicates with certainty that the areas excavated at Olynthus between 1928 and 1934 (inclusive) were all abandoned in 348 B. C., except for that section of the North Hill called the "Northwest Quarter," which continued to be inhabited until the reign of Cassander.¹ If, then, one finds (in areas other than the Northwest Quarter) autonomous Greek coins which are conventionally dated later than 348 (in the Northwest Quarter, later than *ca.* 316), one must conclude either that the conventional dating is incorrect or that such coins are stray intruders into an abandoned site. It is my purpose in this paper (a) to analyze the numismatic data to determine the odds against the occurrence among the autonomous Greek excavation coins published in *Olynthus*, IX of pieces later than 348 and of pieces later than *ca.* 316, (b) to examine eleven excavation specimens from the autonomous issues of seven Greek mints, conventionally dated between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the third centuries B. C., to find whether such purely numismatic evidence as can at present be used for their chronology supports or contradicts the odds against their conventional date.

The data used to arrive at the odds against the occurrence among the coins which have been found at Olynthus of pieces later than 348 and later than *ca.* 316 are conveniently available in the chronological table drawn up in *Olynthus*, IX, pp. 364-368. In Column I of this table are listed 3528 coins which on numismatic evidence have been dated, certainly or with reasonable assurance, before *ca.* 348. The coins of Column II cannot

¹ Bellinger, *loc. cit.*, p. 103: "So far as the numismatic evidence goes, this contention is overwhelmingly supported." Cf. *Olynthus*, IX, pp. 133-134, 162-163, 368-370; further, see *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. vii-viii, and 1-13.

enter into our calculation of the odds with respect to 348, for these coins belong to series the issue of which began, so far as numismatic evidence indicates, before 348 and continued for some time after that year. Column III, in which are listed all pieces dating with certainty after 348, contains a total of 96 coins. Of this number, 36 coins, distributed among the quasi-autonomous issues of the second and first centuries B. C., Roman imperial, Byzantine, and miscellaneous late issues, must be excluded from our calculation because they are all too late to affect the odds against the occurrence of autonomous Greek coins dating later than 348.² The 111 coins of Column IV likewise must be excluded from our calculation, for this column includes coins of uncertain attribution, coins which are so variously dated in the numismatic literature as to make their chronological classification for the moment impossible, and finally the coins for which I wish to suggest the need of a revision of the dating conventional in the numismatic literature. Basing our calculation, then, on the 3528 coins of Column I and on the 60 coins of Column II (96 — 36), we find that the odds against the occurrence among the Olynthus excavation coins of autonomous Greek pieces dating after 348 are about 98.3 to 1.7, or 58 to 1. Thus of any given number of the autonomous Greek coins found at Olynthus, we may expect *ca.* 98.3% to be anterior to 348, *ca.* 1.7% to be posterior to that date.

To calculate the odds against the occurrence of autonomous Greek coins later in date than *ca.* 316 one must, of course, work with slightly different figures. The total number of coins reasonably dated before *ca.* 316 is 3579 (3528 [Col. I] + 28 [Alexander III] + 23 [Anonymous royal Macedonian issues]); the total number of autonomous Greek coins dating after *ca.* 316 is 9 (3 [Cassander] + 5 [Antigonos, uncertain whether Gonatas or Doson] + 1 [posthumous Philip II, *ca.* 310]). Consequently, the odds against the occurrence among the Olynthus excavation coins of autonomous Greek pieces dating after *ca.* 316 are about 99.75 to 0.25, or 399 to 1. That is to say, of any given number of the autonomous Greek coins found at Olynthus, we may expect

² These 36 coins comprise the second-century B. C. issues of Macedonia (1), the second- to first-century B. C. issues of Thessalonica (4), Roman imperial (14), Byzantine (10), and miscellaneous late issues, such as Venetian, Frankish (?), Turkish, etc. (7).

ca. 99.75% to be anterior to ca. 316, ca. 0.25% to be posterior to that date.

These odds, both with respect to 348 and with respect to 316, are so overwhelming that I must confess that, when I meet among the Olynthus coins autonomous Greek issues which are dated later than 348 or later than ca. 316, I am inclined to suspect their dates in need of revision unless I can find some good reason to the contrary. In the case of eleven excavation coins from issues of Elaeus, Hephaestia, Myrina, Salamis, Megara, Heraclea Pontica, and Cyme—all conventionally dated in periods falling in the century between ca. 350 and ca. 250 B. C.—it seems to me that in no case does such reason exist, that in several cases sound numismatic evidence can be adduced, even in the present imperfect state of our knowledge of the issues of these mints, to argue an earlier date for the coins in question than that conventionally met.

The autonomous coinage of Elaeus consists of three issues of bronze: (1) Prow | Olive wreath; (2) Athena | Owl; (3) Artemis | Bee. Two specimens of Series 1 were found at Olynthus between 1928 and 1934, one in Block B ii or B iii (the north end of 1928 Trench 7), the other in House A' 9 of the Northwest Quarter. Both Head and Babelon date the series in the second half of the fourth century B. C.³

The coins of all three series were attributed to Elaeus by Imhoof-Blumer in 1883, and described in the order in which they are here listed.⁴ The indications of the relative chronology, in so far, at any rate, as the position of Series 1 with respect to Series 2 and 3 is concerned, are obvious. Series 1 is divided into two groups: (a) the simple types with, reverse, the ethnic abbreviated EAA or EAAI;⁵ (b) the types with, reverse, the full ethnic EAAIOYΞIQN and a monogramme.⁶ All specimens of Series 2 and 3, so far as I have observed, have on the reverse

³ *Hist. Num.*², p. 259 (circ. B. C. 350-281); *Traité*, II, 4, pp. 1003 ff. (seconde moitié du IV^e siècle).

⁴ *Monnaies Grecques* (Amsterdam, 1883), pp. 45-48. In the same year von Sallet independently published an attribution to Elaeus of a specimen of the series Athena | Owl (*Zeit. f. Num.*, X [1883], p. 150; cf. *König. Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Ant. Münzen*, I [Berlin, 1888], p. 263).

⁵ E. g., Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 45, nos. 33-36.

⁶ E. g., *ibid.*, nos. 37-38.

the unabbreviated ethnic and, in addition, either a monogramme or a subsidiary letter.⁷ In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems a fair assumption that the progression of notations on the coinage from the simple to the elaborate implies for Series 1 anteriority with respect to Series 2 and 3.⁸

Throughout the second half of the fifth century, to the very end of the Peloponnesian War, Elaeus remained an ally of Athens.⁹ And in the following century the town's relations with Athens were very close. In 375/4 Elaeus became a member of the Second Athenian Confederation.¹⁰ In 357/6 Elaeusian ambassadors in Athens, at the outbreak of the Social War, receive the praise of the Athenian State.¹¹ In 346/5 a crown of 70 drachmae voted Athens by Elaeus is recorded among the treasures of Athena.¹² And in 341/0 Athens decreed by law rights for the Elaeusians the same as those enjoyed by the Athenian cleruchs in the Chersonese.¹³ It is rather likely that an Elaeusian coinage of Athenian type (Series 2, Athena | Owl), in style definable as the second half of the fourth century,¹⁴ was being issued in the 'forties, perhaps even a decade or more

⁷ E. g., *ibid.*, nos. 39-41.

⁸ Imhoof-Blumer's order of listing the series has become traditional (cf. Grose, *McOlean Collection*, II, pp. 133-134; Head, *Hist. Num.*², p. 259), though it is not universal. Von Sallet and Babelon, for example, switched the Prow | Olive wreath series from first to third place in the order of their descriptions (*Beschreibung*, I, pp. 263-264; *Traité*, II, 4, pp. 1006-1007); I cannot find that they had any special reason for doing so.

⁹ Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 270-271; Thucydides, VIII, 102 f., and 107, 2; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 1, 20 (cf. Diodorus, XIII, 39, 2, and 49, 5; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 9).

¹⁰ *I. G.*, II², 43, B 27, with Kirchner's note *ad loc.*

¹¹ *Hesperia*, VIII (1939), p. 12, no. 4.

¹² *I. G.*, II², 1443, col. II, lines 93 ff.; cf. Demosthenes, XVIII, 92, and Christ, Schmid, Stählin, *Gesch. d. Griech. Litt.* (6th ed.), I, p. 605.

¹³ *I. G.*, II², 228; on the cleruchies see Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, I, pp. 444 f., and II, p. 451. Cf. next note *infra*.

¹⁴ Head, *Hist. Num.*², p. 259; Babelon, *Traité*, II, 4, p. 1006 (cf. note 3 *supra*). Babelon speaks of an Athenian cleruchy to Elaeus in 346/5; this seems to be his interpretation of *B. C. H.*, XXXIX (1915), p. 139, where reference is made to the decree *I. G.*, II², 228, which defines the relationship between 'Ελαιούσιοι and 'Αθηναῖοι ἐν Χερσονήσῳ; the former term signifies, in Dittenberger's words, non cleruchos Atheniensium, sed civitatem sociam Elaeusiorum (*Sylloge*², 145).

earlier.¹⁵ If this is so, it is not too bold to place the upper limit of Series 1 in the second quarter of the fourth century, at the latest.¹⁶

The fact that two coins of Series 1 were found at Olynthus indicates as very probable the issue of the series before the middle of the fourth century.¹⁷ And numismatic evidence, it seems to me, clearly supports the testimony of an Olynthus provenience.

Of the autonomous bronze of the Lemnian cities Hephaestia and Myrina only the first four series are of interest here: (1) Bearded head | ΛΗΜΝΙ Ram; (2) Athena | ΗΦΑ or ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙ Ram; (3) Athena | ΗΦΑΙ Owl (with symbols, race-torch and branch); (4) Athena | ΜΥΡΙ Owl. At Olynthus were found (between 1928 and 1934) a specimen of Series 2 (in one of Houses E. S. H. 1-3 [1928 Trench 13]) and three specimens of Series 4 (Sections G, M, and Street vi). Head's date for the three Athena series is *ca.* 300 B. C.¹⁸

The reverse of the coins of Series 1 has a slight incuse square; Head has remarked that the bearded head on the obverse is stylistically similar to the head of Zeus on early fourth century coins of Elis.¹⁹ Since this alone of the four earliest series of Lemnos lacks an Athena type, it is perhaps worth noting that Athens lost control of her Lemnian cleruchs at the close of the Peloponnesian War, regained the island in 394/3, and remained firmly in possession until 318.²⁰ Series 2, Athena | Ram, it is not unreasonable to suppose, represents in point of time the second series of bronze issued on Lemnos, for its reverse type connects it with Series 1, while its obverse type connects it with Series 3 and 4. As for these last two, the Athena | Owl issues of

¹⁵ Babelon, *loc. cit.*, proposed to connect the series with his Athenian cleruchs at Elaeus and so to begin its issue in the 'forties (cf. note 8 *supra*).

¹⁶ Only a slight correction of Head's upper date of *ca.* 350 B. C. (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁷ Although one of the two coins was found in the Northwest Quarter, the *terminus ad quem* of which is *ca.* 316.

¹⁸ *Hist. Num.*², pp. 262-263.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 262.

²⁰ Fredrich in *I. G.*, XII, 8, p. 3, and in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Lemnos," col. 1930. Head's date for the series is simply "Before B. C. 350"; Babelon proposed to begin the issue about the time of the Peace of Antalcidas or somewhat later (*Traité*, II, 4, p. 1015).

Hephaestia and Myrina, one may legitimately assume that the similarity of type argues some degree of chronological propinquity, with the Myrina series perhaps somewhat earlier than the Hephaestia series (which carries symbols on its reverse). It seems utterly incongruous to place these three issues with Athena's head on the obverse about the year 300, as is conventionally done, for during the thirty-seven-year period between 318 and 281 Athens was in control of Lemnos only for the twelve years between 307 and 295, and perhaps the period of her control was even less.²¹ On the other hand, if we admit the Athena series into the period before 318, we win a reasonable parallelism for coinage and political history;²² and if we suggest for the Athena | Ram series of Hephaestia an upper date in the second quarter of the century and for the Athena | Owl series of Myrina an upper date somewhat before the middle of the century, with the Athena | Owl issue of Hephaestia beginning somewhat after the middle of the century, all, or at any rate the last two, running on down towards a *terminus ad quem* at ca. 318 B. C., we shall commit no grave violence upon any characteristic of style or fabric exhibited by any coin of the series which has come under my observation.

In the Athena | Ram series of Hephaestia and the Athena | Owl series of Myrina the chief characteristic of fabric is the use of the circular punch; this type of punch was used on the Chalcidic coinage as early as the 'nineties of the fourth century.²³ The style of both Lemnian series is mediocre, to say the least; its striking characteristic is the smallness of the obverse head, a phenomenon by no means foreign to the coinages of the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries (compare,

²¹ It is possible that Demetrius occupied the island before 295, shortly after the Battle of Ipsus in 301; see Fredrich in *I. G.*, XII, 8, p. 4, under the year 301-300.

²² Documents of the period 394-318 designate Hephaestia and Myrina δ δῆμος δ 'Αθηναίων τῶν ἐν 'Ηφαίστιᾳ, δ δῆμος δ 'Αθηναίων τῶν ἐν Μυρίνῃ (*I. G.*, XII, 8, 15 [cf. 26], 3, 4, 5, etc.); during the period of freedom from Athens before 394 the political units had been called [δ δῆμος δ 'Ηφαίστειον], δ δῆμος δ Μυρινάων or Μυριναῖοι (*I. G.*, XII, 8, 2 and 9, the first in the early fourth century, the second in the late fourth century, presumably during a period in which the Athenian domination did not exist).

²³ The small coins of Group J; *Olynthus*, IX, pp. 40 and 87.

for example, the Athena bronze of Demetrius Poliorcetes) but one too that can be fairly paralleled on coinages of the middle of the fourth century and somewhat earlier.²⁴ Von Sallet has remarked a similarity in style and fabric between specimens of the Athena issue of Elaeus and specimens of the Athena issues of Hephaestia and Myrina, all in a large lot of coins which came to Berlin from Smyrna.²⁵ If the date proposed above for the Elaeus coins is correct, von Sallet's observation is further testimony that the date of the Lemnian issues must be moved from the end back to the middle quarters of the fourth century.

Here again, I think, the testimony of an Olynthus provenience, which indicates for Series 2 and 4 an upper date before the middle of the fourth century, is supported by the numismatic evidence.

Of the Salamis issue of bronze, Female head | Shield, two specimens were found at Olynthus between 1928 and 1934, one in House A 11, the other in House A vii 5. In the first edition of the *Historia Numorum* Head dated this Salamis coinage "between circ. B. C. 350 and 318" (so Head-Svoronos, *Ἱστορία τῶν Νομισμάτων*, I, p. 488; Büchner in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Salamis," col. 1832); in his second edition (Oxford, 1911) Head lowered his *terminus post quem* to ca. 339, adding to his text a reference to Köhler, *Ath. Mitt.*, IV (1879), p. 250, as though to indicate that in this article could be found the evidence for his new chronology. The dates of Head's second edition were adopted by Babelon in *Traité*, II, 3 (Paris, 1914), the upper date (338 rather than the 339 of Head) stated on the assumption that Philip, after Chaeronea, freed Salamis of its Athenian cleruchs and returned to it its political autonomy (Tant que l'île demeura dans la dépendance d'Athènes elle ne put avoir d'atelier monétaire)—and, as if in justification of this assumption, Babelon gave the same reference to Köhler which had appeared in Head's second edition. It is, then, somewhat disconcerting to find, first, that in reality the thesis for which Köhler argued

²⁴ With the specimen of the Athena | Ram series figured in Grose, *McClellan Collection*, II, pl. 151, no. 12, compare *Olynthus*, III, nos. 117, 404, 476, 513, 635 (all before the middle of the fourth century); and with the specimen of the Athena | Owl series figured in Forrer, *Weber Collection*, II, pl. 95, no. 2490, compare the Malis bronze in *B. M. C. Thessaly*, p. 35, no. 3, pl. VII, no. 6 (dated 400-344 B. C.).

²⁵ *Beschreibung*, I, pp. 263 ff.; cf. *Zeit. f. Num.*, X (1883), p. 150.

in this twice cited article was that Athens' dependents might possess the right of coinage during the period of their dependency; second, that so far as the coinage of Salamis was concerned it was Köhler's clearly expressed opinion that the style of the head on the obverse of the coins and the letter forms of the legend on the reverse indicate that the series began in the first half of the fourth century (see *Ath. Mitt.*, IV [1879], pp. 250-264, particularly p. 250, note 1, and pp. 261, 263-264).

In this series of Salamis the most striking element of fabric is again the incuse circle left by the punch die (on which see note 21 *supra*). The style of the head on the obverse is fairly comparable with that of many fine heads on coinages of the first half of the fourth century, as Köhler noted. With *McClean*, II, pl. 211, no. 21 (Salamis) compare, for example, *Olynthus*, VI, nos. 190-192 and 195, and *Olynthus*, IX, pl. XXX, nos. 15, 17-18 (Chalcidic bronze; see too *Olynthus*, IX, tetrobols A68 and A70-71, Chalcidic silver).²⁶ Perhaps instructive, too, is the comparison of the Salamis coin *McClean*, II, pl. 211, no. 21, with the drachma of Lamia, *Weber*, II, no. 2824; the head on the obverse of the latter, which is dated at the end of the fourth century or in the early years of the third, is somewhat less restrained, somewhat fancier in execution than the head on the obverse of the Salamis coin.

It seems to me clear that for the third time numismatic evidence joins the evidence of an Olynthus provenience in supporting a *terminus post quem* before the middle of the fourth century.

One specimen of the Prow | Dolphin series of Megarian bronze was found at Olynthus in the period 1928-1934 (in House A' 10 of the Northwest Quarter). F. O. Waage has made an excellent systematization of seven varieties of this series.²⁷ The crux of the problem of both the relative and the absolute date of these coins is their position with respect to the Megarian Apollo issues of silver and bronze dated at the end of the fourth century.

²⁶ Further, with *Weber*, II, pl. 133, nos. 3580-3581, with *Hunter*, II, pl. XXXV, no. 17, and with *de Luynes*, II, pl. LXXXI, nos. 2119-2120 (all Salamis), compare *Olynthus*, III, no. 143 (Bottiaean bronze), *ibid.*, nos. 882-884 (bronze of Sermylia), and *B. M. C. Thessaly*, pl. VI, no. 13 (bronze of Larisa dated in the period 400-344 B. C.).

²⁷ *Greek Bronze Hoards from a Well at Megara* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 70, 1935), pp. 10-29.

Conventionally the Prow | Dolphin series has been considered later than the Apollo issues, and Waage argued in support of the third-century date for all varieties of the series. It is unfortunate that the evidence which can at present be mustered to support the argument is at best inconclusive;²⁸ the fact seems to be that no good reason has yet been noticed to prohibit the Prow | Dolphin series, in whole or in part, from a date in the second half of the fourth century—at least I have found none.

And in the absence of reasonably sure numismatic evidence to the contrary, it should hardly be considered unlikely that the variety of the Prow | Dolphin series to which the Olynthus excavation coin belongs (Waage's Group VII) was being issued, at the latest, before *ca.* 316 B. C.,²⁹ for that is the testimony of the Olynthus provenience.

One specimen of the series of bronze, Female head with turreted crown | Club, tentatively attributed to Heraclea Pontica and placed up toward the head of a group of uncertain bronze coins classified as third to first centuries before Christ,³⁰ was found at Olynthus between 1928 and 1934 (in House A v 7). Further study of the coin has convinced me that the tentative attribution to the Bithynian mint (cf. *Olynthus*, IX, p. 354) is doubtless correct, moreover that the best numismatic evidence available speaks clearly for a date for the coin in the first half of the fourth century before Christ. The reverse type of the coin found at Olynthus is $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{HPAK} \\ \text{A E I A} \end{smallmatrix}$ above and below a club with head right, the whole in a linear circle. A reverse type for small silver of Heraclea Pontica, dated in the period *ca.* 394-353 B. C., is $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{HPAK} \\ \text{A E I A} \end{smallmatrix}$ above and below a club with head right, above, an ivy leaf.³¹ The obverse type of the coin found at Olynthus is a female head wearing a turreted crown. A very common type for silver at Heraclea Pontica, dating in the second quarter of

²⁸ The primary body of evidence, weight diminution through the varieties of the Apollo issues of bronze and those of the Prow | Dolphin series, appears to come to nothing (cf. *Olynthus*, IX, pp. 348-349).

²⁹ The proposition was made *Olynthus*, IX, p. 350, repeated *ibid.*, p. 371, with note 11.

³⁰ Waddington, Babelon, Reinach, *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I, p. 355, no. 65.

³¹ Hunter, II, p. 244, no. 4; Regling, *Sammlung Warren*, no. 985.

the fourth century B. C., is a female head with turreted crown.³² The face on the obverse of the coin from Olynthus is very similar to the face on the obverse of *McClellan*, III, pl. 254, no. 20 of the Heraclea Pontica series, and the fashion of hair-dressing exhibited by the two heads is identical. The characteristic ornament on the circlet of the crown worn by the lady of the Heraclea Pontica series is a palmette between @'s.³³ Traces of this ornament, worn but quite certain, can be seen on the crown of the specimen from Olynthus (*Olynthus*, IX, pl. XXXII, no. 27). There can be little doubt that this bronze is a product of the mint of the silver issues, the types of which it so closely parallels, and their contemporary.

Once more, I think, numismatic evidence and that of an Olynthus provenience join to attest a *terminus post quem* before the middle of the century.

The earliest autonomous bronze of Cyme consists of four series: (1) Eagle's head | Rosette; (2) Eagle | KY One-handled vase; (3) same types and legend, with magistrate's name on obverse; (4) Forepart of horse, magistrate's name | One-handled vase, monogramme.³⁴ The first two series are conventionally dated *ca.* 350-320 B. C., the last two *ca.* 320-250 B. C. In 1934 one specimen of Series 3 was found at Olynthus, in Street v near House A v 6.

As the coinage of Cyme is now arranged, the second half of the fifth and the first half of the fourth centuries before Christ seem to be periods of some difficulty. The first two series of bronze, and the two silver issues with which they are grouped (Eagle | Forepart of horse, Forepart or head of horse | Rosette), are sometimes compressed into the thirty-year period between 350 and 320,³⁵ sometimes spread over the hundred-and-thirty-year period between 450 and 320.³⁶

³² This type figures on issues attributed to the tyrants Clearchus (364-352) and Satyrus (352-345): *Hist. Num.*², pp. 514-515; *Traité*, II, 2, pp. 1506 ff. It is admitted that these issues may have been in circulation earlier: *Recueil*, I, p. 344.

³³ *McClellan*, *loc. cit.*; cf. *Recueil*, I, pl. LV, nos. 26 ff.; *Traité*, II, 2, pl. CLXXXIII.

³⁴ *Hist. Num.*², p. 553; *Traité*, II, 2, p. 1171; *B. M. C. Troas*, pp. 106-108; cf. *Zeit. f. Num.*, XX (1897), pp. 277-279.

³⁵ Wroth, *B. M. C. Troas*, p. 106; Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, pp. 1170-1171. Both assume no coinage between 450 and 350.

³⁶ Head, *Hist. Num.*², p. 553.

It seems likely that the upper date of the early bronze should be moved backwards from *ca.* 350 B. C. The specimen of Series 3 found at Olynthus has a typical fourth-century fabric.³⁷ And the eagle on the obverse is closer in style to his fellows on the coinages of Olophyxus (second quarter of the fourth century), Perdiccas III (365-359), and the early Macedonian issues of Alexander III³⁸ than he is to his relatives on, for example, the coinages of the Ptolemies, from the last decade of the fourth century onward, a long succession of large-feathered, stringy, and strutting birds.³⁹ The coins of Series 3, it seems to me, are more at home, so far as matters of style and fabric are concerned, in the middle quarters of the fourth century than in the first two quarters of the third.

A specimen of Series 3 occurred among the coins found in the vertical spaces between the stones of the upper layer of the base of the cult statue of Artemis at Sardis.⁴⁰ Such of these coins as yield a definite chronology range in date from issues of Alexander III to those of Antiochus III (220-187 B. C.). "The coins [of this Basis Hoard] differ so widely in date, and many of the early ones are in such good preservation, that it is difficult to assume that they were all placed in the basis at one and the same time."⁴¹ The Sardis hoard, then, can give us evidence neither to confirm nor to discard the new dating here proposed for the early series of Cyne bronze.⁴²

And once again it appears to me that numismatic evidence combines with the testimony of an Olynthus provenience to point the reasonable conclusion, an upper date for Series 3 of Cyne before the middle of the fourth century.

³⁷ Compare too *B. M. C. Troas*, pl. XX, no. 8, which shows traces of a circular punch.

³⁸ Illustrative comparisons are *Olynthus*, IX, pl. XXXIII, no. 2 (Cyne) and pl. XXX, no. 14 (Olophyxus); further *B. M. C. Troas*, pl. XX (Cyne) and *Ant. Mün. Nord-Gr.*, III, 2, pl. XXX, no. 17 (Perdiccas III) and pl. XXXI, nos. 19, 20, and 23 (Alexander III).

³⁹ Consider *B. M. C. Ptolemies*, p. 3, no. 17, and *passim*; cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*,² p. 849.

⁴⁰ Bell, *Sardis*, XI, 1, pp. iv-vi, 15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

⁴² Also noncommittal are the two other hoards in which the coins occur: Hill, *Studies Presented to Sir William Ridgeway*, pp. 110-115; Milne, *Num. Chron.*, XIII (1913), pp. 389-398; cf. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* (2nd ed., 1937; Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 78), p. 243 and 260.

At the beginning of this paper we found that of any given number of autonomous Greek coins discovered at Olynthus *ca.* 1.7% can be expected to date later than 348 B. C. Of the group of eleven coins reviewed here 1.7% gives us something less than one fourth of one coin; we shall deal very generously with the statistics of probability if we place the Megara coin between 348 and *ca.* 316 B. C. We found, too, that of any given number of autonomous Greek coins discovered at Olynthus *ca.* 0.25% can be expected to date later than *ca.* 316 B. C. Of the group of eleven coins reviewed here 0.25% gives us a fraction sufficiently small to be ignored with safety.

PAUL A. CLEMENT.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS,
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

THE ARISTOTELIAN TRADITION IN ANCIENT RHETORIC.

(Continued from p. 50.)

2 (corresponding to section 2, page 39 *supra*). Aristotle, as we have seen, provided a new basis for the theory of the rhetorical argument by constructing the enthymeme in closest analogy to his logical syllogism. Thus any theory of the argument in a later system that shows a distinctly syllogistic complexion would naturally come under suspicion of Aristotelian influence even though in the details it may be found to diverge from Aristotle. A theory of the kind is in fact included in not a few of the later systems, but it must be mentioned at once that the customary name for the rhetorical argumentation which corresponds to the syllogism is no longer "enthymeme" but "epicheireme"; at least this is the term used by Cicero and Quintilian, and there is every probability that Hermagoras too preferred this name. The difference, however, between "enthymeme" and "epicheireme" is not of a purely terminological nature.⁶⁰ For, while Aristotle's enthymeme (like his syllogism) consists of two premises and a conclusion, but may under certain circumstances be reduced to a single premise and the conclusion,⁶¹ the epicheireme has a more complicated form. Its normal type includes no less than four premises and the tendency of the rhetoricians is to regard epicheiremes consisting of less than five sentences as a reduction of this normal type. We learn, however, from Cicero's *De inventione*⁶² that another school of thought, which he considers important enough to justify a lengthy discussion of its view, clung to the old tripartite Aristotelian syllogism; and Quintilian actually reverts to this view, after duly informing us that other authors regard four or five or even six parts of the epicheireme as normal.⁶³

⁶⁰ For terminological problems cf. especially Quintilian, V, 10, 1 ff. See also p. 170 *infra*.

⁶¹ *Rhet.* A 2, 1357 a 16-21.

⁶² *De invent.*, I, 57-66. The *Auctor ad Herennium* discusses the epicheireme along different lines and shows less interest in its syllogistic form. See on his discussion (II, 28-30) and on the epicheireme in general Kroll, *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.*, CCXVI, No. 2, pp. 4-17. For Hermagoras cf. Thiele, *Hermagoras* (Strassburg, 1893), p. 134.

⁶³ Quintilian, V, 13 (especially 5-9).

In comparing Aristotle's enthymeme with the normal form of the epicheireme we easily realize what accounts for the difference: whereas Aristotle took the premises for granted the later theorists consider it necessary to prove each of them before combining them in the final conclusion. This is again stated in so many words by Cicero,⁶⁴ who points out that the controversy between the champions of the quinquepartite form of the epicheireme and those of the tripartite form reduces itself to one simple question: If it is necessary to argue in support of one's premises should these arguments be regarded as having an existence independent of these premises and as forming separate parts of the epicheireme or rather as an integral part of the premises which they support. We need not go into the details of this discussion, but we may confidently assume that the epicheireme with its five parts is an outgrowth or extension of the Aristotelian syllogism. In fact Cicero assures us that this form was favored by *omnes ab Aristotele et Theophrasto profecti* and passed from these men to the rhetoricians.⁶⁵ The authors of late *artes* waver between the enthymeme and the epicheireme and show a considerable variety with regard to the definition as well as the place of each of these terms.⁶⁶ Some authors include both, describing the enthymeme as a reduced, the epicheireme as an extended form of the syllogism. We should admit that this description is reasonable and in keeping with the historical origin of these forms.

In *De inventione* the "epicheireme" is treated on a par with "Socratic" induction.⁶⁷ Cicero's Latin name for the epicheireme is *ratiocinatio*, and the distinction in his system between *ratiocinatio* and induction obviously echoes Aristotle's distinction between enthymeme and paradeigma, i. e. between syllogism and induction (ἐπαγωγή). But in *De inventione* the theory of in-

⁶⁴ *De invent.*, I, 60 f.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 61. Cf. Kroll, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁶⁶ Hermogenes describes the enthymeme (περὶ εὐρ., III, 8) as an argument to be used after the epicheireme and as reinforcing it. Apsines (ch. 10) and Minucianus (περὶ ἐπιχειρ., 2, 3) regard the enthymeme and the παράδειγμα as parts or forms of the epicheireme. For the theory mentioned in the text see especially Julius Victor, 9, 11; Fortunatianus, 2, 28; Cassiodorus, 12, 15. Cf. Dionysius Hal., *De Isaeo*, 16 where he observes that Lysias prefers enthymemes whereas Isaeus favors epicheiremes (Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. 135).

⁶⁷ *De invent.*, I, 51-56. For Aristotle see p. 39 *supra*.

ductio and *ratio* is preceded by a discussion not only of the material of the argument but also of *necessaria* and *probabilis argumentatio*, *complexio*, *enumeratio*, *simplex conclusio*, *signum*, *credibile*, *comparabile*, etc.⁶⁸ It is not suggested (and it would be difficult to believe) that all these forms should be fitted into the syllogistic procedure or resolved into the *epicheireme*. Post-Aristotelian rhetoricians obviously added a great amount of material to the old Peripatetic stock. As a result, those writers of *artes* who were anxious to include as much as they could of the new material found it increasingly difficult (if they attempted it at all) to bring order, system, and unity into the great variety of argumentative forms. It cannot be our aim to unravel the various threads and to write the history of the *locus de argumentatione*. Let us rather note with gratitude that Quintilian is more restrained than some others, since he concentrates on the *loci argumentorum*, the *exempla* (for which he refers us to Socrates and Aristotle, see p. 170 *supra*), the *epicheireme*, and, of course, on the refutation of these forms.⁶⁹ Yet he too separates *signa* as well as *credibilia* (*σημεία* and *εἰκότα*) from the syllogistic procedure as represented by the *epicheireme*. For him they are not even *argumenta*, though he reports that others regarded them as a class of the *argumenta*.⁷⁰ To class them under *argumentum*, however, is by no means the same (for a rhetorician of the Hellenistic or Imperial era) as to regard them as a form of the *epicheireme* and to describe them along syllogistic lines. Altogether our evidence suggests that hardly any later author followed Aristotle in his very interesting attempt to understand *signa*, *credibilia*, etc. (i. e. *τεκμήρια*, *εἰκότα*, *σημεία*) as imperfect and not fully cogent syllogisms.⁷¹ We have to remember that *τεκμήρια*, *σημεία*, *εἰκότα* had their place and function even before Aristotle in the legal and (more or less technical) rhetorical practice. They were simply "evidences." Traces of blood are "evidence"

⁶⁸ I, 44-49.

⁶⁹ Quintilian, V, 10-14.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 9, 1; 10, 11. Cf. Philodemus, *Rhet.*, I, 248, 369 (Sudhaus).

⁷¹ See p. 40 *supra*. Cf. Kroll, *Philologus*, LXXXIX (1934), pp. 337, 340. Kroll rightly points out that the division of *σημεία* into such *ante factum*, *in facto*, *post factum*, which is frequently found in later writers, occurs as early as the *Rhet. ad Alex.* (ch. 13). Thus we get a glimpse of a tradition which continued in spite of Aristotle. Cf. further Volkmann, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 12), p. 155.

of a murder; the fact that someone has been seen on the spot is evidence that he has committed the murder. Early rhetoricians distinguished different types of such "evidence," using the words which they found in common use. It was left to Aristotle to force *τεκμήρια*, *σημεία*, *εἰκότα* into the strait-jacket of his syllogism; but, as in the later systems we find them discussed without any reference to the syllogistic epicheireme, we are obviously entitled to infer that Hellenistic authorities considered it wiser not to follow him in this point. We may say that the *signa*, etc. come to the fore again in their Pre-Aristotelian form even though in passing through the hands of rhetoricians they have naturally become somewhat more technical.

The distinction between *necessaria argumentatio* and *probabilis argumentatio*⁷² may also be traced back to Aristotle; yet we observe again that Aristotle explained the difference between them from the point of view of the syllogism, whereas later writers discuss them without reference to the syllogistic principle. For the rest, it goes without saying that the theory of the *refutatio* had to keep pace with that of the *argumentatio* and became in the same degree more elaborate and complicated.

Aristotle also bequeathed to the later rhetoricians a new conception of the *τόπος*. As we have seen, his new approach sprang from the idea that instead of providing a great number of ready-made arguments (one and all applying to quite definite and specific subjects or situations) the teacher of rhetoric ought to concentrate on general forms or types of arguments (see pp. 40-41, *supra*). To judge from the Roman authors, the question how general a way one should adopt in dealing with the arguments continued to occupy the rhetoricians, and remarks to the effect that it is unnecessary or impossible to provide ready-made arguments for every possible subject on which an orator may have to speak are found in Cicero and Quintilian.⁷³ We have again to note that in *De oratore* Cicero keeps very close to what he, with perfect right as it seems to me at least, considers Aristotle's idea. The *loci* or *sedes argumentorum* enumerated in II, 163-173 are of the Aristotelian type even though they are not

⁷² See e. g. Cicero, *De invent.*, I, 44. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* A 2, 1357 a 22-b 25.

⁷³ Cf. e. g. *De invent.*, II, 44 f.; *De orat.*, II, 117, 130; Quintilian, II, 4, 27; V, 10, 100.

materially identical with Aristotle's τόποι.⁷⁴ They are not connected with any definite subject-matter, and yet they are applicable to every subject. On the other hand, certain sections of *De inventione* contain *loci* of a more specific type.⁷⁵ We read there that arguments may be drawn from circumstances connected either with the person or with the fact under discussion and find a good deal of information about those circumstances which may serve as a basis for impressive arguments. Although it is true that Aristotle investigated the motives leading to crimes and the psychological conditions favoring their perpetration,⁷⁶ the discussion of "circumstances" in *De inventione* has little in common with his theory. The Greek word for circumstance is περίστασις, and there is evidence that this term played an important rôle in Hermagoras' system of the *status* (στάσις).⁷⁷ For this reason (and others) scholars have assumed that the elaborate theory of the circumstances in the form in which we find it in Cicero's *De inventione* and in later *artes* is closely connected with that of the *status* and owes much to Hermagoras and to the Stoics who inspired him. It may be wise to leave the matter at that without indulging in further guesses about the inventor. Nor should I stress the fact that material of the same kind is found in *ρέχναι* of the fourth century B. C., notably in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* under εἰκός.⁷⁸

Quintilian has *loci* of the general as well as of the more

⁷⁴ See the references to Aristotle in *De orat.*, II, 152, 160. It is generally and probably rightly assumed that Cicero borrows the *loci* of the *De orat.* (and similarly those included in the *Topica* and the *Part. orat.*) from a contemporary Academic system which in turn shows Stoic influence. See M. Wallies, *De Fontibus Topic. Ciceronis* (Diss. Halle, 1878); W. Kroll, *Rhein. Mus.*, LVIII (1903), p. 590; P. Sternkopf, *De M. Tulli Ciceronis Part. Orat.* (Diss. Münst., 1914), pp. 20 f. From our point of view, however, the immediate source of Cicero's *loci* is less important than the fact that he reverts to Aristotle's method.

⁷⁵ *De invent.*, I, 34-43; II, 17-42 (the points of view mentioned in I, 41 *fn.*-42 are not very different from the *loci* of the *De orat.*). Cf. the shorter and somewhat different treatment of the material of the argumentation in *Ad Herennium*, II, 3-8. For the distinction between *persona* and *negotium* cf. Longinus, p. 182 (Spengel-Hammer) and Rufus, 27-29.

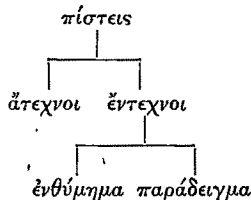
⁷⁶ *Rhet.* A 10-12.

⁷⁷ See especially Augustine, *De rhet.*, 7 f. Cf. Thiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-44; Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 56. Cf. also Volkmann, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁷⁸ Ch. 8.

specialized type.⁷⁹ Even in discussing the *πίστεις ἀτεχνοί* (witnesses, documents, etc.) he proceeds along rather general lines, although here if anywhere the traditional practice was to provide ready-made arguments, and even Aristotle had condescended to lay down in concrete terms arguments both for the strengthening and for the minimizing of witnesses, etc. We may wonder, however, whether Quintilian's teacher Domitius Afer, who wrote two books on this subject,⁸⁰ also confined himself to general points of view and excluded the customary clichés altogether. A remark like the following in Quintilian (V, 10, 20): *locos appello non ut vulgo nunc intelliguntur in luxuriam et adulterium et similia, sed sedes argumentorum* shows that the Pre-Aristotelian type of "commonplace" survived and that Aristotle killed this as little as the traditional conception of *σημεῖα*, *εἰκότα*, etc., or the practice of organizing the material under the "parts of the speech." The rhetoricians of the better type, however, appear to leave these commonplaces alone.

Among the rhetoricians of the Imperial era the Anonymus Segerianus stands out as reproducing most closely the Aristotelian conception and division of the *πίστεις*:



Also, following Alexander Numenius, he defines the relation between the *τόπος* and the *epicheireme* in the true Aristotelian spirit: *τόπος . . . ἐστὶν . . . ἀφορμὴ ἐπιχειρήματος ἢ ἀφορμὴ πίστεως ἢ ὅθεν ἂν τις ὀρμώμενος ἐπιχείρημα εὔροι*. His system has rightly been used as evidence for a revival of the Aristotelian system in

⁷⁹ The first set of *loci* in Quintilian, V, 10 (23-52) refers to *persona* and *res*, but in V, 10, 53 he proceeds to an enumeration of less specified *loci*, refusing to connect them with the *status* (as other rhetoricians did; see e.g. Neocles in the Anonymus Segerianus, 170; cf. Sternkopf's judicious discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 f.). For the *πίστεις ἀτεχνοί* see Aristotle, *Rhet.* A 15, Quintilian, V, 1-7. Aristotle provides *τόποι* of a rather specific kind in his chapter on the *διαβολή* (Γ 15) in which he probably borrowed a great deal from Theodectes.

⁸⁰ See Quintilian, V, 7, 7. Cf. also Quintilian's remark in II, 4, 27.

earlier phases of the Imperial epoch,⁸¹ and this revival among the Greeks is in some way comparable to that on the Roman side for which Cicero is responsible. No other Greek rhetorician, however, appears to be affected by this revival in the same degree as the Anonymus.

Reverting to the *τόποι* or *loci*, we are justified in saying that they are an almost regular feature in the later *artes* where they appear in different forms; in some authors they are conceived as points of view of a general type useful for the argumentation irrespective of its subject. This appears to be the closest approximation to Aristotle's original conception. Yet other authors confine their *loci* to a more specified use either by connecting them with the "circumstances" or by dividing them, according to a scheme which seems to have been rather popular, into *loci ante rem* (that is *loci* to be used in discussing what happened before the fact, e. g. before the murder), *in re*, *circa rem*, *post rem*. Yet, even in this form they are still "types" of arguments, not ready-made clichés; in other words they are very different from the "commonplaces" of the rhetorical tradition before Aristotle.⁸² To maintain that it is due to Aristotle that no

⁸¹ Anonymus Seguerianus, 144 ff., 168 f., 172 ff. O. Angermann, *De Aristotele rhetorum auctore* (Diss. Leipzig, 1904), pp. 28-59, suggests that the Anonymus is indebted for the Aristotelian material in his *τέχνη* to Caecilius of Calacte, since the two authorities on whom he depends, Alexander Numenius and Neocles, may both have used Caecilius. Angermann comments on a number of "Aristotelian" passages in Quintilian which show a remarkable resemblance to the Aristotelian material in the Anonymus. His arguments for a common source of Quintilian, Alexander, and Neocles are, on the whole, convincing, though I cannot regard it as proved that this common source was Caecilius and that he was the rhetorician who returned to the genuine Aristotelian doctrine and passed it on to other rhetoricians of the Imperial time. Ofenloch's collection (*Caec. Calact. Fragmenta* [Leipzig, 1907]) is based on Angermann.

⁸² For the first type see Apsines, 10 and Anonymus Seguerianus, 169-181. Fortunatianus, II, 23, Julius Victor VI, 1-4, and Martianus Capella, 49 (contrast 21) have the fourfold division described in the text; but, while the *loci ante rem* are based on the *περιστάσεις*, those *circa rem* and *in re* are of a general logical complexion resembling those in Aristotle and the *De oratore*. For another combination of these types see Minucianus, 3 (p. 343, 24 Spengel-Hammer). For the *τόποι* in the mediaeval systems see Harry Caplan's very interesting discussion in *C. P.*, XXVIII (1933), p. 75. In this context attention may be drawn to some attempts to use Aristotle's categories as a basis for *inventio* (Quintilian, III, 6, 23; Longinus, pp. 179-181 [Spengel-Hammer]).

Hellenistic or Imperial *ars* (of which we know) consists merely of an enumeration of such commonplaces would be a gross overstatement of his influence; for the tendency to give rhetorical precepts a more general form is probably characteristic of the fourth century B. C., as the evidence of Theodectes and the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* shows. We should also beware of underestimating the extent to which the *τόποι* were affected⁸³ and their original idea modified by their close connection (in most of the later systems) with Hermagoras' *status*. And yet, in spite of these considerations, I suggest that whoever among the late writers of *artes* thinks in terms of "types" of arguments and not in terms of concrete, ready-made arguments is in some measure indebted to Aristotle and to his philosophical treatment of the rhetorical "proofs."

Propositions comparable to the "premises" put forward by Aristotle (see pp. 41 f. *supra*) occur in the sections on the political speech and the laudation, which are on the whole less affected by the innovations of Post-Aristotelian theorists.⁸³ The old values which had been allotted to the political speech and the laudation (*καλόν, συμφέρον, ἀγαθόν* = *honesta, utilia, bona*) continue to dominate them and we feel on familiar Aristotelian ground in reading general propositions referring to *honestas* or *utilitas*, for example, as well as enumerations of specific *honestas, utilia*, etc. It should be noted, however, that these propositions are no longer characterized as premises for rhetorical syllogisms and that propositions of the kind are also found in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. Yet the propositions there are less general than Aristotle's, and it was Aristotle after all who had taught how to define the values as well as the "goods" classed under them. In the *Auctor ad Herennium* the sections dealing with the *laudatio* and the political speech include precepts concerning the arrangement and disposition of material in these types of speeches.⁸⁴

⁸³ See especially Cicero, *De invent.*, II, 157-178; *De orat.*, II, 342-349; *Ad Herennium*, III, 2-15; Quintilian, III, 7 f.

⁸⁴ III, 7-9 and 15. It may be noted that the chapters on the *laudatio* frequently include references to Peripatetic divisions of the "goods," especially to the famous tripartite division (goods of the mind, of the body, external goods; see e. g. *Ad Herennium*, III, 10; Cicero, *De orat.*, II, 342; *Part. orat.*, 38; Quintilian, III, 7, 12). For Stoic influence on Cicero, *De invent.*, II, 160 ff. see Kroll, *Philologus*, XCI (1936), pp. 197-205.

Evidently this is a concession to the alternative, "Isocratean," τέχνη.

Generally speaking, Post-Aristotelian theories of the rhetorical argumentation show a curious mixture of Aristotelian and un-Aristotelian features; and we have to admit that the latter have, on the whole, attained a dominating position. Even the most casual glance at the sections on *confirmatio* (or *argumentatio*) in the works collected in Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores* would satisfy anyone that Hermagoras with his reorganization of the material under the *constitutiones* carried the day over alternative theories and tendencies.⁸⁵ His four basic *status* and the distinction between λογικὰ and νομικὰ ζητήματα provided the groundwork for almost all later *artes*. In addition, there is that considerable variety of arguments to be drawn from the place, the time, the motives, and other circumstances of the fact under discussion. Naturally Hermagoras' theory too suffered many alterations; it appears to have been the ambition of every rhetorician to make some new departure in this field, at the very least by selecting and arranging the traditional material differently from his predecessors. The result is that the *inventio* in most of the late *artes* reduces to the verge of despair anyone who attempts something in the nature of an historical analysis. I shall be satisfied if I have come near the truth at least with regard to the outlines of the development, and I am under no illusion about the ample chances of error in this field. The Isocratean school does not seem to have left a deep mark on this part of the system but it looks as though

⁸⁵ One naturally wonders whether Hermagoras' own system shows any signs of indebtedness to Aristotle. Unfortunately, the system has in spite of the careful studies of Thiele and W. Jäneke (*De statuum doctrina ab Hermogene tradita* [Diss. Leipzig, 1904]) not yet been reconstructed with sufficient certainty. It is true that Quintilian was in a position to point to certain *semina* of Hermagoras' theory in Aristotle's work (III, 6, 24, 49, 60). *Rhet.* A 1, 1354 a 26-31, A 13, 1378 b 38 ff. are some of the passages which he may have had in mind, but those which come nearest to Hermagoras are found in the second part of book III (15, 1416 a 6-9; 16, 1416 b 20-22; 1416 b 39-1417 a 2) where Aristotle himself depends on the Isocratean tradition (see p. 46 *supra*). The value of these passages lies in the fact that they put us in mind of some practical facts which form a background also to Hermagoras' theory, but Quintilian's *fecit deinde velut propriam Hermagoras viam* (III, 1, 16) remains, after all, unassailable. See, however, for a different opinion Volkmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f.; Navarre, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 7), p. 265.

some Pre-Aristotelian concepts have been carried along in the stream of the tradition and may occasionally even come to the surface, though on the whole they are buried under the various layers of later origin and it is not easy to recognize them.

3 (corresponding to section 3, page 42 *supra*). It may be a matter for wonder that Aristotle's theory of the three "proofs" (or, rather, means of carrying one's point) did not become a mainstay of the later systems; but our evidence for the Hellenistic centuries (which is more definite and explicit than usual⁸⁶) suggests that the inclusion of ἦθος and πάθος—the speaker's character and the art of playing upon the feelings—was abandoned by the Hellenistic rhetoricians.⁸⁷ How soon after Aristotle this happened it is difficult to say, but one of the usual taunts of the philosophers against the rhetoricians in the late Hellenistic centuries seems to have been this very point—that the rhetoricians had given up the analysis *more Aristoteleo* of character and emotions. The Stoics, as is well known, generally disapproved of the arousing of emotions, and Hermagoras was influenced by them. In view of his enormous influence on the later rhetorical systems I should think that he was responsible (though not necessarily alone responsible) for the facts that *inventio* was reduced to a theory of the arguments and that the other two factors disappeared. Naturally, practical suggestions for the arousing of this and that definite emotion continued to find their place in the sections on proem and epilogue. To rescue the theory of πάθος from such a dubious existence and, in a spirit of loyalty to Aristotle, to restore it to its old dignity were again left to Cicero. In *De inventione*⁸⁸ Cicero still follows the Hellenistic tradition in confining the arousing of emotions to proem and epilogue and refuses to recognize this as one of the principal functions of the orator. Yet in his maturer works we find him assigning to the orator the threefold task *probare, delectare, and permovere*; ⁸⁹ and this new conviction, which must have grown out of his practical experience, is reflected in a

⁸⁶ See Cicero, *De orat.*, I, 87, 201; Philodemus, *Rhet.*, I, 370 (Sudhaus). Cf. also Quintilian (p. 179 *infra*).

⁸⁷ See for details *C. P.*, XXXIII (1938), p. 396.

⁸⁸ See *De invent.*, I, 22, 100 ff., 106 ff.

⁸⁹ E. g. *De orat.*, II, 114, 128, 310; *Orator*, 69; *Brutus*, 158; *De opt. gen. or.*, 3.

readmission of ῥῆθ and πάθη to a position on a par with the rhetorical argument. ῥῆθ, however, means to him something slightly different from what it had been to Aristotle; it now denotes the *leniores affectus*, a lesser degree of πάθος.⁹⁰

It is probably the result of Cicero's authority that Quintilian too makes an attempt to give the theory of *affectus* its due; but it is a rather unfortunate attempt, the execution being poor because of the dearth of material.⁹¹ He says in so many words that he found no more information in his (Hellenistic and early Imperial) sources, and he obviously did not see his way back to the original Aristotelian theory. In later times Martianus Capella on the Roman, and Minucianus on the Greek side return to Aristotle's tripartite system of *πίστεις*, and certain other rhetoricians also take the πάθη into account.⁹² In fact Professor Hendrickson⁹³ has found a considerable body of evidence for a theory that assigned to the orator a twofold function (instead of the old threefold one) and divided rhetorical productions or prose in general into works designed to teach and convince and those of a more emotional complexion. This theory also goes back to the Peripatetic school and may in the last analysis have

⁹⁰ *De orat.*, II, 182-214. Cf. II, 115. See also *Orator*, 128-133. It must be admitted that Cicero's analysis of the emotions goes less deep and is less philosophic than Aristotle's. See for a fuller discussion of these points *C. P.*, XXXIII (1938), pp. 396-401. For Cicero's practical *ψυχαγωγία* see *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), pp. 542 ff. where I have discussed the reasons why Cicero was more attracted by Aristotle's *Rhetoric* than by the Hellenistic systems. For the new notion of ῥῆθ see L. Voit, *Δεινότης, Ein antiker Stilbegriff* (Leipzig, 1934), pp. 135-140. Cf. Quintilian, VI, 2, 8.

⁹¹ VI, 2. Cf. especially his remark VI, 2, 25.

⁹² Martianus Capella, 28, 29; Minucianus, 1. Julius Severianus discusses the *affectus* at length and from various points of view, drawing to a large extent on Cicero's practice (ch. 21 represents a curious attempt to utilize the *loci argumentorum* in building up an analogous theory for the *affectus*). Apsines (306-329 [Spengel-Hammer]) and the Anonymus Seguerianus (222-239) treat τὰ πάθη in the context of the epilogue, and the latter has characteristically a reference (208) to "Aristotle in the Θεωδετικὰ τέχνη"; see p. 46 *supra*. It is certainly not the genuine Aristotelian tradition. For a reference to Aristotle's tripartite division of the *πίστεις* see Dionysius Hal., *De Lys.*, 19 *init.* I cannot include in this paper a discussion of the place of ῥῆθ in the theory of style.

⁹³ *A. J. P.*, XXVI (1905), pp. 249-267.

grown out of an Aristotelian distinction between two types of style.⁹⁴

4 (corresponding to section 4, page 42 *supra*). With regard to the *tria genera causarum* (the forensic speech, the political speech, and the laudation) we have Quintilian's very valuable testimony: *nec dubie prope omnes utique summae apud antiquos auctoritatis scriptores Aristotelem secuti . . . hac partitione contenti fuerunt*.⁹⁵ The Aristotelian division was in fact adopted by the Stoics,⁹⁶ and we find it reproduced in the *Auctor ad Herennium*, Cicero, Quintilian, Fortunatianus, and Martianus Capella. On the Greek side, Alexander is particularly close to Aristotle's wording and idea; the rhetorician Menander characterizes his theory of the ἐπιδεικτικόν as covering a third of the whole field, and a glance at Rabe's *Prolegomenon Sylloge* will satisfy us that the division persisted even among the Byzantines.⁹⁷ On the other hand, both Cicero and Quintilian indulge in some criticism, and the latter informs us that the division was opposed by the *maximus temporum nostrorum auctor*.⁹⁸ It was in fact an obvious disadvantage that a good part of the potential field of rhetoric remained outside the division, and remarks to this effect are found in Cicero's *De oratore* and Quintilian. Moreover, the term which Aristotle had used as the common denominator of eulogy and invective, τὸ ἐπιδεικτικόν, lent itself to different interpretations, misunderstandings, and, on the basis of these misunderstandings, again to criticism; this has recently been interestingly shown by Mr. Hinks.⁹⁹ The alternative procedure, however, that we notice is an almost exclusive concentration on one of these three *genera*—the forensic. This tendency which was probably widespread in Hellenistic centuries is, as far as we can judge, typically represented by Hermagoras, whose new

⁹⁴ *Rhet.* I 12, 1413 b 3 ff. Cf. Theophrastus' much quoted fragment (Ammonius, *In Arist. de interpret.*, p. 65, 31 [Berlin ed.]).

⁹⁵ III, 4, 1; cf. *ibid.*, 12.

⁹⁶ Cf. Diogenes Laert., VII, 42.

⁹⁷ See Alexander in *Rhet. Graec.* (ed. Spengel-Hammer), III, 1; Menander, *ibid.*, 331. For the rest cf. Rabe's index s. v. δικανικός, ἐπιδεικτικός, πανηγυρικός, συμβουλευτικός.

⁹⁸ Cf. especially Cicero, *De orat.*, II, 43-51 and 68; Quintilian, III, 4, 2.

⁹⁹ D. A. G. Hinks, "Tria Genera Causarum," *Class. Quart.*, XXX (1936), pp. 170-176.

system (of the *status*) fits only the forensic branch while the other two are condemned to a rather obscure existence in a corner.¹⁰⁰ The effect of this development may be studied in *De inventione*, where the system of the *status*, though suitable only for the forensic kind, has yet in principle at least been made the basis for the whole section on the content of the speech (*inventio*). In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* too the forensic branch receives preferential treatment, and some of the later rhetoricians forget the others altogether. Hermogenes ignored Aristotle's classification. His own λόγος πολιτικός embraces in effect the forensic and the deliberative—that is political—branch, and his division into λόγος ἀπλῶς πολιτικός and λόγος ἀπλῶς πανηγυρικός would cover the whole Aristotelian field if his λόγος πανηγυρικός were not something very different from Aristotle's ἐπιδεικτικός. (To say that the deliberative branch "takes revenge" for the neglect to which it was commonly exposed, "by finding a new and disruptive place within the theory of *status* itself,"¹⁰¹ is not quite fair to Hermogenes who is constantly thinking of deliberative—political—speeches and tries to fit them into all his *status*.)

5 (corresponding to section 5, page 43 *supra*). The history of the Aristotelian (or Theophrastean) "virtues" of style in later rhetorical theory has been admirably written by Professor Stroux.¹⁰² The fourth book of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* shows how completely the Theophrastean scheme had been destroyed, and in what a chaotic condition the theory of style found itself before Cicero in *De oratore* decided to go back to the *auctores et inventores harum sane minutarum rerum*, that is to revive the old Peripatetic doctrine. In the third book of *De oratore* a theory of rhetorical diction (*elocutio*) is put forward which in its outlines and organization corresponds exactly to Theophrastus' scheme (see *supra*, p. 44).¹⁰³ It is no exaggeration to maintain

¹⁰⁰ Namely under the *status* called *qualitas* (ποιότης). Cf. Quintilian, III, 6, 56; Thiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 f., 78 (see also p. 182 concerning Athenaeus); Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 53.

¹⁰¹ Hinks, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

¹⁰² See p. 36 *supra*.

¹⁰³ See especially III, 148, 187. *Elocutio* is discussed in III, 37-212 (though the "excursuses" containing lofty philosophical speculations are, of course, foreign to the rhetorical theory and have to be considered as Cicero's own addition). See for the disposition of this part of the work III, 37. Cf. Stroux, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 6), pp. 11-28, 54-56.

that but for this revival modern scholars would not have been able to reconstruct the original system. And yet, if Cicero when he wrote *De inventione* had carried out his intention of reproducing the entire Hellenistic system, the section on *elocutio* would in all probability show the same close resemblance to that in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as does the part which he actually worked out. As he stopped before arriving at *elocutio* his development from "Asianism" to "classicism" can be traced only in his stylistic practice, and it is only to the latter phase that we have a corresponding "classical" theory in *De oratore*. In *Orator*, Cicero is preoccupied with the three "characters"; yet in that work too the Peripatetic basis is unmistakable.¹⁰⁴

Quintilian, who devotes three and a half books to *elocutio*,¹⁰⁵ follows Cicero in arranging the material under the four "virtues" and Fortunatianus, Julius Victor, Martianus Capella, and Cassiodorus proceed in principle on the same lines. In the field of diction, however, a huge amount of new material had accumulated since Theophrastus' time. Innumerable new "figures," the whole array of *τρόποι*, and many other recent pieces of theory were claiming a place in this phase of the system, so that we need not wonder that, while the general outlines of the Peripatetic scheme are preserved intact in writers like Quintilian and the others just mentioned, the content of a section like the *ornatus continuæ orationis* (i. e. *κόσμος* in the *σύνθεσις*) differs considerably from what Aristotle, Theophrastus, and other Peripatetic writers would have discussed under this heading. In fact, as far as the material (as distinct from its organization) is concerned, we find a closer reproduction of the old Peripatetic doctrine in "Demetrius," *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, although this author, unlike Quintilian, has broken up the Peripatetic structure.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ It is apparent especially in the inclusion of *πάθος* and *ῥθος* (128), the reference to the four "virtues of style" as a standard of which the Atticists fall short (79), the use made of *τὸ πρέπον* in defining, among other things, the proper sphere of each character (70 ff.), and the reference to Aristotle and Theophrastus as authorities on period and rhythm (172, 228).

¹⁰⁵ VIII-XI, 1. See for Quintilian and the *virtutes dicendi* in later Roman rhetoricians Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-64. Cf. Fortunatianus, III, 8; Martianus Capella, 31 (Julius Victor, 20).

¹⁰⁶ See my paper in *Hermes*, LXVI (1931), pp. 241-267. The features of the *σύνθεσις* which the Peripatetic source of "Demetrius" had under

On the Greek side no revival of the old Peripatetic scheme seems to have taken place. On the contrary, Stroux has ingeniously shown that writers like Dionysius tend to make the *ornatus* supreme and to give it a monopoly of *elocutio*,¹⁰⁷ thus abandoning the fundamental idea of the Peripatetic school for which *ornatus* (κόσμος) ranked with the three other "virtues": correct language, clarity, and appropriateness to subject matter. Since this is the theory which the Romans beginning with Cicero revive, we note an important divergence between them and their Greek colleagues, who think of style primarily as an "ornament" and tend to ignore the instructive and informative function of language (guaranteed by σαφήνεια)¹⁰⁸ as well as the requirement of a proper relation between style and subject matter, etc. (τὸ πρέπον).

The so-called Atticistic movement is to a large extent controlled by the κριτικοί who either believe in a multitude of stylistic "ideas" to be used in the appraisal and emulation of the great models or put the main emphasis on the three (or, eventually, more) stylistic "characters." The origin of this stock-in-trade of the later systems does not concern us here. It suffices for our purpose to note that the Peripatetic school is no longer considered responsible for its introduction and that the essential difference between this approach to style and that along the line of "virtues" has come to be recognized.¹⁰⁹ It lies, above everything else, in the fact that, while the Peripatetic believers in virtues theorize on style in a general way and provide precepts applicable to every speech (or even every piece of prose), the writers on χαρακτήρες divide the whole literature of the past into three or four different types and proceed to describe the peculiarities of each of these. In other words, the theorists of the former type recognize only a distinction between good style and bad style, whereas those of the latter know and approve of four different styles and disapprove of another four.

κεκοσμημένον appear to have been rhythm, length of κῶλα, περιαγωγή, εὐφωνία, structure of the period, order and arrangement of the words, σύνδεσμοι, hiatus.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 23.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I 2, 1404 b 2.

¹⁰⁹ See again Stroux, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 88-104 and Hendrickson's papers quoted *supra*, notes 2 and 6. For a more conservative view cf. Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 35; Radermacher, *Gnomon*, XV (1939), p. 101. For the history of the problem see Stroux' first chapter.

I am far from minimizing this important difference, and yet it is equally important to understand that both the writers dealing with stylistic "ideas" and those discussing the "characters" draw to a very large extent on material provided for the "virtues" and, in fact, on the virtues themselves.¹¹⁰ Thus they too are indebted to the Peripatetics. Dionysius' "ideas" are, from the historical point of view, a rather variegated affair, and yet the Peripatetic stock is clearly discernible (more so, as it seems to me at least, than in Hermogenes' *περὶ ἰδεῶν*). It is true that, besides τὸ σαφές, τὸ πρέπον, etc., we also find the Isocratean ἡδύ, πιθανόν, ἐναργές, but we shall see presently that later Peripatetics had found a way of combining these with the original Aristotelian "virtues," and we should bear in mind that Peripatetic writers like Demetrius of Phaleron had been liberal enough to theorize e. g. on χάρις. It has also been pointed out that Dionysius in discriminating between good and bad style makes frequent use of the Peripatetic principle of the "mean" (μεσότης) between two extremes, which helps him also in establishing the supremacy of his εὐκρατος ἁρμονία, the middle style.¹¹¹ As regards the writers on χαρακτήρες, the Peripatetic basis of Pseudo-Longinus and "Demetrius," *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* is obvious enough. Three of the "sources of sublimity" (πηγαὶ τοῦ ὕψους) in "Longinus" are identical with the sub-headings of Theophrastus' κόσμος, namely: the right choice of words (ἐκλογή τῶν ὀνομάτων), the dignified composition of words (σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων), and the "figures" (σχήματα).¹¹² "Demetrius" makes an even more extensive use of Peripatetic material. In discussing the ἰσχνὸς χαρακτήρ (the *tenuis genus dicendi*) he declares that in this character σαφὴ δεῖ εἶναι τὴν λέξιν and proceeds to expound such precepts as the Peripatetics from Aristotle onwards provided for clarity, one of their "virtues" (σαφήνεια): use the common words, avoid ambiguities, leave the words in their natural order, use plenty of particles, etc.¹¹³ Another Peripatetic virtue, *ornatus*, provides him with

¹¹⁰ Cf. again Stroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-88 (for the material in Dionysius see especially pp. 73 f., 77 f.), 104-126. I am confining myself in the following pages to a few significant illustrations of the process.

¹¹¹ See S. F. Bonner's recent article (*C. P.*, XXXIII [1938], pp. 257-266) in which the author proceeds successfully on lines indicated by Hendrickson in *A. J. P.*, XXV (1904), pp. 125-146.

¹¹² See *De Subl.*, 8 *init.*, 16-29, 30-38, 39-43. Cf. Hans Stefan Schultz, *Der Aufbau der Schrift περὶ ὕψους* (Diss. Berlin, 1936), pp. 30 ff., 42, 44.

¹¹³ "Demetrius," 191 f., 196, 199 ff. Cf. Cicero, *De orat.*, III, 48 f.

material on metaphors, images, new words, compound words, allegories, etc., which he uses in his description of the sublime or magnificent character. He also draws on this material, though in a somewhat different manner, in his sections on the two remaining "characters."¹¹⁴ Again, in theorizing on the "composition of words" in the various characters and in selecting the figures suitable for each of them he proceeds for the most part by dividing up between them the Peripatetic material for *σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων* and *σχήματα*.

Instead of pursuing this subject further in detail, let us note that "Demetrius," who borrows and hands on so much Peripatetic material, shows very clearly that this material had suffered—obviously at the hands of the Peripatetics themselves—important modifications, especially through the addition to the old stock of some new categories which had previously been sponsored by the Isocrateans (we here notice again the *conflatio* of the two traditions). Theophrastus is known to have found room in his system of style for *τὸ ἡδύ* and *τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές*, two Isocratean requirements for the narration which Aristotle himself had rejected as unnecessary. From "Demetrius" we infer that *τὸ πιθανόν* and *τὸ ἐναργές*,¹¹⁵ two other Isocratean "virtues" of the narration, were also admitted by the Peripatetics (after Aristotle's time) and even elevated to the position of a quality of style in general, whereas the Isocrateans had confined these to the narration, one of their four "parts of the speech." Among the more specialized subjects on which the Isocratean school had theorized and which now came to be absorbed in the Peripatetic system hiatus is probably the most important. Aristotle himself, though dealing at length with the period and its rhythm, had refrained from making any reference to hiatus. He probably knew that the Isocrateans prided themselves on avoiding collisions of vowels but considered it beneath his dignity to pay attention to this newfangled subtlety. His successors, however, did not share his prejudice.

Yet, although the later Peripatetics compromised with the

¹¹⁴ Cf. for a fuller treatment my paper in *Hermes*, LXVI (1931), pp. 244-249, 251, 253. The Peripatetic influence in this work is recognized also (at least in principle) by Rhys Roberts, *Demetrius On Style* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 50-52 and *passim* in the notes, and by Radermacher on p. 12 of his edition (Leipzig, 1901).

¹¹⁵ "Demetrius," 208-222.

rival school, they did not normally surrender vital and axiomatic features of their master's system. This may be gathered from the following two passages in "Demetrius" which are probably typical of the Peripatetic attitude to Isocratean propositions.

"There are people who hold that we ought to talk about little things in a grand fashion (τὰ μικρὰ μεγάλως λέγειν; this has been taken as a reference to Isocrates and is in fact more likely to have been aimed at him than at Gorgias) and they regard this as proof of surpassing power. . . . Yet fitness must be observed whatever the subject be or, in other words, the style must be appropriate." This "fitness" is τὸ πρέπον, one of the Aristotelian "virtues" which is here played off against an Isocratean principle. Instead of τὰ μικρὰ μεγάλως λέγειν the Peripatetics formulate a new principle, with the help of Aristotle's πρέπον, namely τὰ μικρὰ μικρῶς λέγειν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα μέγਾਲως.

The following passage refers to the question of hiatus: "We regard to hiatus different opinions have been held by different people. Isocrates and his followers avoided hiatus while others have admitted it whenever it chanced to occur and between vowels (reading πάντα πᾶσιν instead of παντάπασιν). One would however, neither to make the composition noisy as it will be if the vowels are allowed inartistically to collide just as they come together . . . nor shun the direct contact of such letters altogether." This is a good Peripatetic middle course for which several reasons are given, especially that common parlance (συνήθεια) does not hesitate to bring these letters into contact, words like χῶν, and that much music and euphony would be lost if hiatus were shunned everywhere.

We referred above (pp. 44 ff.) to certain other contributions and new departures made either by Aristotle himself or by his school and may now add a few brief remarks concerning their fate in later authors. Quintilian¹¹⁷ records that the division of proofs into ἐντεχνον and ἀτεχνον was accepted by almost all writers on rhetoric (*illa partitio ab Aristotele tradita consensus fere omnium meruit*). This is borne out by the extant systems, especially by those constructed on the lines of the quinquepar scheme.¹¹⁸ A divergent attitude is taken by Cicero in *De inv*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 120, 68-71.

¹¹⁸ V, 1, 1.

¹¹⁹ See, besides Cicero and Quintilian, Julius Victor, VI, 5, 6; Minucianus Capella, 27, 43; Anonymus Seguerianus, 145 f.; Minucianus,

tion where he does not recognize a distinction between these two kinds of proofs and polemizes against people holding that *quaestiones*, *testimonia*, etc. *artificio non indigere*.¹¹⁹ Some rhetoricians, one may assume from this, considered that ἀτεχνά should find either no place at all or at least no technical treatment in the τέχνη. Cicero's own view (or, more probably, that of a Hellenistic rhetorician whom he follows) is that these proofs are a phase of one particular *status*, namely *coniectura*. Yet, in *De oratore* he has changed his mind and returns to the orthodox Aristotelian distinction between ἐντεχνά and ἀτεχνά,¹²⁰ including in the latter category even the *leges*. This is noteworthy since, as a rule, later rhetoricians diverged from Aristotle in excluding this item. Nor is it difficult to account for this; the devices which Aristotle in his discussion of the ἀτεχνοὶ πύσεις had provided for the interpretation of the law, the appeal to the lawgiver's intention as against the letter of the law, the defense of the letter against the supposed intention of the lawgiver, etc., have in the meantime received a place in a different part of the system. Hermagoras used material very similar to Aristotle's to build up his νομικαὶ στάσεις;¹²¹ and, as the later rhetoricians adopted his system of στάσεις, it was logical for them no longer to include the νόμος with the rest of the ἀτεχνοὶ πύσεις.

As for the sentence period, my impression is that hardly any later rhetorician fully grasped the idea behind Aristotle's definition. The general tendency is to treat this subject more "empirically" and less philosophically. Instead of emphasizing (as Aristotle had done) that the period has a beginning and an end "in itself" and that it is the function of the rhythm to mark these, later writers stress the fact that the period consists of κῶλα and κόμματα, a point which Aristotle as we have seen did not regard as at all essential.¹²² Cicero in *Orator* (where

¹¹⁹ *De invent.*, II, 47; cf. Quintilian, V, 1, 2.

¹²⁰ *De orat.*, II, 116-119. Cf. *Part. orat.*, 6, 48, 117 (in 117 a particular ἀτεχνον, *testes*, is discussed under the heading *coniectura*, which is in keeping with Cicero's decision in *De invent.*, II, 47).

¹²¹ See Thiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-84 and cf. Quintilian, III, 6, 61. It is possible, as Thiele points out, that Hermagoras' own term was νομικὰ ζητήματα (not στάσεις). A detailed comparison of Hermagoras' theory and Aristotle, *Rhet.* A 15, 1375 a 25-b 25 would seem to be a desideratum.

¹²² "Demetrius," 10 is a typical passage. Cf. also Aristides, II, 507, 6 (Spengel); Anonymus Seguerianus, 242; Quintilian, IX, 4, 122 ff.,

he quotes Aristotle in support of his plea for a rhythmical structure of the oration) comes nearer than anyone else perhaps to the original Aristotelian idea.¹²³

The sections of "Demetrius" on χάρις and τὸ γελοῖον are, like almost everything else in his treatise, derived from a Peripatetic source; and Cicero's discussion of the rhetorical joke in *De oratore* II is based on the Peripatetic distinction between the laughable in the subject-matter and the laughable in verba expression and certainly owes many of the more specific points also to Peripatetic theory. This has been shown by a comparison with the *Tractatus Coislinianus* the results of which seem valid even though one might feel that Cicero's own contributions have been somewhat underrated. Quintilian in turn depends on Cicero. Since the Peripatetics, as far as we know, treated this subject in monographs, it was left to later authors (especially the Romans) to locate it in the system. Cicero as well as Quintilian decided to place it close to his propositions about the arousing of emotions, but Kroll rightly says that the place was never definitively fixed.¹²⁴

We know so little of the Peripatetic theories concerning oratorical delivery that it is very difficult to define the extent to which later authors reproduce them. According to Kroll, Cicero followed Theophrastus closely both in *De oratore* and *Orator*; this would mean that not only the precepts referring to the orator's voice (which Theophrastus certainly discussed) but also those covering his *gestus* and the movements of his body go back

especially 125. See also Martianus Capella, 39. Cf. Zehetmeier, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 36), *passim*, especially pp. 423 ff., 434.

¹²³ *Orator*, 228. Yet cf. 221.

¹²⁴ E. Arndt (*op. cit.*, *supra*, note 37) deals with Cicero, *De orat.*, II, 21¹ 289 (pp. 25-40) and Quintilian, VI, 3 (pp. 41-62). See also Roger Pael C. P., XXXIII (1938), pp. 405-410, who proceeds more cautiously. Kroll *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 38 f., emphasizes that in the *Orator*, unlike the *De oratore*, Cicero connects the *ridiculum* with the *genus tenue* (see the notes in his commentary on *Orator*, 87-89); Kroll's identification of *facētiæ* and *dicacitas* with χάρις and γέλως is not tenable and has been refuted by Miss Grant, *op. cit.* (note 37 *supra*), p. 103. See also A. Heremnius, I, 10 which has something in common with Cicero (Arndt *op. cit.*, p. 38).

¹²⁵ *De orat.*, III, 213-225 (much that we read here must have originated with Cicero himself), *Orator*, 55-60. Cf. Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik" 36; Stroux, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

to Theophrastus. It is not easy to substantiate this suggestion. The best argument (which, however, Kroll would hardly use) is that it is generally Cicero's tendency, especially in *De oratore*, to revert to the Peripatetic authorities. And we have seen that the Peripatetics were responsible for the inclusion of ὑπόκρισις (*actio*) in the quinquupartite system.

The quinquupartite system is certainly the most comprehensive put forward in the history of ancient rhetoric, but even in characterizing it thus we are far from doing full justice to its importance. It is safe to say that through the quinquupartite system and through the tripartite scheme of "proofs" (arguments, emotions, speaker's character) Aristotle and his school provided the rhetoricians with a principle of organization based on the nature and functions of a public speech. This is the truly philosophical approach to rhetoric; and, though the Peripatetics did not actually kill the rather mechanical alternative system, they at least succeeded in breaking its monopoly. Next to this contribution, the theory of argumentation and the theory of style are the two major fields where Aristotle's methods and ideas have left their mark. Oratorical delivery is a somewhat less important subject; and the analysis of the emotions, though revived from time to time, never secured a definite and undisputed place in the system. While the history of the most important rival tradition, the Isocratean, still remains to be written, we have at least been able to observe how it weakened and to some extent undermined the Peripatetic position in the two most important sections of the rhetorical system, *inventio* and *elocutio*. To this extent Cicero's *unum quoddam genus est conflatum a posterioribus* is certainly borne out.¹²⁶ In the field of *inventio* an even more dangerous rival arose in the person of Hermagoras, and it is not too much to say that with the subtle, scholastic distinctions and the elaborate casuistry of his *status* he carried the day over Aristotle. Certain Aristotelian features survived, however, indicating that even Hermagoras' triumph was not complete and that on the whole the result was (here as well as in the fields of conflict between Aristotle and Isocrates) a compromise.

If it is asked (and I do not see why this should not be a perfectly legitimate question) who did most to keep alive or revive Aristotelian ideas and concepts, the answer can hardly be

¹²⁶ *De invent.*, II, 8. See *supra* p. 49 and p. 185.

doubtful. I should not stress the fact that the quinquartite system underlies *De oratore* (for this system was scarcely in danger of being eclipsed) but rather draw attention to the inclusion in this work of ἥθος and πάθος, the revival of Aristotle's conception of the *loci argumentorum*, the return to the four "virtues" of the diction, and the insistence on the old boundary between *inventio* and *dispositio*. And we may add, as a point of a less technical nature, that Cicero regards a wide range of knowledge and philosophical speculation as prior conditions for successful oratory.¹²⁷ These facts lend substance to his claim that in *De oratore* he renewed the *ratio Aristotelica* (along with the *ratio Isocratea*),¹²⁸ and I cannot help wondering why the tendency among scholars has been either to ignore or to minimize the importance of this testimony.

FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

¹²⁷ In stressing the need of philosophical penetration Cicero agrees with Plato's *Phaedrus*, whereas the emphasis put on extensive knowledge has parallels in Aristotle (see especially *Rhet.* A 4; B 22). Cf. Hans Schulte, *Orator, Untersuchungen über das Ciceronische Bildungsideal* (Frankfurt, 1935) and my review of this book in *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), p. 106.

¹²⁸ *Ad Fam.*, I, 9, 23. See for literature *C. P.*, XXXIII (1938), p. 398 (add Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," 47-50).

BITHYNICA.

In his "Contributions à un lexique épigraphique" (*Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, pp. 219 ff.; cf. *Rev. Phil.*, X [1936], pp. 113 ff., 117) Professor L. Robert has called attention to certain words for "tomb" (ἐντομῖς, λατόμ(ο)ν, μάκρα, στιβάς, πυρία) which occur only in restricted areas and may therefore serve as useful criteria for the assignment of an inscription to its provenance where this is otherwise unknown. Here I add a note on a technical term occurring in a number of epitaphs, which, though not confined to the province of Bithynia, seems to have been used there with especial frequency.

Ἀνεξοδίαστος is not found in Greek literature. Its first appearance was in a tomb-inscription (*C. I. G.*, 2050 = *I. G. Rom.*, I, 735) from Philippopolis in Thrace, which ends thus: κατεσκευάσσε τὴν σορὸν σὺν τῷ γρά[δ]ψ ἀνεξοδίαστον· ὃς ἂν δὲ πωλήσῃ, δώσει τῷ φίσκῳ δηνάρια —. The concluding sentence clearly indicates its meaning, "not liable to be sold." From Boutovo in Bulgaria comes a recently discovered bilingual text published by D. Dzontchev (*Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.*, VIII, p. 458): Ἀγαθόδωρος Διοφάνου νεκεὺς ζῶν καὶ φρονῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησεν ἀνεξοδίαστον. Of the third word the editor says nothing by way of comment, but I have no hesitation in interpreting it as Νεκεύς, which occurs rarely (*I. G.*, III, 2840; VII, 1767) side by side with the commoner forms Νικαιεύς, Νεικαιεύς, Ν(ε)ικαεύς, as the ethnic of the Bithynian city of Nicaea (for other forms see W. Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, XVII, col. 227). The same word was restored by A. Wilhelm (*Arch.-epigr. Mitt.*, XX, p. 86) in an inscription of Apamea on the Maeander (Dikici) first copied by W. M. Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 475, No. 332) and recently re-edited by W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder (*M. A. M. A.*, VI, 218) who read: ἐπὶ [τῷ] εἶναι αὐτὸ ἀνεξοδίαστον· ὃς δ' ἂν σκύλη δώσει κτλ. One probable example is afforded by Smyrna (LeBas-Waddington, 1527 = *I. G. Rom.*, IV, 1475), where Wagener's copy gives ἔσται δὲ ἄπρατον καὶ ἀνεισοδίαστον· ὁ δὲ πωλήσας δώσει τῷ φίσκῳ κτλ., but Waddington notes, "il est très-possible que sur la pierre il y ait ἀνεξοδίαστον, 'inalienable.'" I doubt whether the stone bore ἀνεξ —; I am inclined rather to believe that the unfamiliarity of the word, which occurs nowhere else in Smyrna

or its neighbourhood, was responsible for the error of the engraver and also for the addition of the word *ἄπρατον*, probably more generally intelligible.¹

So far we have dealt with appearances of the term outside Bithynia, though we have seen that in one case the inscription was erected by a citizen of Nicaea, one of the principal cities of that province. Wilhelm (*loc. cit.*) cited (1) *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, p. 81 (a re-edition by B. Graef of an epigram from the district of Nicomedia [Ismid], first published by J. H. Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, pp. 18 ff.), the prose introduction to which ends thus: *κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ ἀνεξοδίαστον σὺν ταῖς οἰκίαις καθὼς περιέληπται*, (2) *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, pp. 27 ff., a grave-inscription of Badjikeui, between Nicomedia and Nicaea, also published by Graef,² which runs: *τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν καθὼς περιοικοδόμηται σὺν ταῖς περικειμέναις οἰκίαις πάσαις ἀνεξοδίαστον*: near this were discovered two further inscriptions, one containing only the word *ἀνεξοδίαστον*, the other the formula [*τὸ μνημεῖον κατ*] *εσκεύευσεν σὺν τῇ σκάφ[η] ἀνεξοδίαστον*; also (3) a grave-inscription of Karaviran, edited by W. von Diest and M. Anton, *Neue Forschungen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien* (Gotha, 1895), p. 13: *Νείκων Νείκωνος ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ Σία ζῶν φρονῶν κατεσκεύασεν ἀνεξοδίαστον* (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 10). This last text was given as unpublished by A. Körte, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, p. 447, No. 46, who represents correctly the arrangement of the lines and reads *Eĩa*³ instead of *Σία*. All the examples cited by Wilhelm, then, come from Bithynia, and it is in that region that the term is most frequently found. Moreover, it is often emphasized by being placed last and occupying a line by itself. Such is the case with the Boutovo stone and with three of the other examples already quoted, as well as with a grave-stele of Nicaea (*B. C. H.*, XXIV, p. 392, No. 54) and a rock-cut inscription over a niche in the

¹ Can the composer of the inscription, or its engraver, have regarded *ἀνεξοδίαστον* as a variant for *ἀνεῖσοδον* (Plut., *Dio*, 7 *αὐλὴν ἄβατον καὶ ἀνεῖσοδον*; *Pyrrh.*, 29 *ἀνεῖσοδον πόλιν*), intended to deny the right of entry to unauthorised persons?

² Graef failed to notice that a part of this inscription had previously been published by G. Perrot, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie* (Paris, 1862), p. 67, No. 47. Where the two versions differ, that of Graef is preferable.

³ For the name *Eĩa* see *M. A. M. A.*, V, 90, with the comment of C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron.

Goel-bazar district (*B. C. H.*, XXIV, p. 400, No. 73) published by G. Mendel, while in three other Bithynian texts copied by the same scholar (*ibid.*, p. 396, No. 66; p. 405, No. 83; XXVII, p. 318), found at Ak-hissar, at Goel-bazar, and in the plain of Boli respectively, the word occurs in the middle of the inscription.

In two further texts from Nicaea the same word recurs, though it has not been recognized by the editors. To their detailed account of the ancient walls of Nicaea (*Die Stadtmauer von Iznik [Nicaea]: Istanbuler Forschungen*, IX [Berlin, 1938]) A. M. Schneider and W. Karnapp append a publication of the forty-one inscriptions belonging to the city-wall, in the sense that they were either originally engraved on it or subsequently built into it. This rests mainly upon the copies made by K. O. Dalman, whose early death in November, 1932, no doubt accounts for the imperfect form in which the texts, many of them previously unpublished, are here presented. In No. 2 (pp. 43 f.) we have a grave-altar built into the inner side of the Yenishehir Kapi: it has been mutilated and its present position makes it difficult to read even with the aid of field-glasses. The editors give a facsimile and the following text, but no comment.

Χαίρεας Διοσ....
 ..as ζῶν ἐαυτῷ....
 τ..αὐτο:.....
 ..ω αὐτῷ...ο...
 5 σὺν ταῖς ἐξοσι...
 εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἀνέξοδ[ον...
 καταλύ[σ]η.ω...ο.
 . εἰς τ[ὸ]ν φέρον [

Clearly a considerable portion of the inscription has perished, and I shall not attempt a complete restoration; but a few points call for remark. In line 1 the last letter must be rejected, for the facsimile shows at the end of the line ΔΙΟC, and the form of sigma used throughout the inscription is Σ. The final letter must therefore be Θ, Ο, or Φ, and in the present context Φ alone is admissible; the name is therefore probably Διοφ[άνου(s)] or Διοφ[άντων]. A Διόφαντος Ἀριστομήδου is commemorated in a Bithynian epitaph (*B. C. H.*, XXIV, p. 424, No. 138, previously, but faultily, published in *Sitzb. München*, 1863, p. 209, No. 8), and in the Boutovo inscription quoted above Διοφάνης is the name of a Nicaean citizen. In line 5 nothing appears in the facsimile

between *ταῖς* and *κοσι*, but the editors seemingly saw traces compatible with *ει*. It would be possible to write *εἰκόσι*, dative plur of *εἰκών*, as in an inscription of Hammalar in Bithynia (*B. C. E. XXIV*, pp. 415 f., No. 112; cf. L. Robert, *B. C. H.*, LII, p. 412 f. and *Études anatoliennes*, p. 242): *ἐτείμησεν . . . τελαμὸ καὶ εἰκόσιν καὶ προεδρίᾳ κτλ.* Here, however, *εἴκοσι*, "twenty," seems more probable and calls to mind a phrase found in a similar monument from the plain of Boli, *ὄντος τοῦ [μνημείου] ἀνεξοδιάστ σὺν ἀκαίλαις δέκα ταῖς περὶ αὐτό* (*B. C. H.*, XXVII, p. 318), indicating the area around the actual tomb which was included in the sale-prohibition. In several of the inscriptions quoted above such extensions of the force of the prohibition are found, introduced, as here, by *σύν*.

In line 6 we cannot accept *ἀνέξοδ[ον]*, a word whose primary meaning is "with no outlet, impassable,"⁴ since the meaning unsuitable and the word does not occur elsewhere in inscription of this class, nor yet *ἀνέξοδ[ευτον]*, found only in an epigram Eumenia beginning *ἀνέξοδευτοι δ' εἰσ[ιν] ἐς φάος τρίβου*, more recently published in *S. E. G.*, VI, 210, where references to previous editions will be found. In the light of what has already been said, the restoration *ἀνέξοδ[ίαστον]* becomes imperative.

The inscription closes with the usual threat of a penalty for the event of the violation or alienation of the tomb. The formula normally opens with *ἐὰν* (or *εἰ*) *δέ τις* and proceeds *δῶσ(ε) προστ(ε)ίμου* to such-and-such a recipient or recipients (indicated either by *εἰς* with the accusative or by the simple dative: see the examples collected in *I. G. Rom.*, III, 11) a specified sum. The following therefore suggest for lines 5-8 the following restoration:

5 σὺν ταῖς εἴκοσι [ἀκαίλαις ταῖς περὶ αὐτό]
εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἀνέξοδ[ίαστον· ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτό]
καταλύ[σ]ῃ, [δ]ώ[σει] πρ[ο]στ[ε]ίμου εἰς τὴν πόλιν ✕.
κ(αὶ) εἰς τ[ὸ]ν φύσκο[ν] ✕.]⁵

⁴ Liddell and Scott cite for this sense Theocritus, XII, 19: *ἀνέξοδον Ἀχέροντα* (the Scholiast explains *ἀνέξοδον*: *παρόσον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπανελεῖ εἰς φῶσ-τοὺς ἐν Ἀΐδου*); Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, III, 50: *δυσχωρίαις ἐγκυσαντες ἀνέξοδοις*; and Rhianus, *Anth. Pal.*, XII, 93: *οἱ παῖδες λαβύριν ἀνέξοδος*.

⁵ If *βωμόν* rather than *μνημεῖον* figures in the early part of the inscription, we must restore *αὐτόν* in lines 5 and 6 in place of *αὐτό*. Possibly we should write *τῇ πόλει* in line 7, as the dative and the accusative *ν* are sometimes found side by side (e. g. in *I. G. Rom.*, III, 11b).

A double fine, payable to the city, in this case Nicaea, and to the Imperial *fiscus* (φίσκος or ταμ(ι)εῖον), is frequently imposed (e. g. in *I. G. Rom.*, III, 11, 11a, b, c, d, 26, 47, the last from Nicaea). If we suppose that the word δηνάρια was represented, as is normal, by the symbol ✕ and that the sum was indicated by a single numeral, such as ,α or ,β, the above restoration gives 33 letters in line 5, 34 in line 6, and 36 in line 7. The facsimile shows that the letters in lines 6 and 7 were somewhat more crowded than in line 5.

Lines 1-4, in which the letters were larger and more widely spaced, may have had something of this form:

Χαιρέας Διοφ[άνου κατασκευά] -	24
[σ]ας ζῶν ἐαντῶ [καὶ ----]	
τ[ῆ] ἐαντο[ῦ] σ[υ]μ[βίῳ καὶ e. g. Διοφάνει τῶ]	27
[υ]ῖψ ἀντῶν τὸ [μνημεῖον ἀνέστησεν].	27

The verb κατασκευάζω is extremely common in inscriptions of this class, followed usually by τὸ μνημεῖον or, occasionally, by τὸν βωμόν. Frequently the verb ἔθηκε, ἔστησε, or ἀνέστησε is used to indicate the erection of the monument, which often commemorates not only the builder but also his wife and children, e. g. Διογένης Ἀττάλου ἀνέσ[τησε]ν αἰαντῶ καὶ Ἀμμία τῇ ἐαντο[ῦ] συμβίῳ καὶ Ἀτταλίῳ τῶ ἐαντοῦ υἱῶ (*B. C. H.*, XXIV, p. 397, No. 69).

A second Nicaean text, first published by Schneider and Karnapp (*op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 22), engraved on a block built into the inner side of the curtain between towers 54 and 55, is thus presented without comment:

του Σευήρου χειλι[άρχον]ολλίνα
κατασκευάσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ίῳ ἐπὶ τ]οῦ ἄσκ[υλτον εἶναι
ἀνεξοδία

No photograph or facsimile is given and we are not told whether it is possible to determine accurately the gap between the two legible portions of the text. It seems that here we have a further example of the practice of isolating the word ἀνεξοδίαστρον (for so we shall unhesitatingly restore line 3) at the end of the inscription. Line 2 is unsatisfactory as restored by the editors. It is true that σκύλλω is frequently used in Bithynian and other epitaphs of tomb-violation (e. g. *B. C. H.*, XXIV, p. 389, No. 45,

I. G. Rom., III, 47 and 59, all from Nicaea; see W. M. Ramsay's commentary in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 734), and that in a Nicaean tomb-inscription we find the phrase ἐπὶ τῷ μετὰ τὸ κατατεθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέροισ ἐῖναι αὐτὸ ἄσκυλον (*B. C. H.*, XXIV, p. 389). But whereas ἐπὶ τῷ, as in the clause just quoted, or ἐπὶ τό, as in Perrot, *op. cit.*, p. 11, No. 7, or εἰς τό, as in the inscription of Nicaea discussed above, is legitimate, ἐπὶ τοῦ indicating condition or purpose is wholly inadmissible. Moreover, κατασκευάσαντος almost certainly precedes rather than follows the name to which it refers, and anyone who has studied the Bithynian inscriptions will have noticed how frequent in that region are names connected with the god Ἀσκληπιός, — Ἀσκληπίας, Ἀσκληπιάδης, Ἀσκληπιόδοτος, Ἀσκληπιόδωρος, and Ἀσκληπιοδοτιανός. If the gap is approximately that indicated by the editors, we may perhaps restore κατασκευάσαντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ίων e. g. Ἰουλίου Ἀσκ[ληπι — —] or ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ίων e. g. Δίου τ]οῦ Ἀσκ[ληπι — —].

After the word χεῖλι[άρχου] (or perhaps χεῖλι[άρχον or χεῖλι[άρχω, for it is uncertain whether this word agrees with the preceding name) we expect some mention of the legion in which the χλῖαρχος, or *tribunus militum*, served; this can hardly be other than the *legio XV Apollinaris*, a creation of Augustus, the history of which has been traced by Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, XII, cols. 1747 ff. He gives a list (*op. cit.*, col. 1754) of the members of the legion of whom traces are found in Asia Minor,⁶ and also (cols. 1755 f.) of all its known *tribuni*, to whose number may now be added T. Oppius Afer Pollius Tertullus, if an Ephesian inscription of about A. D. 160 is rightly restored: T. Ὀππιον Ἀφρον Πόλλιον Τέρτυλλο[ν τριβ(ούνον) λε]γιῶνος ιε' Ἀπολειναρίας (*S. E. G.*, IV, 519, 4). One of them bears the cognomen Severus, namely M'. Acilius M'. f. Gal(eria) Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus, consul in A. D. 152, whose career is recorded in *C. I. L.*, XIV, 4237 = Dessau, 1072 (cf. *P. I. R.*², I, pp. 11 ff., No. 73; W. Hüttel, *Antoninus Pius*, II, pp. 26 f.); but the name Severus is common and I do not propose to identify him with the Severus of our Nicaean record. This, however, must clearly be restored

⁶ A Nicaean inscription commemorating a man, whose name is lost, as χεῖλιάρχον λεγ. ιε' (*C. I. G.*, 3751; *Sitzb. München*, 1863, p. 238) must be corrected to read λεγ. ιγ' (*I. G. Rom.*, III, 41). Another soldier of *legio XV* is the Ἀρδῖς? [στ]ρατιώτης λεγ. εἰ' Ἀπολ[ων]ίας, who erected a votive stele in Thrace ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς στρατείας (*S. E. G.*, III, 525).

χειλι[αρχ.. λεγιῶνος ιε' Ἀπ]ολλίνα(ρίας) unless, indeed, ολλίνα represents the end not of the line as originally engraved, but of the legible portion of it, in which case we shall write Ἀπ]ολλίνα[ρίας].

Ἀνεξοδίαστος is, as we have seen, almost, though not absolutely, confined to Bithynia; but I have not found there the word which is used widely elsewhere for "inalienable," ἀνεξαλλοτρίωτος. This occurs, e. g., at Smyrna (*C. I. G.*, 3203, 8 = *I. G. Rom.*, IV, 1429, 8, as restored by L. Robert, *R. E. G.*, XLII, pp. 428 f.), Pergamum (*Inscr. v. Perg.*, 590), Teira in Lydia (*I. G. Rom.*, IV, 1666, 20), and Apollonia in Pisidia (*S. I. G.*³, 1232, 9),* in Phrygia Galatica (*J. R. S.*, XII, p. 182),* on the Phrygian-Pisidian border (*A. J. A.*, XXXVI, p. 453),* in two Egyptian inscriptions found at Alexandria and at Medinet el-Fayum respectively (*Sammelbuch*, 364, 7687 = *S. E. G.*, VIII, 533,* and in several papyri (see references in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 117). The asterisked inscriptions are engraved on tomb-stones, and in the two Egyptian examples, and in these alone, we find the combination ἀνεξαλλοτρίωτος (καὶ) ἀκαταχρημάτιστος. In Liddell and Scott the term ἀναπαλλοτρίωτος also is registered, but this must be deleted, for the sole reference given is *T. A. M.*, II, 261b, 15, from Xanthus in Lycia, where Kalinka has adopted without question the restoration ἀ[ναπαλλο]τριώτους⁷ from H. A. Ormerod's publication of the inscription, now preserved in the Liverpool Museum, in *Liverpool Annals*, VI, p. 104: as this word is otherwise unknown, while ἀνεξαλλοτρίωτος is abundantly attested, we must certainly prefer the latter to the former restoration. But while the adjective ἀνεξαλλοτρίωτος alone is used, the verbs ἀπαλλοτριόω and ἐξαλλοτριόω occur, it would seem, without any distinction of meaning.⁸ In LeBas-Waddington, 1639 (Aphrodisias), both are found in the same document, and in

⁷ Quoted by L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, X (1936), p. 134, note 3.

* See L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, X (1936), p. 135, who in a Thasian decree (*B. C. H.*, XLV, p. 157, No. 9, line 10) restores περι[δ]εῖν ἀπ[αλλοτριωθέντας] (though in footnote 1 he gives ἀπαλλοτριωμένους) and adds two further examples, from Lycia and Pamphylia, to Laum's treatment of this group of words in the records of Greek societies (*Stiftungen in der griech. und röm. Antike*, I, pp. 185 f.). He misquotes *S. I. G.*³, 363, 13 (Ephesus) as περιδεῖν τὸ φρούριον ἀπαλλοτριωθέν, instead of π. ἀλλοτριωθέν τὸ φ. For ἀπ- and ἐξαλλοτριόω in papyri see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, I, pp. 153, 508. On the Greek mainland I have noted one case, *I. G.*, V (2), 344, 12 (Arcadian Orchomenus), of the use of ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι.

Inscr. v. Perg., 590, ἀνεξαλλοτριώτων is almost immediately followed by ἀπαλλοτριωθῆ. Similarly the nouns ἀπαλλοτριώσις (*C. I. G.*, 3281) and ἐξαλλοτριώσις (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 508) are used alike to denote "alienation." In Bithynia, as has been said, the adjective ἀνεξαλλοτριώτος does not occur, but of the cognate verb we have one example, hitherto unrecognized. Schneider and Karnapp publish (*op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 26) a greatly improved version of a Nicaean tomb-inscription first copied by C. Cichorius (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, p. 241). In line 5, where Cichorius did not succeed in deciphering a single letter, they give η.....οτριως ἀπ[.... In view of the context (line 3 begins ἐπὶ τῷ μετὰ τό, line 4 ἕτερον ἐξείναι) we may confidently restore ἡ [ἐξ (or ἀπ-)αλλ]οτριῶσαι, followed perhaps by a τ--, on the analogy of such a phrase as *S. E. G.*, VI, 673, 9 f. (Lyrboton Come, in Pamphylia): μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσ[ί]αν τὰ προγεγραμ[μένα] ἢ καὶ μέρο[s] τι αὐτῶν πωλῆσαι ἢ ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι, or *C. I. G.*, 3400 = *A. G. I. Brit. Mus.*, 1028 (Smyrna): μηδε[νὸς] ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν μ[ή]τε πωλῆσαι μήτε ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι, or again *Sardis*, VII (1), 154: [ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ π]ωλῆσαι ἢ ἐξαλλ[οτριῶσαι].⁹

MARCUS N. TOD.

ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

⁹ Schneider and Karnapp (*op. cit.*, pp. 44 f., No. 10) publish an order of Hadrian, which deserves further study; one small point may here be noted. In line 4 they write [ἶσαι ἀν]. εὐρεθῶσιν πεφυ[κέν]αι, but in the light of line 8, δς δ' ἀν εὐρεθῆ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν, we should rather restore πεφυ[κνί]αι.

ON ETRUSCAN AND LATIN MONTH-NAMES.

E. Benveniste has succeeded in tracing back the most obscure of the Latin month-names, *Aprilis*, to its non-Latin origin.¹ After rejecting for good reasons the Indo-European etymologies of the word, he recognizes its Etruscan character and ties it up with the proper names Lat. *Aprilus Aprius Apronius*, Etr. *aprun-tial*, the combination of which leads to an Etr. **apru*. **apru*, for its part, may be identified with the Greek short-name 'Αφρώ "Αφροδίτα," a form which the Etruscans would have taken over, like so many other mythical elements, from central Greece. Under such circumstances it is perhaps not a mere accident if in Thessalic calendars a month *Αφριος appears, which corresponds to late March and early April.²

To give further support to Benveniste's reconstruction, E. Fiesel has recalled another case.³ *Ampiles* or *Amphiles*, the Etruscan name of May recorded by mediaeval glosses, not only rhymes with the name of the month which precedes it immediately, Lat.-Etr. *Aprilis*, and shares with it the well known Etruscan -l-suffix, but it can also be shown that its structure is essentially analogous to that of *Aprilis*. *Amp(h)ius* 'Αμπίλιος *Amp(h)iles* perfectly corresponds with *Aprius Aprilius Aprilis*; and, if 'Αφρώ **apru* was the eponymous deity of both proper names and month-names in the first series (for this is the way the correspondences must be interpreted), E. Fiesel's assumption that the second might contain the name of *Αμφι(ο)s, Greek short forms of 'Αμφιάραος—as *amphiare*, etc., one of the favorite Etruscan heroes—, does not appear too hazardous.

That mediaeval tradition to which attention was drawn anew by the interpretation of *Amp(h)iles* is well worth a study from a linguistic point of view. As far as the philological evidence is concerned, it suffices to refer to Mountford's and Goetz's statements.⁴ The *Liber Glossarum*, represented by LPTV and by

¹ *B. S. L.*, XXXII (1931), pp. 68-74.

² Cortsen, *Glotta*, XXVI (1938), p. 273. Perhaps Varro's remark, *Sat.*, 1, 28, is also of importance: "quidam putant cum aspiratione quasi Aphrilem" (recalled by Cortsen, *Glotta*, XXVII [1939], p. 277); alternation of aspirated and non-aspirated stops is a characteristic feature of Etruscan loanwords.

³ *Studi Etruschi*, VII (1933), pp. 295 ff.

⁴ *J. H. S.*, XLIII (1923), pp. 102 ff.; *R.-E.*, VII, cols. 1454 f. Further-

two secondary witnesses, Papias and the Leyden Codex viii 67 D, offers us the following set of month-names:

Velcitanus (PTV Leyd *Veleitanus* L *Velitanus* Pap) "*Martius*"
Cabreas (LPTV) "*Aprilis*"
Ampiles (LPTV Leyd *Amphiles* Pap) "*Maius*"
Aclus (LP Pap) "*Iunius*"
Traneus (LP Leyd Pap) "*Iulius*"
Ermius (LP Pap) "*Augustus*"
Celius (LP *Caelius* TV Pap) "*September*"
Xosfer (LPTV *Xoffer* Leyd *Xofer* Pap) "*October*."

This list may be regarded as trustworthy. The monuments, to be sure, do not expressly confirm it—at least until it shall really have been proved that *hermeri hermu hrmier* on the sarcophagus of Pulena,⁵ or *acale* and *çeli* in the Agram Mummy⁶ refer to month-dates, and mean "August," "June," and "September" respectively. As to the fact, moreover, that Lat. *Aprilis* would lead to an Etruscan form different from *Cabreas*, one will agree with E. Fiesel in explaining this dualism by the well-known decentralization of Etruscan public life:⁷ local divergences may *a priori* be expected in Etruscan month-nomenclature to no less an extent than e. g. in that of Latium or of Greece. I hope to show that seven of the eight items can be interpreted, with the

more, Lindsay, *Gl. L.*, I, s. vv.; *C. Gl. L.*, VI, 692, and s. vv.; Bröcker, *Philologus*, II (1847), pp. 248 ff., 256 ff.; Mommsen, *Rh. M.*, XVI (1861), pp. 145 ff.

⁵ *C. I. E.*, 5430 Tarquinii. See Herbig, *Die etruskische Leinwandrolle*, p. 25.

⁶ VI, 14; XI, 1; VIII, 3. More recently Goldmann, *Neue Beitr.*, pp. 213 ff.; Runes, *Der etrusk. Text der Agramer Mumienbinde*, pp. 38 f.; Olzscha, *Interpretation der Agramer Mumienbinde*, p. 196.

⁷ *Studi Etruschi*, VII (1935), p. 295, n. 4. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, pp. 162 f., has shown how Lat. *Iunius*, too, owes its peculiar formation to Etruscan. In Aricia, Larentum, Lavinia, etc., i. e. in an area more remote from Etruria, the month is called by the genuine derivate *Iunonius*; see Ovid, *Fast.*, VI, 60 ff. On the other hand, *Iuno* had become Etr. *uni*, and a family *un-* is named after her (unless the process was inverse; see note 18 *infra*; Fiesel, *Das grammatische Geschlecht*, pp. 23 f.; Nehring, *Studi Etruschi*, XII [1938], pp. 157 f.). It is probable, if not certain, that not only the *gens Iunia*, but the *mensis Iunius* are a Latin rendering of an Etruscan original. If so, *Aclus* and *Iunius* must also be considered as epichoric variants. The whole question is complicated by the morphological obscurity of Lat. *Iuno* itself. See Fiesel, *Roscher's Myth. Lex.*, VI, cols. 33 f.

means provided by our knowledge of Etruscan, in a simple and consistent manner. E. Fiesel, who seems to have been of the same opinion, has unfortunately been unable to carry out her purpose of giving the proofs—only the fine article on *Xosfer* referred to below has appeared; and although I can find among the numerous manuscript materials left by her only a short and incomplete, if precious, note on the subject, I hope and believe that she would have consented to the following attempt at a demonstration.⁸

Velcitanus "Martius": gentile name *velχite velcite* (enlargement of *velχe*, Lat. *Volca*), W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (*Abh. Gesell. Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, V, No. 5), pp. 99, 586.⁹ *velχe* : *Velcitanus* = Etr. *carpe* "Carpus" (?) : *Carpitanus*, *ibid.*, p. 146; *velχite* : *Velcitanus* ~ Etr. *caprti* : *Capretanus*, *ibid.*, p. 145; cf. also *Calptana Calpetanus* with other forms with *calp-*, *ibid.*, p. 138, and pp. 96, 147, 347.

Cabreas "Aprilis" can be connected with numerous Etr. proper names: *caprti caprinal*, Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 145; *capru*, *ibid.*, p. 234; *capraś caprasial*, *ibid.*, p. 353; Lat. *Capertius*, *Caprius Caprilius Caprelius Caprasius Capronius Caprutius*, etc., *ll. citt.* The name-stem as such was most familiar to the Etruscans, though the root from which it had risen may be of non-Etruscan or non-Italic "mediterranean" provenience.¹⁰ We are, therefore, entitled to maintain the references given above. To be sure, the ending in *-eas* is strange, and I cannot quote analogous latinized Etr. forms. It should be noticed that the form is given only by LPTV.

Amp(h)iles "Maius," see *supra*.

Aclus "Iunius": Etr. proper name *aχle* = Lat. *Aclius*, Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 111; enlarged forms Etr. *aclani aclina acline aclnal*, etc., Lat. *Aclenius Acclenus Achillenius* (with aspiration characteristic of Etr. influence). An *Aclus* might represent a praenomen as well as a gentile name.¹¹ May the latter be tied up

⁸ *Studi Etruschi*, VII (1933), p. 29; X (1936), p. 324. The manuscripts now belong to the Yale University Library.

⁹ Where "CIE 606 und 608" must be read.

¹⁰ Fiesel, *Studi Etruschi*, VII (1933), p. 295, n. 4.

¹¹ Fiesel (*mscr.*): *-l-* not being suffixal, and the preceding vowel being short, there is no chance of establishing a parallelism between *Aprile- Ampile- Acile-*.

with *axle axile axele axale axule*, Etr. form of Ἀχλλεύς, Fiesel, *Namen des griechischen Mythos*, pp. 86 f.?

Traneus "Iulius" has no correspondence in the known Etr. material. See note 30 *infra*, and Fiesel, *Studi Etruschi*, X (1936), p. 324, n. 6.

Ermius "Augustus": coincides with *Ermius*, gentile name formation from Etr. *herme*, Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Herbig, *Die etruskische Leinwandrolle*, p. 25, thinks of a connection with Ἐρμῆς.¹²

Celius "September," better documented than *Caelius*, hence more likely to be related with Etr. *cele* (Lat. *Gellius*, cf. *C. I. E.*, 1977, 1986) than with Etr. *caele* "Caeles," Lat. gentile form *Caelius*, etc.; Schulze, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 357, 592. A name of a god *cel* seems to be read in the Liver of Piacenza: Olzscha, *Interpretation der Agramer Mumienbinde*, pp. 178 f., 196.

As to *Xosfer* "October," see *infra*.

To these items *Aprilis* and, perhaps, *Iunius*¹³ must be added.

From this evidence it results that nearly all of the month-names can be tied up with Etr. proper names and that they can even be equated with certain gentile varieties of the latter. *Ermius*, *Celius* (and *Iunius*) are attested in such function; the suffix *-ius*, though of Italic origin, was extremely common in Etruscan, and it is by no means due to the latinized forms in which the month-names have been recorded. *Aclus*, only apparently lacking a suffix, might represent a gentile name as well as Plautus' nomen *Maccus*¹⁴ and the like. *Velcitanus* *Amp(h)iles* *Aprilis* show more amplified suffixal groups, in perfect conformity with the onomasticon.

What does this striking coincidence mean? The analogy of Lat. *Iulius*, as *Quintilis* was renamed in the year 44 B. C. after the greatest son of the gens *Iulia*, does not of course apply to our

¹² Mountford, *J. H. S.*, XLIII (1923), p. 108, conjectures that *Ermius* has invaded the Etruscan month-list by some mistake, and is identical with Ἐρμῆς, which may have belonged to a list of Greek months in the glosses. One would, however, expect to find something like **Ermaeus*; moreover, the distance between the seasons concerned is too great (Fiesel, *mscr.*). For the same reason a possible historical relation between "Etr." *Ermius* and Ἐρμῆς (like that of "Etr." *Aprilis* and Ἀπρίλιος assumed by Cortsen; see p. 199 *supra*) seems to be excluded.

¹³ See note 7 *supra*.

¹⁴ See W. Schulze, *op. cit.*, pp. 297 f.

case. But that fact was possible only because the Roman, like other Italic calendars, contained a set of months, *Martius Maius Iunius*, which were homonymous to gentile names. Both families (or their founders) and months had their denominations from the god or his sacred days; both family names and month names are nothing but adjectival derivatives.¹⁵ This applies as well to Latin as to Etruscan: *Aprilis Amp(h)iles* stand in the same relation with the related name-forms as *Martius* or *Maius* with the corresponding nomina; and it is impossible to decide whether *Iunius* has assumed its double meaning on Etruscan or on Roman soil. It will be not by mere chance, therefore, that, in addition to the two Etruscan months mentioned just now, three more show traces of divine or mythical provenience: however uncertain the single connections of *Aclus Ermius Celi* with *Aχle* = Ἀχιλλεύς Ἑρμῆς *cēl* may be—the last would be fairly well secured if the reading of the Liver is really sound—one will admit that they support each other by their typical likeness. Achilles *aχle*, it should be observed, was known (and worshipped?) in Etruria at a very early stage,¹⁶ like Amphiaraus mentioned above. As to Hermes, his cult in Etruria is known to us only under the name of *turms*, *turms*; but, as G. Herbig pointed out, this does not necessarily exclude the use of the Greek name, which, it is probable, will be seen in the quoted forms of the Pulena inscription.¹⁷

The large majority of gentile names, however, cannot be traced back beyond a praenomen, from the patronymical use of which it had arisen. Thus, the cases of *Cabreas* and *Velcitanus* remain functionally obscure despite the formal correspondence given above. Of course, *Cabreas* might also contain a lost god-name, although this is impossible to prove. At any rate, however, *Velcitanus* requires a different sort of interpretation. Alongside the theophoric proper names, and to be kept well distinct from them, the inverse phenomenon exists: the "gentile deities," originally worshipped by certain families and named after them. The cult of those deities must have been of enormous importance in Etruria, for even its Roman reflections are still

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 469 ff.

¹⁶ The form of Lat. *Achilles* may suggest that it was taken over by the Romans from Etruscan rather than directly from Greek.

¹⁷ *Die etruskische Leinwandrolle*, p. 25.

very remarkable.¹⁸ As the classical examples, *Volcanus* (: Etr. gens *vel̥xa*, Lat. *Volca*) and *Saturnus* (: Etr. *saθre*), show, a derivative suffix in *-n-* is, among others, common in their formation. Now, *Velcitanus* might well have been to the **vel̥xita*¹⁹ family what *Volcanus* was to the *Volca*. A slight difficulty remains in so far as one would expect something like **Velcitanus* in the name of the month; and it is hard to tell whether the apparent identity of eponymous god-name and secondary month-name is due again to the late Etruscan change of *ie* into *e*, or to the still felt adjectival character of such a god-name; in the latter case the month-name would have been connected still more closely with the family name.²⁰

In the preceding pages no account has been made of *X̥osfer*, the form for "October" given by the most reliable manuscripts of our glosses. It needs a separate discussion.

Here again E. Fiesel has devoted a shrewd article to the problem.²¹ Following Mountford's suggestion of reading the first letter of the strange-looking item as a Greek Chi as elsewhere in the glosses²²—there is, indeed, no *cs-* or *xs-* at the beginning of Etruscan words—, she writes also *e* instead of the second letter, *o*, which does not occur in Etruscan texts either. Thus, an Etr.-Lat. **Chesfer*, Etr. *c/x̥esp/fre* is reached and tied up with Etr. *cezp-* "a cardinal number from 7 to 9." Furthermore, the value of "8" for *cezp-*, conjectured long ago by Pauli, is established by the equation of **Chesfer* and Lat. *October*.

This hypothesis would have important consequences. Above all, the hitherto unexplained formation of the Latin month-names *September October November December*²³ seems at once

¹⁸ See Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, pp. 114 ff., 144 ff. (as to *Angerona*, however, see Fiesel, *Language*, XI, pp. 126 ff.); Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 165. Even Etr. *uni* "Juno" (see note 7 *supra*) was a gentile goddess according to Fiesel, *Das grammatische Geschlecht*, p. 23.

¹⁹ *vel̥xite* : **vel̥xita* e. g. = *vel̥xe* : *Volca*; cf. the pattern of name-forms given *supra*, p. 201. The existence of **vel̥xita* is suggested by analogy.

²⁰ See Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 297. As to the adjectival use of names (*via Appia*; *pax Augusta*, *mensis Augustus*) in Latin, see Schulze's important remarks, *op. cit.*, pp. 510 ff.

²¹ *Studi Etruschi*, X (1936), pp. 324 ff.

²² *J. H. S.*, XLIII (1923), p. 109.

²³ See Walde-Hofmann, *L. E. W.*, s. v. *December*; Benveniste, *B. S. L.*,

proved to be due to that same Etruscan influence, which, to a larger or smaller extent, was at work in the cases *Aprilis Iunius Quintilis Sextilis*, or which had brought to Rome other calendar terms like, perhaps, *idus*.²⁴ We shall have to conclude that Etr. **cezp-re*, in being partly translated into Latin, was analyzed **cez-pre*, and the "false suffix" taken over. This would be the less surprising, as those Etruscan numerals next to **cezp*-, viz. *semφ-* and *nurφ-*²⁵ (their distribution among the values 7 9 10—hardly higher—is not certain) display the same final labial, rare in Etruscan; and, if we might assume that *September November December*, at least in part,²⁶ are not merely formed in Latin after the analogy of *October* but go back to corresponding Etruscan words, we should obtain a set of successive Etruscan names ending in *-p-re*. Moreover, it should be noticed that the forms before the suffix in those four Latin month-names may morphologically be cardinal numbers at least as well as the ordinal ones we expect. So it is quite possible that Etr. *-re* was the carrier of the ordinal function.

In consideration of these data the objection counts little that we do not know an Etruscan ordinal (or similar) suffix *-re*; for we do not know any other suffix with that function. There is even less weight in another objection, viz. that *Xosfer* thus would have a structure differing from the preceding Etruscan month-names. Why should the formative principle not have changed in passing from *Celius* to *Xosfer* just as in passing from *Iunius* to *Quintilis* in Latin?²⁷

It would be hard to renounce, despite all this, E. Fiesel's

XXXII (1931), p. 73. That these words are in the *i*-declension would be due to the analogy of the preceding *Quintilis Sextilis*. The alternation of *p* (Lat. *p*, *b*), *φ*, and *f* (as well as that between *z* and *s*) is known in Etruscan; so *Xosfer* does not prove anything in favor of "Oscan" OCTUFRI, reconstructed from modern Neapolitan by Rohlf, *Z. R. Ph.*, XLIV, p. 156. This form is certainly nothing else but a secondary dialectization of Lat. *Octobri*; if it were really Oscan, it would have changed *-kt-* to *-(h)t-*; cf. *Uhtavis*, Buck, pp. 20; 58.

²⁴ See Benveniste, *loc. cit.*; Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. ét.*, s. v.

²⁵ Not *nurθ*; *nurφzi* is now read in *C. I. E.*, 5526. See, moreover, Sloty, *Archiv orientální*, IX, pp. 397 f.

²⁶ Unless, besides *Celius*, another name was in use in other places; see p. 200 *supra*.

²⁷ See Schulze, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 f.; Benveniste, *B. S. L.*, XXXII (1931), pp. 69 f.

sagacious and consistent construction.²⁸ Nevertheless, I strongly doubt that it will be possible to maintain it. Let us go back again to the sources and consider how **cespre* was reconstructed. However justified the correction (more exactly: corrected reading) of $X = Ch$ may have been, the same cannot be said of the treatment of the following vowel. It is true that *o* is not found in genuine Etruscan scripts—the Etruscan phoneme which was next to it was written by *u*. But it is precisely for this reason that *o*, wherever it occurs in texts written in the Latin alphabet or in latinized Etruscan forms (and spellings of this kind are quite common), represents Etr. *u*.²⁹ To write *Chesfer* for *Xosfer* is, therefore, not to heal an evident corruption by a plausible emendation, as E. Fiesel thought, but to make a mere conjecture to which we are hardly entitled.³⁰ The Etruscan name we must reconstruct can be nothing else than **c/χusp/fre*.

Now, the inscriptions provide us with a group of proper names: *cuspi cuspi Cuspidius Cuspidius cusperiena*, Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 162. In consideration of the other months and their relation to proper names, there can be no doubt that *cuspre* must be listed here. It fills the gap existing morphologically between *cuspi* “di. Cuspius” (W. Schulze, *loc. cit.*) and *cusperiena* and is formally identical with other gentile names in *-r(i)e*, latinized *-er*.³¹ As to its function and meaning, we may see in *cuspre*, too, the gentile deity of the *cuspi* family, and in *cuspr(i)e Xosfer* the month sacred to that deity.

Thus, the mediaeval tradition of Etruscan month-names deserves more credence than it is usually given. It is highly probable that the Etruscans named their months after gods; and it is a lucky accident that just that part of the Etruscan language with which we are most familiar, the proper names, contains enough related elements to let us know or guess the significance of those denominations, and the principles of their formation.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

H. M. HOENIGSWALD.

²⁸ Would it, perhaps, account also for another Etruscan survival, the *equos October* (cf. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, p. 147) ?

²⁹ See Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

³⁰ It would be likewise impossible to alter *Traneus* “Iulius” into **Turanus Toranius*, to tie it up with the proper name *Toranius Thoranius*, Schulze, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 373, and to see in either form a derivative from Etr. *turan* “Venus.”

³¹ See Schulze, *op. cit.*, pp. 296 f.

THE WALL OF THEODOSIUS AT ANTIOCH.

The study which has been devoted to the elucidation and evaluation of the sixth-century Chronicle of John Malalas has been concerned primarily with his account of the period from Augustus to Diocletian.¹ The peculiarities which have been discovered in this part of his work, and the principles on which they are to be investigated, apply equally to the latter part of his book. The present paper deals with a question of mistaken identities which is exceptionally instructive because confusions of rulers of the same name and of officials of the same name appear in this case to have been brought about by unusual circumstances, and to have caused an extraordinary displacement of events from their proper chronological context.

It is not surprising to find that Malalas confused Theodosius the Elder and Theodosius the Younger. He sometimes confused earlier emperors whose names were similar or identical,² and the sameness of the names of the Theodosii and their close chronological connection would readily expose them and the events of their reigns to misunderstanding. There is one immediate indication of a confusion of the emperors in Malalas' statement³ that Valentinian III died before Theodosius II: actually Valentinian survived Theodosius by nearly five years. Evidently Malalas was thinking of Valentinian II and Theodosius I, Theodosius in this case having really lived nearly three years longer than Valentinian. Again, the chronicler relates⁴ that Alarich was killed in battle with Attila during the reign of Theodosius II, whereas actually Alarich died long before Attila's invasion: possibly Malalas confused Attila with the usurper Attalus.⁵

¹ See the bibliography cited in the present writer's articles "Malalas on the History of Antioch under Severus and Caracalla," *T. A. P. A.*, LXVIII (1937), pp. 141-156, and "Imperial Building Records in Malalas," *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXVIII (1938), pp. 1-15, 299-311. A valuable summary of the nature of the problems involved is given by F. Schehl in his review of A. Schenk von Stauffenberg's edition of Books IX-XII of Malalas, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXVIII (1938), pp. 157-169.

² See W. Ensslin, *Phil. Woch.*, LIII (1933), cols. 785-787; Schehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167; Downey, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXVIII (1938), p. 15.

³ P. 360, line 20, Bonn ed.

⁴ P. 358, 21.

⁵ It seems possible that there is also a confusion of the two Theodosii

Transposition to one reign of events which happened in another would seem to require no explanation other than confusion of the names. But it is an entirely different matter if, as seems to be the case in the instance to be examined here, one event was transferred from one reign to the other, while at the same time another event was displaced in the opposite direction, both shifts apparently arising from the same cause or from related causes.

The problem in Malalas' accounts of the relations of the two Theodosii to Antioch which has attracted most attention is the question presented by his description of the extension of the wall of the city under Theodosius I. The subject has been investigated by several students, but there is still evidence which has been overlooked. Malalas states⁶ that Theodosius I appointed to the praetorian prefecture a man called Antiochus Chuzon, "the Great," of Antioch and that Antiochus brought to the emperor's attention the growth of Antioch, which had increased in area until there were buildings for a considerable distance beyond the walls. Accordingly Theodosius had a part of the wall extended, and Malalas describes its new course in detail. Again, the chronicler relates,⁷ in his account of the reign of Theodosius II, that the emperor appointed to the prefecture Antiochus Chuzon, grandson of Antiochus Chuzon the Great, and that the younger Antiochus provided an addition to the funds which provided for the spectacles of the hippodrome, the local Olympic games of Antioch, and the festival of the *Maiûma*.⁸

There is no other evidence that a person named Antiochus was

in Malalas' reference to the gilding of the *Porta Aurea* at Constantinople. In his account of the work of Theodosius II at Antioch he says (p. 360, 15) that that emperor also "gilded the two bronze leaves of the Daphnetic Gate (at Antioch) in the same manner that he gilded the gate at Constantinople which is still called the Golden Gate." There has been a considerable debate, on the basis of this and other evidence, as to whether the gate at Constantinople is the work of Theodosius I or Theodosius II (see the bibliography given by A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz: Vorarbeiten zur Topographie u. Archäologie der Stadt* [Berlin, 1936], p. 81, also E. Mamboury, "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul," *Byzantion*, XI [1936], pp. 261-262).

⁶ P. 346, 5.

⁷ P. 362, 18.

⁸ Chuzon is a *signum* or nickname; see G. R. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius* (Berlin, 1868), p. 236.

praetorian prefect under Theodosius I, while an Antiochus is known from several sources to have held the office under Theodosius II, in 430 and 431.⁹ Scholars consequently concluded that Malalas confused the elder Antiochus with the man of the same name who was prefect under Theodosius II.¹⁰ The chronicler's sources and methods, of course, made such a confusion quite possible.

There is, however, further evidence in this connection which has not been used by the scholars who discussed the two supposed prefects named Antiochus. This is given by Evagrius, whose testimony places the problem in a different light. He states¹¹ that the wall of Antioch was extended by Theodosius the Younger, and adds that "some say that Theodosius the Elder extended the wall." This last phrase must refer to an account such as Malalas'; Evagrius used Malalas, sometimes quoting him, but occasionally taking material from him without mentioning his source.¹² Evagrius does not mention an Antiochus Chuzon, but says that the work was done at the request of the Empress Eudocia, following her visit to Antioch.¹³

Various opinions have been expressed with regard to the extension of the wall.¹⁴ There is, however, evidence which again has

⁹ See O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser u. Päpste* (Stuttgart, 1919), entries for 31 Dec. 430 and 23 Mar. 431; B. Borghesi, *Œuvres complètes*, X (Paris, 1897), p. 319.

¹⁰ Borghesi, *op. cit.*, p. 332, cf. pp. 254-256; Sievers, *op. cit.*, p. 264; R. Förster, "Antiochia," *Jahrbuch d. k. deutschen Archäol. Inst.*, XII (1897), p. 127.

¹¹ *Eccl. Hist.*, I, 20.

¹² See E. Patzig, *Unerkannt u. unbekannt gebliebene Malalas-Fragmente* (Prog., Leipzig, 1891), pp. 17-20; C. E. Gleye, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, III (1894), pp. 625-630; E. Chernousov, *ibid.*, XXVII (1927), p. 30, n. 2; also G. Downey, *P. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), p. xxxiv.

¹³ On Eudocia's visit, see E. Stein, *Gesch. d. spätöm. Reiches*, I (Vienna, 1928), p. 444. Other evidence might suggest that Malalas is in error, for the chronicler mentions that the Daphnetic Gate at Antioch was gilded under Theodosius II (p. 360, 15; see also *supra*), and one might naturally think that this work was connected with the extension of the wall, for the gate was in the southern wall of the city (the wall which was, according to Evagrius, extended), and it might be thought natural that an operation of this kind would be carried out at the same time that the wall was enlarged. This evidence is not conclusive, however, for the gilding might still have been done long after the wall was extended.

¹⁴ C. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae* (Göttingen, 1839), pp. 113-

not been taken into account by the students who have examined the question. This is provided by the evident confusion of the two Theodosii which appears in Malalas' statement¹⁵ that Theodosius II appointed to the praetorian prefecture Rufinus, "the emperor's relative," and that Rufinus was finally executed "because he planned revolt."¹⁶ No Rufinus is known to have been praetorian prefect under Theodosius II, but the way in which the chronicler describes this official makes it certain that he means Flavius Rufinus, who became praetorian prefect in 392 and after the death of Theodosius I in January, 395, schemed to make himself the colleague of Arcadius.¹⁷ Malalas' description of his Rufinus as a "relative" of Theodosius II is plainly a reference to the prefect's attempt to have Arcadius marry his daughter (a plan which was thwarted by Eutropius), and the motive which the chronicler gives for his execution represents the hostile interpretation of the events which led to the assassination of Rufinus in November, 395.

If it stood alone, such a passage as this in Malalas would not necessarily mean anything more than that the chronicler found a reference to the career and death of Rufinus in a description of the reign of an emperor named Theodosius, and mistakenly assigned the incidents to the time of the younger emperor. But the context suggests that behind the mistake there may lie more

114, knows the evidence of Evagrius but rejects it without stating any reason and follows Malalas. Förster, *loc. cit.*, does not attempt to decide between Malalas and Evagrius, but observes that two points are in favor of Evagrius, though neither is decisive: first, Evagrius knows the conflicting tradition but rejects it; second, the gilding of the Daphnetic Gate, which must, in Förster's opinion, have been executed in connection with the extension of the walls, is assigned by Malalas to Theodosius II (see, however, the preceding note). V. Schultze, *Antiocheia* (Gütersloh, 1930), p. 101, solves the difficulty easily by supposing that Theodosius II completed work begun under Theodosius I. Neither Müller nor Schultze discussed the question of Antiochus Chuzon in this connection; Förster's opinion has been noted above. E. S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch* (Oxford, 1921), p. 170, follows Malalas; he mentions Evagrius' account of Eudocia's visit (p. 177) but ignores his statement concerning the wall.

¹⁵ P. 362, 18.

¹⁶ On Malalas' use of *tyrannis* in this passage see Ensslin, *op. cit.*, cols. 777-778.

¹⁷ On the career of Rufinus, see J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (2nd ed., London, 1923), I, pp. 107-113, and Stein, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 351-352.

than this. Rufinus is said by Malalas¹⁸ to have been the successor of the prefect Antiochus Chuzon, the grandson of Antiochus Chuzon the Great. There was of course an Antiochus who was prefect under Theodosius II. But Malalas also says that there was a prefect named Antiochus Chuzon under Theodosius I, and no prefect of this name is attested for this period. It looks then as though Malalas' account of two prefects named Antiochus might be a doublet and as though the mistaken assignment of a prefect Rufinus to the reign of Theodosius II, when there was a prefect of this name only under Theodosius I, might be connected with the origin of this doublet. One might be tempted to suppose, for example, that, if Rufinus is anachronistically associated with the younger Antiochus, this might have come about because he had been in some way associated (or might have been thought to be associated) with an elder Antiochus. Thus the transfer of Rufinus from the reign of one Theodosius to the other could have been motivated or facilitated by Malalas' knowledge of (and confusion of) two persons named Antiochus Chuzon.

If the problem is examined further, the possible reason for the displacement of Rufinus may throw further light on the accounts of the two Antiochi. Antiochus the Younger, with whom Rufinus is associated, is in his right position, so far as his name and his title are concerned, while at least the title of Antiochus the Elder seems to be wrong. Therefore it would seem that Rufinus was transferred to the later reign not only because of confusion of the names of the emperors but because of his association with an Antiochus Chuzon. This would normally be done only if there were two Antiochus Chuzons. Thus it looks, from Malalas' testimony at least, as though the two Antiochi were not entirely a doublet (which does not, of course, preclude the possibility of a mistake on the part of Malalas with regard to the office of the elder Antiochus). In other words, the mistaken association of Rufinus with Antiochus the Younger is an argument in favor of the actual existence of an Antiochus the Elder, since it seems plausible to suppose that it was because he had originally been connected with the elder Antiochus (rightly or wrongly) that Rufinus came to be mistakenly associated with the younger Antiochus. And if the elder Antiochus

¹⁸ P. 362, 21.

was not prefect, it would seem unlikely that he can have been responsible for the extension of the walls, at least in an official capacity.

Evagrius' testimony that the wall was extended under Theodosius II agrees with these conclusions, and some importance may be attached to the circumstance that Evagrius knew the divergent tradition and rejected it. Apparently Malalas displaced the extension of the wall in one direction and displaced Rufinus in this opposite direction; possibly the reason why he was able to make this double shift was that there were not only the two emperors of the same name who could be confused but there were two Antiochus Chuzons, one in each reign to contribute to the disorder. Whether a confusion of the Antiochus Chuzons would arise from a confusion of the emperors or *vice versa* it seems impossible to determine.

There is a final piece of evidence which indicates from still another point of view that the condition of Malalas' account arises from a confusion of names and not from a divergent tradition or a controversy in which Malalas took a stand on a debated question. A passage preserved in the Tusculan Fragment of Malalas¹⁰ but lost from the text preserved in the codex Baroccianus (which is in places an abridgment) shows that Malalas knew of Eudocia's visit to Antioch and described it in some detail, but did not mention that she was concerned with an extension of the wall. Had Malalas known a tradition that the empress had a share in the extension of the wall of Antioch, his account of the careers of the two Antiochus Chuzons would certainly have been quite different. Furthermore, Evagrius must have known this account by Malalas of the empress' visit, and the fact that he himself ascribes the extension of the wall to her and rejects Malalas' account of the extension suggests again that Evagrius had another source (apparently unknown to Malalas) which he considered to be superior in this matter.

One last point may illuminate the problem further. Evagrius says that the wall was extended at the petition of Eudocia, Malalas that the work was done at the behest of the prefect Antiochus. A plausible explanation of this discrepancy is that both were concerned with the work, the empress setting the idea in motion, Antiochus supervising its actual execution. Evagrius

¹⁰ *Spicilegium Romanum*, ed. A. Mai, II, 2 (Rome, 1839), p. 15.

would of course have been interested chiefly in the empress' friendliness toward the city, while Malalas would very likely have drawn his account ultimately from an official record of some sort, possibly of an epigraphic character. It would thus be not at all unusual to find the same work ascribed in different sources to agencies of quite a different rank. There is another instance in which Evagrius and Malalas ascribe the same building operation to different persons, one an emperor, the other a subordinate official,²⁰ and there is much evidence of comparable procedures in other ancient records.²¹

To summarize: Malalas says the wall of Antioch was extended under Theodosius I at the suggestion of the prefect Antiochus Chuzon; he says also that Theodosius II appointed to the praetorian prefecture Antiochus Chuzon, grandson of the elder Antiochus. An Antiochus was prefect under Theodosius II, but no Antiochus is known to have been prefect under Theodosius I. Evagrius declares that the wall was extended by Theodosius II, adding that "some say," wrongly, that Theodosius I made the extension. The solution is apparently to be found in the fact that Malalas states that Theodosius II appointed a certain Rufinus as praetorian prefect as successor to Antiochus the Younger. Malalas' description makes it certain that he really means the Rufinus who was prefect under Theodosius I. This suggests that Malalas confused both the two emperors and the two Antiochus Chuzons and thus both wrongly assigned the prefectship of Rufinus to the later reign and wrongly assigned the extension of the wall to the earlier reign.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

GLANVILLE DOWNEY.

²⁰ Malalas says (p. 360, 7) that Theodosius II built a "basilica" at Antioch, "which the people of Antioch call that of Anatolius because the *stratelates* Anatolius supervised the work, receiving the money from the emperor when he became *stratelates* of the East; and for this reason, when he finished this construction of the *basilike*, he inscribed on it in gold mosaic this: 'The work of the Emperor Theodosius,' as was right." Evagrius (I, 18) says, of the same work, only: "Anatolius, sent as *strategos* of the eastern forces, built the so-called *stoa* of Anatolius, adorning it with all kinds of materials." The passages are discussed by the writer in an article on "The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *Stoa* and *Basilike* in Classical Literature," *A. J. A.*, XLI (1937), p. 199, and in "Imperial Building Records in Malalas," *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXVIII (1938), p. 8.

²¹ See the writer's article in the *Byz. Zeitschr.*, mentioned *supra*.

SOPHOCLES, *AJAX* 112: A STUDY IN SOPHOCLEAN SYNTAX AND INTERPRETATION.

The textual reading of Sophocles, *Ajax* 112 is χαίρειν, Ἀθάνᾳ, τᾷδ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐφίεμαι. The slightly varying readings noted by Jebb¹ and Pearson² do not affect σ' which is the crux of the line. The usual explanation is that ἐφίεμαι here = "command," "enjoin upon" and governs the accusative and infinitive. Thus the scholiast (cited by Jebb) understood it: ἐφίεμαί σε τὰ ἅλλα κελεύειν καὶ χαίρειν ὡς πειθομένου μου. So Campbell took it, citing Aeschylus;³ so too Jebb, with a Sophoclean parallel.⁴ But on examination neither passage proves satisfactory.⁵ Further, Jebb's comment is hesitant,⁶ that of Campbell and Abbott useless.⁷ No aid is found in familiar translations.⁸ It seemed therefore worth while to review the pertinent evidence; the results, set down in this note, affirm that σ' = σε on grounds of both linguistic and dramatic fitness.

Prima facie, three considerations might seem to support the

¹ Sir Richard Jebb, *Ajax* (Cambridge, 1907).

² A. C. Pearson, *Sophoclis Fabulae* (Oxford, 1924).

³ Lewis Campbell, *Sophocles*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1879-1881), quotes Aeschylus, *Cho.* 1038-1039.

⁴ Sophocles, *O. T.* 1054-1055.

⁵ Campbell must have accepted οὐδ' ἐφέστιον | ἄλλην τράπεσθαι Λοξίας ἐφίετο as the correct text for Aeschylus, *Cho.* 1038-1039. (So too Verrall and Tucker.) Most editors, however, accept ἐφ' ἐστίαν (Turnebus) for ἐφέστιον of M, e.g. Dindorf, Sidgwick, Murray, Wilamowitz, Smyth, and with this reading the passage affords no more assistance than would accessible instances of ἐφίεμαι used absolutely. Jebb's text of *O. T.* 1054-1055 is ὅντιν' ἀπρίως μολεῖν ἐφιέμεσθα, but the verb here means "desire" as Paley's note *ad loc.* implies (so cited in the Liddell and Scott Lexicon, revised ed., s. v. ἐφίεμαι). This meaning is borne out by Sophocles, *O. T.* 1052. The translations at hand vary: "sought" (Campbell, Murray), "send to fetch" (Plumptre, Storr), "wait" (Sheppard), "summon" (Jebb); cf. Masqueray (Les Belles Lettres, 1922): "l'homme dont nous souhaitions tout à l'heure la venue."

⁶ "It seems best to suppose that the construction is. . ."

⁷ *Sophocles for the Use of Schools* (Oxford, 1899), "ἐφίεμαι is here followed by the accusative and infinitive in preference to the dative." But why "in preference"? Cf. note 31 *infra*.

⁸ Some of them indeed deal too lightly with ἐφίεμαι, e.g. Plumptre, Storr, Campbell, Morshead, Jebb.

unorthodox view that σ is an elision of $\sigma\sigma\iota$: diphthongal elisions are found, and that even in the plays of Sophocles; ἐφίεμαι = "command" takes the dative in 116 *infra*; ἐφίεμαι τινα ποιῆν τι, as Jebb said, is hard to parallel. These points in prosody and syntax call for comment.

Even in Homer diphthongal elisions are limited to $\alpha\iota$ and $\sigma\iota$; ⁹ elisions of $\mu\sigma\iota$ are readily accessible; ¹⁰ those of $\tau\sigma\iota$ = $\sigma\sigma\iota$ are found more frequently than the Liddell and Scott Lexicon (revised ed., s. v. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$) admits; ¹¹ those of $\sigma\sigma\iota$ are exceedingly rare.¹² If elisions of $\phi\sigma\iota$ are omitted, $\sigma\iota$ as well as $\alpha\iota$ elisions are fewer in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*. In Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns diphthongal elisions are quotable but not common.¹³ Sappho has some instances but at least two of them may be combatted.¹⁴ Aristophanes elides only $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\mu(\sigma\iota)$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ¹⁵—a significant fact in view of Comedy's close contact with everyday life and also in the light of its greater freedom in versification as compared with Tragedy. Theocritus seldom employs diphthongal elision,¹⁶ because he makes freer use of hiatus and at times prefers the epic device of shortening,¹⁷ rather than of eliding, diphthongs. Tragedy very sparingly admitted even ι elisions; ¹⁸ and

⁹ Monro, *Hom. Gr.*, pp. 349 ff.; Van Leeuwen, *Enchirid. Dict. Epic.*, pp. 79 ff.

¹⁰ *Iliad*, VI, 165; IX, 673 (= X, 544); XIII, 481; XVI, 207; XVII, 100; XXIV, 757; *Odyssey*, IV, 367; X, 19; XXIII, 21.

¹¹ *Iliad*, III, 235; XXI, 585; XXIII, 310; *Odyssey*, I, 60, 347.

¹² Liddell and Scott Lexicon, old ed. (relying on Heyne), denied all elisions of $\sigma\sigma\iota$ and $\tau\sigma\iota$; *ibid.*, revised ed., admits only *Iliad*, I, 170 as elision of $\sigma\sigma\iota$. But e. g. *Iliad*, XXI, 122 is a possible instance.

¹³ E. g. for $\sigma\iota$: Hesiod, *Theog.*, 126; *Hom. Hymn to Venus*, 10; for $\alpha\iota$: ἀρχομ' ἀεῖδεν *Hom. Hymns* II, XI, XIII, XVI, XXII, XXVI, XXVIII.

¹⁴ Smyth, *Melic Poets*, Sappho, 1, 20 (elision of $\sigma\iota$ or $\alpha\iota$); 2, 13 (perhaps a "stop-gap"); E. Lobel's ΣΑΠΦΟΤΕ ΜΕΛΗ adds to the $\sigma\iota$ elisions.

¹⁵ At least ten instances.

¹⁶ Theocritus, IV, 58; VII, 19 for $\mu(\sigma\iota)$; V, 112, perhaps, for $\phi\sigma\iota$.

¹⁷ Tragedy sometimes used the same device, e. g. Aeschylus, *Pers.* 853 for $\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}$; *ibid.* 39, 542, 640 for $\alpha\tilde{\iota}$.

¹⁸ This has some bearing on $\sigma\iota$ -elisions; *Iliad*, 14 instances, *Odyssey*, 4 instances of ι elisions in dative singular of substantives; 2 instances (*Iliad*, XVI, 854; *Odyssey*, II, 250) of dative of participle. Jebb (Sophocles, *O. C.* 1436, Appendix) sweeps away ι elisions of substantives in Tragedy; Tucker (Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 7) similarly rejects $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\iota\nu(\iota)$ as untenable. Cholmeley (Theocritus, XI, 22) admits $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\theta(\iota)$ and also $\eta\pi\alpha\rho(\iota)$ in *Megara* 85, but the latter is *penitus corruptus* (Wilamowitz).

oi elisions, as well as all other diphthongal ones, were contrary to its canon, as Jebb points out. Yet Sophocles has four instances in -oi¹⁹ and perhaps one in -ai.²⁰ In a number of passages in Tragedy apparent -oi elisions in dative cases of pronouns can be successfully shown to be elisions of accusative forms.²¹

On the other hand, elisions of ε are of common occurrence²² and enjoy a marked advantage.²³ While σοι, like μοι, in Tragedy normally suffers not elision but crasis, σε, even when emphasized, can be elided.²⁴ As, in the present passage, the pronoun σ(ε) is only slightly stressed, this is an *a fortiori* argument in its favour.

Further, the syntax seems completely defensible. ἐπιέμαι bears here in the middle its common meaning of "command," "enjoin upon" familiar in Greek since the time of Homer.²⁵ Although

¹⁹ οἴμ(οι) ὡς four times: *Ajax* 354, 587; *Ant.* 320, 1270.

²⁰ Sophocles, *Trach.* 216 δαίμον' οὐδ' ἀνώσομαι (to avoid a cyclic dactyl in place of a trochee), cited by Hardie, *Res Metrica*, p. 41, as diphthongal elision in Tragedy. Pearson, perhaps influenced by the scholiast's lemma noticed by Jebb, restores the diphthong.

²¹ An excellent example is Sophocles, *Ajax* 191 where μ' (ἄναξ) is taken as accusative by Jebb, who offers a difficult explanation. An extreme case is Euripides, *I. A.* 1491-1492, where editors explain μ' (ἔλεος) as accusative despite ἐννοούμενον. The opposite change, from dative to accusative, is frequent and natural; Sophocles has at least eight instances, of which one entails elision (*Ajax* 1006-1007).

²² Monro, *Hom. Gr.*, p. 349.

²³ Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, § 50, and Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, § 59, err, however, in saying that elision never occurs in monosyllables except those ending in ε. Sophocles has σ(α) emphatic in *O. T.* 329, 405; *El.* 1499; *Phil.* 339; cf. Euripides, *Troad.* 918; *El.* 273; *Hel.* 580. In Euripides, *Suppl.* 456, however, Murray reads (πρὸς τὰ) σὰ which Dindorf, with Markland, elided. Sophocles, *Phil.* 347 illustrates the elision and prodelision of ε in one and the same pronoun. On the other hand ε in verbs before ἀν was, according to Elmsley, rarely elided. Hence in Euripides, *Ion* 354 εἰχ' ἀν of L and P is changed by Murray, following Hermann, to εἴχεν ἀν.

²⁴ Aeschylus, *Cho.* 551 (Tucker also has *ibid.* 379, but in that vexed passage οὐς is the common reading); Sophocles, *O. T.* 64; *O. C.* 801 both have σ(ε), though emphatic. (Jebb also read in Euripides, *Hipp.* 323 σ' ἀμαρτάνω, but Murray restores the pronoun.) See Verrall, *Studies in Latin and Greek Scholarship*, especially pp. 287-288 on elision of σε.

²⁵ In Homer the middle of ἐπιέμαι governs dative of person (*Odyssey*, XIII, 7) and accusative of thing (*Iliad*, XXIV, 300; cf. Sophocles, *O. C.* 766); sometimes both objects are present (*Iliad*, XXIII, 82, if τοι = σοι; cf. Aeschylus, *Pr.* V. 4).

the verb with the same meaning is found with the dative in 116 *infra* and in *El.* 1110-1111,²⁶ (cf. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 242), it is well to remember that there are other instances of verbs in Tragedy governing either the dative or the accusative conjoined with the infinitive.

The argument based on the dramatic nexus of the line appears to settle the matter absolutely in favour of $\sigma\epsilon$. This aspect has been largely overlooked by the commentators but assuredly warrants the closest attention: it is an excellent instance of Sophoclean resourcefulness; by it the poet achieves a tremendous effect in an outwardly unobtrusive way.

Line 112 accords well with the character and the condition of the speaker; no verb would better suit than $\epsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ = "command" the military quality of Ajax, his distempered mind, and his illusory situation. It might be noted that the result here is less shocking than in 116; this the poet brings about by the word-order and the syntax: $\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\upsilon$,²⁷ with its seeming acquiescence, is put to the front; $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$, implying exception to that acquiescence, is imbedded inconspicuously in the body of the line along with $\sigma(\epsilon)$; the latter's remoteness from its infinitive entails just enough attention to divert the audience momentarily from the enormity of $\epsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ used towards a deity. The brief interval between 112 and 116 gives that expression of $\upsilon\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ time to sink into the consciousness of the listeners; then ensues the repetition of the insult by Ajax in a more drastic form; by a simple shift of construction²⁸ deity is drastically subordinated to his command. Line 116 exemplifies thus the repetition of a word after a brief interval, not by coincidence, but consciously for a dramatic purposé. It is the "key-word" of the present passage²⁹ and reveals that Ajax is labouring under an "inferiority complex." Incidentally, the time that elapses in the play between the award of the arms and the suicide of Ajax is longer than in the Homeric

²⁶ Sophocles, *El.* 143 is not pertinent; $\mu\omicron\iota$ is ethical dative and $\epsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ = "desire" with the genitive (cf. Sophocles, *Phil.* 1315; *O. C.* 1605; Euripides, *Ph.* 531).

²⁷ Cf. Headlam, Aeschylus, *Agam.* 125 ff.

²⁸ Three other shifts in construction, instructive though not so dramatically important, are found in this play: 381, 389; 600, 605; 1201, 1204, 1216.

²⁹ For the "key-word" *par excellence* in *Ajax*, cf. *A. J. P.*, XXXVII (1916), pp. 300-316; *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1917), p. 338.

legend and in the *Aethiopis*, in order to enable that feeling in Ajax to obtain a greater fixity.³⁰ After Ajax has reiterated³¹ more aggressively his insult, Sophocles naturally withdraws him from the scene. In the exchanges that ensue, the dramatist appears to aim at two things, viz.: to soothe the outraged feelings of his fellow-Athenians and to show that punishment by their patroness-goddess must be inflicted upon their eponymous hero. That there can be no compassion for him evokes from the gentle poet one of those poignant expressions of melancholy of which he is such a consummate master.³²

S. JOHNSON.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA.

³⁰ Sophocles is at pains to make this time-lag very clear: *Ajax* 929-931, 934, 1336-1337.

³¹ Some critics are so far from having an inkling of the dramatic significance of the repetition that they propose emendations to eliminate it: e.g. Schneidewin would read in 112 σ' εὐχόμεαι, noticing that ἐφλεμαι recurs in 116.

³² *Ajax* 125-126.

JUVENAL, SAT., I, 1, 147-150.

nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat
posteritas; eadem facient cupientque minores;
omne in praecipiti vitium stetit. utere velis,
totos pande sinus.

For the phrase *omne in praecipiti vitium stetit* one of two interpretations is generally accepted. Wilson and Duff¹ following the note of Richards² have held that it means, "vice always stands above a sheer descent" or "on a steep incline," and therefore, they say, inevitably tumbles headlong to its lowest point; hence posterity can go no further. The older interpretation of Mayor and Friedländer, that vice is "at its zenith" ("auf dem Gipfel") has found acceptance albeit with hesitation by Ramsay in his Loeb translation.

Housman disagreed with both groups and in his review of Wilson's Juvenal³ has set forth a third interpretation: it means, he says, "'every vice has come to a dead halt at the cliff's edge,' has reached, as we might say, the end of its tether; has gone as far as nature suffers it to go."

To my mind, none of these interpretations is conclusive. The errors in that of Wilson, Duff, and Richards have been pointed out by Housman;⁴ these three scholars have in turn explained the weaknesses of the interpretation of Mayor and Friedländer.⁵ Housman was on the right path, but I feel that his interpretation stops just short of the full explanation which is desired.

First let us re-examine the possible meanings of the phrase *in praecipiti stare* (or *esse*).

1. It sometimes means "to be in a precarious position," i. e.

¹ *D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturarum libri V*, ed. by H. L. Wilson (Boston, etc., 1903); *D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae XIV, Fourteen Satires of Juvenal*, ed. by J. D. Duff (Cambridge, corrected reprint of 1925).

² *C. R.*, VI (1892), pp. 124-125.

³ *C. R.*, XVII (1903), pp. 466-467.

⁴ Briefly, he shows that *in praecipiti stetit* can hardly mean the same as *praeceps ruit* and that, even if it could, the phrase so interpreted would be meaningless in this context.

⁵ Their criticisms are based on the fact that *in praecipiti stare* must suggest instability, not merely height.

to be on a spot from which fall toward one of two opposite extremes is probable. Graphically it is the position of an object balanced on the apex of a triangle. With this meaning agree the following passages cited by Richards: Petronius, *Sat.*, 55 *quam in praecipiti res humanae essent vario sermone garrimus*, i. e. Trimalchio's guests discuss the rapid and unforeseen changes from high to low, sadness to happiness, and *vice versa*, to which human life is subjected; Horace, *Sat.*, II, 3, 292-293 *casus medicusve levari aegrum ex praecipiti*, where the "crisis" of the disease is meant, the point at which the sick man may either get well or die.⁶

2. More commonly it means "to be in danger," "to be on a dangerous spot" from which fall is or seems to be inevitable. Here belong Richards' quotations from Vergil (*turris in praecipiti stans*, *Aen.*, II, 460), Seneca (*in praecipiti voluptas: ad dolorem vergit nisi modum teneat*, *Ep.*, 23, 6), and Tacitus (*Caesar irritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti, conquestus*, *Ann.*, IV, 30, 4). Graphically the figure is that of an object standing unsteadily on a point from which there can be motion in only one direction, downward. It is the extreme from which there is bound to be retreat or fall toward the opposite extreme.

It should be clear that the latter of these fits the passage from Juvenal: *nil erit ulterius*, he says, "vice has gone as far as it can go." So far the editors are substantially in agreement, but here they come to the crossroads. Richards, Duff, and Wilson want Juvenal to elaborate on this statement and inform us that since vice is always *in praecipiti*, it had by its very nature to reach that lowest point at which it now stands.⁷ Housman shows clearly enough that, aside from the still open question of whether we can make *in praecipiti stetit* mean *praeceps ruit*, this "sapient saw," as he calls it, has nothing to do with what Juvenal has just said. In other words, these commentators have lost sight of the picture which Juvenal has painted in the phrase. They want him to say that vice has slipped to its lowest point, whereas he is saying that it has climbed to its highest, and is there unsteadily perched, like a mountaineer on a peak. It was toward this explanation that Mayor and Friedländer properly pointed. Hous-

⁶ Cf. also Ovid, *Met.*, XI, 378.

⁷ Cf. Seneca, *Dial.*, III, 7, 4 *vitiorum natura proclivis*.

man has followed them, but has made the necessary addition of the idea of insecurity to that of finality.

Here he stops, and leaves his interpretation still hanging. What is the point of the line, "sapient saw" or not? Why does Juvenal bother to say once more that vice has reached its farthest possible point? Has he not already said as much in vss. 147-148? The explanation, I believe, lies precisely in the idea of insecurity, which the later commentators saw must be inherent in the phrase *in praecipiti*. The words *omne in praecipiti vitium stetit* are not a gnômê, and *stetit* is a true perfect.⁸ They describe the moral situation of that particular moment and form a connecting link between vss. 147-148 and the exhortation of vss. 149-150: *utere velis, totos pande sinus*. Juvenal is saying, "Vice has gone as far as it can go. It has come to a stop (*stetit*) at an extreme point. But the extreme point is never secure.⁹ After it, then, with all your might! You may yet, with the weapons of satire, save the day." This gives double point to the interlocutor's worried *unde ingenium par materiae*¹⁰ and explains Juvenal's impatient rejoinder, *qui dedit ergo tribus patris aconita, vehatur pensilibus plumis*, etc.,¹¹ where he says in effect "shall we sit back and swallow our shame, without raising a finger to reform its source, the viciousness of our day?" In the phrase *omne in praecipiti vitium stetit* it is the reformer rather than the satirist who speaks. Juvenal sees in the very fact of Rome's utter depravity the opportunity for the vigorous moralist to turn her course toward betterment.

FRANK O. COPLEY.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

⁸ Cf. Housman, *loc. cit.*

⁹ This is a commonplace in ancient thought: cf. Horace, *Odes*, II, 10, 9-12.

¹⁰ Vss. 150-151.

¹¹ Vss. 158-159.

CATULLUS, 5, 7-11 AND THE ABACUS.

Da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
 dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
 deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum.
 Dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
 conturbabimus illa. . . .

The purpose of this brief note is to clarify the meaning of *conturbabimus* in the passage quoted. Editors¹ are agreed, and rightly so, that *conturbo* here means "throw into confusion," but, in my opinion, none of them has grasped or, at any rate, clearly explained the exact sense in which Catullus intends the word to be taken. Riese thinks that the confusion is to be produced by a profusion of additional kisses, "nicht mehr nach Tausenden oder Hunderten, sondern in ungeordneter Menge." Merrill's only comment on the word is "the confusion of the count is already effected in the poem by the hurrying succession of *mille* and *centum*." Ellis, Baehrens, and others refer to the phrases *rationem* or *rationes conturbo*, or simply *conturbo*, in the sense of "go bankrupt." But, apart from the inappropriateness of that idea to the context, it must be noted that, in the mercantile *terminus technicus* to which they refer, *conturbo* is used either absolutely (so almost always, according to the *Thesaurus*²) or with the object *rationes*, while in our present passage it has as its object the word *illa*, that is, *milia multa*. We may note that the *Thesaurus* lists the present occurrence of *conturbo* not under the heading of mercantile expressions but under the general uses of the word³ and so is in tacit agreement with the interpretation which I shall advance.

The ground for this interpretation is to be found in a consideration of the alternate recurrence of *mille* and *centum* in the first three lines quoted. The obvious purport of these lines is that

¹ E. Baehrens, *Catulli Veronensis Liber* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1885); R. Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1876); W. Kroll, *C. Valerius Catullus* (2nd ed., Leipzig, Teubner, 1929); E. T. Merrill, *Catullus* (Boston, Ginn, 1893); A. Riese, *Die Gedichte des Catullus* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1884).

² *S. v.* *conturbo*, II, 3.

³ *S. v.* *conturbo*, I.

Catullus desires a multitude of Lesbia's kisses; why, however, does he number them in alternating thousands and hundreds?

To some, it has seemed that the alternation of numbers was meant to produce the effect of a wild confusion of caresses; so Riese and Kroll. Merrill, as we have seen, believes that the hurrying succession of *mille* and *centum* has the effect of confusing the count. The elaborate explanation of Baehrens, based on the alternating waves of the sea, is so far-fetched as scarcely to merit consideration.

In so far as they imply that Catullus is attempting to impart a sense of confusion by his alternation of *mille* and *centum*, the interpretations of Riese, Kroll, and Merrill seem to me to have been formed without due regard for the procedures of Roman arithmetic. Catullus pretends to be keeping an account of the kisses which he receives; it is natural, therefore, for him to think in terms of Roman methods of addition and to choose his words accordingly.

In calculations running into the thousands, whether concerned with kisses or with more prosaic commodities, the Roman habitually used a counting-board, or abacus.⁴ In its simplest form, the Roman abacus consisted of a board marked with vertical lines, separating the surface into several columns. If, for simplicity's sake, we disregard the spaces used for fractions, we may say that the column on the extreme right denoted units, the next column tens, the next hundreds, the next thousands, and so forth. Addition was accomplished by the use of pebbles (*calculi*), each of which counted one when placed in the units column, ten when placed in the tens column, and so forth.⁵ Counting by single thousands and hundreds, then, far from being a confusing or elaborate procedure, would be a simple

⁴ See A. Nagl, *Die Rechentafel der Alten* (Vienna, Hölder, 1914 = *Sitzb. der K. Akad. der Wissen. in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, CLXXVII [1914], Abh. 5), especially pp. 15-18. See also Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.*, I, cols. 5-10, and Supplementband III, cols. 9-10.

⁵ A more elaborate abacus had grooves in which buttons moved back and forth, but the principle was the same. See the articles cited in the preceding note. A similar instrument, the soroban, is in current use among the Japanese: see C. G. Knott, "The Abacus in its Historic and Scientific Aspects," in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XIV (1886), pp. 18-71.

matter of placing single pebbles alternately in the fourth and third columns from the right.

According to my interpretation, then, Catullus thinks of himself as keeping score of Lesbia's kisses on an abacus. First a pebble in the thousands column, then one in the hundreds, then another in the thousands, and another in the hundreds, then still another in the thousands, and one in the hundreds, and then, when the thrice-told tale is done, the lovers shake the board violently (*conturbabimus*), the pebbles fly in all directions, and the score is forever obliterated.

Conturbo in this passage is thus used in its proper sense of a violent physical disturbance and is not to be listed among the more attenuated uses of the word. I shall conclude with the remark that Kroll's note, which compares the Greek *φυρᾶν τὰς ψήφους*, may perhaps be taken as anticipating my interpretation; but Kroll does not make this explicit, nor does he connect it with the alternation of *mille* and *centum*, to which, as we have seen, he attributes a far different connotation from that which I have suggested.

HARRY L. LEVY.

HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK.

THE BOULE OF 500 FROM SALAMIS TO EPHIALTES.

After the battle of Salamis, the Areopagus obtained an ascendancy over the Boule of 500 which it did not relinquish until the reforms of Ephialtes almost 20 years later. It is upon the Boule, rather than the Areopagus, that I wish to focus attention, for, while the Areopagus was an important institution, it is the Boule that returns after Ephialtes' reforms and its history in this dark period also has interest and significance.

In the *Res Pub. Ath.* (20-22), Aristotle tells us that Cleisthenes created ten tribes and that fifty Athenians from each tribe made up the new Boule. Then (23, 1) he says: τότε μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου προῆλθεν ἡ πόλις ἅμα τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξανομένη· μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ πάλιν ἴσχυσεν ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴ καὶ δέσκει τὴν πόλιν, οὐδενὶ δόγματι λαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίας αἰτία. (Of. 23, 1, 2, 3; 25, 1; *Pol.*, VIII (V), 4, 1304 a 20.)

Walker (*C. A. H.*, V, pp. 98, 99, 472, 473) has studied the section in Aristotle in the light of Plutarch, *Them.*, 10, who first gives Aristotle's facts (with acknowledgment) and then offers an alternative version on the authority of Cli(to)demos. The latter says that Themistocles ingeniously obtained the funds for Salamis. Walker is skeptical of the ascendancy of the Areopagus, the reforms of Ephialtes, and the truth of Aristotle's facts.

I do not find in Plutarch or any other author anything to contradict that statement of Aristotle. To it I add the important fact that the Areopagus achieved this ascendancy without special legislation. Apparently the Areopagus simply usurped the power, while the Boule remained inactive.

A further suggestion lies in Aristotle's following statement (24, 1), where the connection is determined by the phrase *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*. Aristotle says: *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαρρούσης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως καὶ χρημάτων ἡθροισμένων πολλῶν*, This would imply that after the Persian wars, in a period of prosperity, the economic and political tension was relaxed and the Areopagus could assume an authority which in more difficult times would have aroused the keenest interest.

The Athenian inscriptions in this general period are few, fragmentary, and difficult to date. Indeed, I can find no certain reference to prytanies and precious little reference to the Boule (*I. G.*, I², 5). Kahrstedt (*Untersuch. z. Magistratur*, p. 87) has explained the absence of any epigraphic reference to prytanies by denying their existence in this period. According to him, there were no prytanies until they were introduced by Ephialtes.

Despite the general excellence of Professor Kahrstedt's incisive and intelligent interpretations of texts, there are reasons against accepting this judgment which rests upon frail evidence. If the prytanies had just ceased to assemble, then the Boule would never have existed. A Boule without prytanies is possible, but not Cleisthenes' Boule. That Council consisted of ten prytanies that presided in turn over the entire Boule. For this reason, Cleisthenes' Boule could neither exist nor function without prytanies—unless, of course, there had been a constitutional modification, and this, Aristotle says, did not take place. My own explanation of this paucity of epigraphical material is much tamer, but it agrees with Aristotle. The Boule was simply inactive.

In this connection it seems that the fragments of Telecleides

have escaped notice (cf. Koerte, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Telecleides"). This dramatist wrote a comedy (cf. Kock, *C. A. F.*, I, pp. 215 ff., especially nos. 22, 24, 25) revealing the luxurious life in the time of Themistocles. Since this comedy (Koerte, *loc. cit.*) was written long after Themistocles, its political references and its chronology may not have been precise. The humor of the comedy consisted undoubtedly in its criticism of excessive luxury; and the luxurious period probably fell, as has been noted, in the years after the Persian wars when Themistocles was a leader of the people (so Aristotle above). The political significance of the criticism is indicated by the title of the comedy, *The Prytaneis*.

From this we may infer that the play refers to the period after the Persian wars when more funds would be available for the prytaneis. In view of the author and the date, a specific historical allusion to Themistocles' archonship or some minor event in it seems improbable.¹ The point of the comedy is that the prytaneis are the luxurious ones. When they should have been attending to business, as Telecleides says, they were eating cheese and drinking wine (nos. 24, 25). We see, then, that the prytaneis were not only in existence but that they were having a gay time of it.

The evidence of Aristotle, the inscriptions, and Telecleides combine to give us a clear picture of the Boule from Salamis to Ephialtes. The increase in wealth permitted the Areopagus to usurp power without the effective complaint of the people. It did not attempt to abolish or change the Boule as this would have created a serious issue. Instead the Areopagus and its supporters permitted the Boule to act as guests rather than as servants of the state.

MILTON GIFFLER.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

¹ On the archonship of Themistocles we now have Wade-Gery, *B. S. A.*, XXXVII (1936-37 [published in 1940]), pp. 263-270. Wade-Gery does not mention Telecleides.

IN DIE MORTIS = IN DIE(M) MORTIS
AND ROMAN MARITAL FELICITY.

C. I. L., VI, 29149 runs: *D. M. M. Vlpus Cerdo titulum posuit Claudiae Tycheni coniugi karissim(ae) cum qua vix(it) annis []¹ II mens(ibus) VI dieb(us) III hor(is) X in die mortis gratias maximas egi apud deos et apud homines.*

In the relatively humorless wastes of epigraphy, especially Latin epigraphy, this has occasionally furnished a touch of comic relief; for example, J. C. Orelli (Zürich, 1828, no. 4636) calls it a "marvellous witticism" ("mirum dictorium!"); and H. H. Armstrong ("Autobiographic Elements in Latin Inscriptions," *Michigan Humanistic Series*, III [1910], p. 243) energetically asserts: "How insincere these protestations sometimes are may be inferred from *the one epitaph set up by an honest man*, CIL 6. 29149. He begins by dedicating it to his 'dearest wife,' but goes on to say that 'on the day of her death I gave greatest thanks in presence of gods and men'; this shows clearly the value of conventional praise when compared with *the truth*" (italics mine).

But this understanding of the epitaph, I venture to suggest, involves a misinterpretation of the record. To take the words *in die mortis* as meaning "on the day of her death," should of course arouse a preliminary suspicion of the correctness of the translation, since such is certainly not the ordinary way to express this idea;² and that same suspicion should be but heightened by the astounding cynicism, or else simplicity, presupposed on the part of the widower, something that stands wholly without parallel among epitaphs in antiquity.³

¹ There is room for just two full-sized letters like X or L, according to Huebner's presumably accurate transcript (that of Sir Henry Ellis, *The British Museum. The Townley Collection* [1836], II, 269, is obviously inexact), and the lining up requires them. These might be, of course, II (but improbable because of the space to be filled), VI, XV, XX, XL, or even LX. In other words, it was not an extremely short married life.

² For the limitations of the usage of *in* with *die* and *diebus* see A. H. Salonijs, *Vitae Patrum* (1920), p. 131; and especially *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, V, p. 1043, 68 ff. The closest parallel I know is the highly ambiguous *in die fati sui* of *C. I. L.*, XIII, 3858 = E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 3308.

³ Modern examples of much the same thing (unhappily too numerous)

The simple and reasonable explanation, which restores his normal character to the author and shifts the classification of the epitaph from the portentous to the commonplace, is to take *in die mortis* as equivalent to *in diem mortis*, whether by a mere mistake, a misuse of case (a number of illustrations conveniently recorded by H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae*, III, p. 865), or the still commoner omission of a faintly pronounced, or wholly unpronounced, final *m* (for a few dozen examples out of thousands, see *idem*, pp. 824-5). Indeed exactly the same phrase occurs also in *C. I. L.*, VI, 17677, ll. 5 f. *qui in die mortis sue nunquam nemine lesit*, where not merely the general sense (a person truly on his deathbed is seldom in a position actually to injure anybody), but also the obvious omission of final *m* in *nemine(m)*, render otiose the editors' assurance: "intellege *in die(m) mortis*." Compare also E. Diehl, *op. cit.*, 2805 *vixit usque ad die (= ad diem) mortis sue annos plus minusve* (sic) *qua<d>raginta*.

Cerdo merely wanted to say that he had lived with his most dear wife, down to the very day of her death, a privilege for which he was duly thankful; or else that he had been duly thankful, down to the day of her death (i. e. throughout the whole of their married life), that he had been married to her. The form of statement is just a bit ambiguous of course (but then the two ideas really amount to much the same thing in any event), and that is all there is to it.

W. A. OLDFATHER.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

are not in point; these merely illustrate a general level of intellectual and aesthetic culture distinctly lower than that of antiquity, as I have argued elsewhere. Similarly, perhaps, a "wit" might endeavor to raise a laugh out of the single phrase in a late Christian inscription (probably 573-4 A. D., *C. I. L.*, XI, 1409) *Hic* (her husband) *non valuit cum ea amplius vivere praeter men(ses) VII d(ies) XXIII*, were it not that the context proves this to be an expression of regret, and not a so-called "honest confession."

EURIPIDES, ION, 1610.

The *ἡμέλησε* of the manuscripts has been preserved by all the editors, but it is void of sense, even for the usual view of the anti-Apollinean tendency of the play. Creusa contrasts her present attitude toward Apollo to her former one: *αἰνῶ Φοῖβον οὐκ αἰνοῦσα πρὶν* (1609), and solemnly pays her worship to his temple (1611, stressing the contrast between *πάροιθεν* and *νῦν* [1612]). As reason for her change of mind she gives the god's restoration of her child to her (*ἀποδίδωσι*). But while she might offer as reason for her former resentment the fact that the god had hidden her son for many years, the context makes it impossible for her to charge him with neglecting Ion after the constant care of Apollo has become manifest and she herself, even before Athena's final sanction, has emphasized Apollo as Ion's *ἐπεργέτης* (1531, 1540, 1545). On the other hand, a preservation of *ἡμέλησε* would require something other than the restoration of Ion as contrast: for example, that Apollo now takes care of the child; but nothing of this kind is to be found in the text. Furthermore, Athena's approval of her change of mind (1614) would be out of place if Creusa's speech had contained any reproach to Apollo. All difficulty can be removed by simply reading *ἡμέλησα* for *ἡμέλησε*. The change in the MSS is easily explained by the strong if false appearance of the god's neglect. Creusa neither is nor feels herself entirely free from guilt; it is one of the deepest aspects of Greek tragedy that we share a responsibility even for actions finally caused by superhuman power. A sort of bad conscience drives Creusa back to the place where she exposed the babe (350); her later uneasiness, which makes her try to ask the oracle secretly about the fate of the exposed child (334; cf. 390), may also be traced back to that. And at 963 she asserts that the child *ἄδικ' ἔπασχεν ἐξ ἐμοῦ*. To the restored son she tries to excuse her step by her fear (1497, cf. 1500): *ἔκτεινα σ' ἄκουσα*. This seems to be sufficient proof that in line 1610 she contrasts her own neglect of the child to the grace of the god who has given him back to her.

FELIX WASSERMANN.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA.

REVIEWS.

TENNEY FRANK. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, V: Rome and Italy of the Empire. General Index to Volumes I-V. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. Pp. xvi + 445; v + 140. \$5.75 (two volumes).

When Tenney Frank died, on April 3, 1939, those who knew him and his work, especially those who had followed the progress of his *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, were apprehensive about the fate of the fifth volume, *Rome and Italy of the Empire*, which like the first, *Rome and Italy of the Republic*, he had undertaken to write himself. Fortunately, the major part of the work had been finished. Shortly before going to Oxford as George Eastman Visiting Professor he had jotted down this memorandum: "I should like to add three chapters, on the Economics of Septimius Severus, the Third Century, and Diocletian, but if I fail to complete them, the chapters that are ready can be printed (after editing by Mrs. Loane) as an incomplete volume." He had already made provisions that this trusted friend and pupil was to finish the chapter on Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii and that Prof. Howard Comfort was to add a section on *Terra Sigillata* to the chapter on Industry.

Immediately after Prof. Frank's death, Dr. Helen Jefferson Loane and Dr. Evelyn Holst Clift undertook the editing of their teacher's manuscript. They faithfully endeavored to carry out his intentions and to interpret and preserve the spirit of his research with which they were so familiar. For the fine job they have done they have earned the gratitude of all students of Roman history. They have shown resourcefulness and discrimination in rounding off some of the original chapters with much new material drawn from the lectures which Frank had just given in Oxford and at the London School of Economics. That material he himself had intended to incorporate in his work. Two other disciples, Professors T. R. S. Broughton and Lily Ross Taylor, helped to assemble a goodly amount of information scattered through the manuscript and added new evidence at certain points. The published volume, therefore, is more than the manuscript as left by Tenney Frank. If we do not have the full three chapters which he hoped to write, we do have valuable sections on Septimius Severus and the third century, also a new edition with translation of the Edict of Diocletian by Miss Elsa Graser, another pupil. That he was a great historian, we all knew; the existence of so many able pupils is eloquent proof that he was a great teacher as well.

Although *Rome and Italy of the Empire* is by no means the survey that was originally planned, its contribution to the study of Roman economics is considerable. It freshens and systematizes much of our previous knowledge, it brings out a wealth of information formerly so scattered or hidden as to be almost inaccessible, it examines with masterful understanding many of the problems involved, and, best of all, it establishes a clear perspective of the

economic evolution of the first century A. D. More than ten pages of bibliography of modern works give the measure of the learning and industry that went into the writing of this volume. The promise made by the author in the preface to *Rome and Italy of the Republic* (p. viii) that he would not deal with theories, but would cling to the positivistic evidence of the facts has been adhered to also in *Rome and Italy of the Empire*.

Such being the book and the circumstances under which it was published, it would be churlish to call too much attention to a number of gaps, to point too vigorously to the schematic and superficial treatment of some chapters, especially the last, to dwell on a certain confusion and inconsistency of ideas, or to decry a lack of smoothness in organization and presentation. Some of these flaws could have been corrected if the editors had had the heart to use the pruning knife. I am sure Tenney Frank would have used it, and mercilessly.

The first three chapters deal chiefly with colonies, public finances, and currency from Augustus to Alexander Severus. They contain excellent sections on individual fortunes, the financial crisis of 33 A. D., the revenues of the Empire under Vespasian, the financial problems of Trajan and Hadrian, and the contents of coins. They also represent a successful attempt to weave together a story of finance, administration, general welfare, industry, commerce, and war booty.

The statement (p. 4) that a large number of the colonies of Augustus, possibly all, had the *ius Italicum* is conjectural. Certainly it is not supported by the evidence in the *Digest* (I, 15). No mention is made of Iulium Carnicum as a Claudian colony (cf. *C. I. L.*, V, 1838, 1841-2, 1862). Indeed, the number of colonies listed by Frank does not cover the whole ground. For instance, there is no mention of Aequum, Apri, Lixus, and Oppidum Novum, not to speak of more obvious foundations in Gaul and Germany, which Momigliano (*Claudius, the Emperor and his Achievement* [Oxford, 1934], pp. 64 f.) assigns to Claudius. Informed readers will not readily agree with certain observations about the aim of post-Augustan colonization, that is, that it was not undertaken for the sake of satisfying land-hunger on the part of citizens; that Italy was no longer attempting to populate the provinces; and that Claudius and Vespasian seem to have settled veterans only, and to a relatively small extent, in order to lighten the burden of the *aerarium militare* (p. 32).

Augustus, except for his efforts to establish peace and security and to create an adequate coinage, is represented as doing little towards furthering commerce and industry. Like the Republican Senate, he was not concerned with commercial or industrial problems. Peace on land and sea, protection of private property, the unusual expansion of coinage, and the free spending of state funds on public works, all made for a period of prosperity, however. Salaries and wages were increased and the standard of living of the poor raised. Commerce was extended to the advantage of provincial industries, and good profits were realized by a large number of people from Gades to India. If Italy did not derive as much prosperity from these conditions as might have been expected,

Frank ascribes the reason to the failure of the Roman economic structure to expand the basis of investment at home into manufacturing, trades, and production. The few great individual fortunes of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods in the peninsula came, according to him, as rewards for military service, through imperial favoritism, and through lucrative investment often aided by political pull.

This reviewer cannot accept Frank's estimate of Claudius. Frank started with the belief (*Roman Imperialism* [New York, 1914], p. 354) that Claudius modelled himself after Julius Caesar, reiterated that belief whenever he had an occasion (*A History of Rome* [New York, 1923], p. 428), and persisted in it to the end of his life (*Rome and Italy of the Empire*, pp. 40-42). Although fully abreast of the works of modern scholarship and extraordinarily sensitive to its results, he remained impervious to such evidence in Claudius' favor as *P. Lond.*, 1912 (letter to the Alexandrians), *B. G. U.*, 611 (*SC de recuperatoribus, in fine*; a plea for senatorial independence), or the edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus (Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, pp. 112 ff.; Keil, *Jahresh. österr. Inst.*, XXIII [1926], pp. 282 ff.), and out of sympathy with the reappraisal of tradition as represented by Carcopino, De Sanctis, and Rostovtzeff, among others. The picture he gives of Claudius is that of a lawless despot "who, to cover the costs of his reign, "must have" resorted to extensive confiscations.

Thoughtful students are apt to be disturbed by another type of argument, the probable which at one point becomes certain. For example, on page 15 it is stated: "The buildings . . . may well have been paid for in large part from Spanish, Gallic, and Balkan booty." On the following page one finds this: "The booty from Spain, Gaul, and the Balkans certainly contributed towards the later buildings. . . ." The editors, handling as they did an unfinished work, should have been more watchful. Another case requiring revision is what seems to be the assignment of the colonization of Archelais and Iconium to Vespasian instead of Claudius (pp. 31 f.). Frank could not have misunderstood what is so clear from the texts to which he refers; his apparent attribution of these colonies to Vespasian is plainly due to an unfortunate use of loose English.

The fourth chapter, dealing with the finances of Italian municipalities, is solid meat throughout, especially good for those who wish to get a clear account of municipal services and revenues. But the account is not full, since it is not made up of all inscriptions available but only of typical ones. Nor are its revelations altogether new; Liebenam's *Städteverwaltung*, for instance, has been systematically exploited. The whole inquiry is abundantly documented, however, businesslike, and effective.

A geographical survey of the regions of Italy in the fifth chapter describes, chiefly with the aid of Strabo, their natural products, their industries, and their commerce.

The sixth chapter is especially well documented and thoroughly convincing. With faultless judgment and a sure hand, Frank draws a sketch of the status and organization of agriculture in the first century A. D. He doubts that the confiscations of the triumvirs and the Julio-Claudian emperors affected any large part of Italy

or that they revolutionized the size of landholding. The latifundia were general only south of Beneventum and throughout Etruria, although some existed in parts of Campania and Latium; they were less prevalent elsewhere. He describes a number of large estates, putting in due relevance the case of Caecilius Isidorus, a freedman who had lost heavily in the civil wars, yet left an estate in 8 B. C. that included 4116 slaves, 3600 yokes of oxen, and 257,000 other animals. The remarks of Seneca, Juvenal, Martial, and Petronius about large estates, even Pliny's statement that large estates had caused the ruin of Italy, he considers with good reason as being put forward for epideictic purposes; and he regards the evidence at present available as proving that Italian agriculture was still prosperous in the seventies of the first century. Frank has collected valuable data on the price of land, products, and labor, and on the yield of several crops. The entire chapter is so good that one wishes the author had had the time to explore as thoroughly agriculture in the second century.

One minor observation: *similago e tritico fit* is translated, "wheat yields a fine flour" (p. 144). May it not be that *similago* is the Italian *sémola*? And *sémola* is not flour, but a grainy meal as different from flour as sand is from dust; and yellowish, not white like flour. The nearest thing to it in appearance in the American market is corn meal. It is with *sémola* that *pasta*, that is, macaroni and spaghetti, is made. When wheat is milled into flour, nine parts in weight or thereabouts become flour, the rest chaff. When it is milled into *sémola*, half or more in weight becomes *sémola*; another part, still large, flour; and the smallest part (always in weight) chaff. This ratio, which here is given only as roughly approximate, might suggest that when Pliny states that a peck of wheat ought to yield half a peck of *similago*, he means *sémola*. Would philologists check on this suggestion?

Chapter seven attempts to discover which industries were worked by the factory system. Frank finds no evidence of iron factories at Puteoli, but believes that something like factories prevailed in Noricum. The making of iron tools was, according to him, partly in the hands of individual smiths, partly in the hands of firms that produced articles in large amounts under a quasi-factory system.

In the glass industry conditions favorable to monopolistic production existed. Skilled Oriental craftsmen, realizing that Rome was their best market, set up their main "factories" in Italy. According to Pliny, glass factories developed at the mouth of the Volturno River in Campania where the sand was suitable for the basic material. Information concerning this industry is by no means complete. For instance, there is no reference to the statement (Pliny, *N.H.*, 36, 195) that an ingenious craftsman had invented, or was trying to invent, a non-shatterable glass.

The manufacture of bronze and copper ware seems to have developed into a real factory system at least in Capua. The literary references to mass production of clothing in several centers would point to the existence of rather large factories run by slave labor. Despite the large and constant demand for lead water pipes, the factory system failed to emerge in this industry. But it emerged in brick making, apparently also in silverware and furniture making.

Except for a few more data in the following chapter, this investigation of industry is surprisingly inadequate. To avoid an impossibly long list of addenda, let us pose the problem thus. At one end—let us roughly call it that of heavy industries—no systematic study is made of the building industry despite the fact that it was of major importance throughout the first century A.D. In the field of light industries, there is no survey of the paper industry. Paper is mentioned incidentally on page 144, and on page 229 Pliny is quoted to show the existence in Rome of something like a factory that reprocessed the third best grade of Egyptian papyrus. But I recall no statement on the large consumption of this article for writing purposes, in medicine (Celsus, 5, 8; 6, 4; Scribonius Largus, 114, 237; Pliny, *N. H.*, 21, 84; 24, 88; 28, 214; 29, 106; 34, 170), as wrapping material (Horace, *Epist.*, 2, 1, 270; Pliny, *N. H.*, 12, 45; 13, 76; Juvenal, 13, 116), and in the culinary art (Apicius, 8, 369). There is no reference either to *chartapola* (Schol. Iuv., 4, 24; Diomedes gramm., 1, 326), to the paper famine under Tiberius which caused the Senate to appoint administrators to regulate distribution (Pliny, *N. H.*, 13, 89), or to the trade's endeavor to improve the quality of the bond (*ibid.*, 13, 78-80). Somewhere between the heavy and light industries stands a group of manufactures of which the leather industry might be considered as fairly typical. There is a short paragraph on tanning (p. 260), another short paragraph on shoemaking (p. 225; shoes are mentioned also on page 17), but nothing on saddle and harness making which was considerable when beasts furnished the chief means of transportation, to say nothing of equipment for the plow. As a matter of fact, the index to *Rome and Italy of the Empire* does not show leather, or saddle, or harness. The words carriage, cart, chariot, wagon, vehicle, do not occur either; but there is a good paragraph on land traffic in the text (pp. 278 f.).

It is clear that Frank did not intend to make this work an exhaustive survey of all available economic data but that he aimed rather at focussing the reader's attention on the more significant evidence. This is obvious in every chapter, especially so in the eighth, "Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii," where he singles out a few aspects for a kind of treatment that may be best characterized as the sample method. He himself brings this method to our notice in so many words (p. 227; see also p. 233). His intimate knowledge of Roman topography and archaeology gives unique interest to the section on Rome. But I would hesitate to accept the statement that, since it required nearly 200 wagonloads per day for four years to transport the travertine of the Coliseum from the Emporium to its destination, and since the stone had to be hauled through the Forum, more or less disrupting business along the way, Vespasian came to the rescue by enlarging the Forum northward. Again Frank believes that Trajan enlarged Rome's harbor "at the mouth of the Tiber in contemplation of the difficulties of transport [of imported materials] involved in building his Forum," but the proof is lacking. By the way, "at the mouth of the Tiber" is all right if employed loosely; the harbor was one mile or more to the north.

Despite its weak points, chapter eight is among the most interesting. A veteran in the trade, Frank knows how to handle his

material. For instance, he remarks neatly: "Unlike normal cities, which pay for part of their imports by manufacture and the profits of trade, the capital balanced its expenditures by means of state salaries and the return on provincial investments." Or take this case. Trajan gave special privileges to those who milled and baked twenty-five bushels of wheat a day. On the basis of some figures of Pliny's, Frank translates this amount into a daily output of about 1800 loaves of bread. Or take the availability of over 500 shops for private traders in the great *basilicae* and *mercati* of the city. It leads him to conclude that the state from the earliest period had aided the machinery of distribution. (But this would show that the Republican Senate was not altogether unconcerned with commerce.) Even those familiar with Roman economics will be delighted with the new facts presented in these pages or the new interpretation of facts already known. For example, Vespasian refused to consider the use of a hoisting machine designed to reduce the cost of construction in public buildings, telling the inventor of this labor-saving device, "I must feed my poor." From this it is deduced that large numbers of free laborers were employed in public works, and that the wheat dole was continued so long because it served as part of the wages given to the indigent so employed.

The flaws herein noted as well as the author's words make it clear that this is an unfinished work. The large amount of footnotes in comparison with the practical absence of them in *Rome and Italy of the Republic* makes this still clearer. The editors have been wise in publishing them too. Their inclusion gives us a glimpse of what we have lost when death prevented the author from weaving this mass of information into those text patterns which he knew so well how to fashion.

This reviewer feels that neither Tenney Frank nor his editors should apologize for not inserting in this volume all the material they might have liked on the period from Septimius Severus to Diocletian. The economic phenomenon of the third century interests students of the Roman Empire only as the end of an era, or at best as the transition from one set of constitutional forms, social organization, and cultural orientation to another. The story of the Rome created by the Senate, by Caesar, and by Augustus ends with the Antonines. One may, therefore, regret that Tenney Frank did not concentrate on the first and second centuries to the total exclusion of the third. The study might have been more compact, much more of the pertinent material might have been collected and no doubt more effectively organized, and perhaps the whole book might have been finished by the author himself.

The *General Index* is an invaluable key to the contents of the five volumes. The editors warn us of certain limitations they saw fit to impose on the first index (of subjects). The statement that they have included the most important items is of course correct. Seventy-nine pages of print, two columns to the page, are impressive indeed; even so this index is not very much more than the sum of the indices of the several volumes. This would have been the place to catch the omissions and fill the gaps noted as each volume appeared, but the opportunity was not used to the fullest. A lack of rigorous planning leads to such inconsistencies as the following, noted at ran-

dom. *Argentarii, capulatores, cisiarii, horrearii, margaritarii, pistores, saccarii, stuppatores, urinatores* are listed; but *centonarii, frumentarii, gemmarii, gladiarii, palangarii, pelliones, plostrarii* are not. Curiously enough, *sagarii* is listed in the index to the fifth volume, but not in the *General Index*. Readers of the *Economic Survey* must then resort to roundabout ways to discover or recall some of the data in which they are interested, but there is no assurance that they will be rewarded for their trouble. They will eventually get at *pelliones* if they look under "Hides, Dealers in"; but not under "Wine," or under "Oil," or under "Olive oil," will they come upon any clue that might lead to *palangarii*.

The list of literary passages quoted in translation is good. But why stop there? A list of all literary references would have been of greater service. It would have shown at once how fully Frank, Grenier, Larsen, and the other contributors have exploited this mine of information. As it is, scholars must wait years before they can check what material has been neglected or inadequately utilized. Perhaps a luxury in other types of work, a complete list of literary source items is a necessity in a work of the scope and scale of the *Economic Survey*. Here is the place to urge upon American scholars in the ancient field the need of appending such lists to their publications. And not upon scholars only, but upon publishers too.

The documentary counterpart of this desideratum has been generously realized in the indices of inscriptions, papyri, ostraca, and parchments which fill no less than forty-nine pages. An accompanying list of abbreviations makes these indices more serviceable. This reviewer has happened to notice in the *General Index* the omission of *C. I. L.*, XIV, 255 cited in volume five, page 99. In this same volume five, Dessau's collection is generally referred to as *I. L. S.*, but one will look in vain for these siglae in the *General Index*; one has to look under the name Dessau to reach his quarry.

Let these minor observations on details mislead no one into thinking that the *General Index* is not of immense value to the readers of the *Economic Survey*. We are grateful to Professors Broughton and Taylor who planned it and to the group of devoted women who compiled it as a tribute to the memory of Tenney Frank.

In the center of all these activities stood Mrs. Frank, but she modestly assigns the whole credit to others.

Tenney Frank had as a scholar the will and energy characteristic of the sons of the Kansas prairie. Trained as a classicist, he grew by his native talent into the greatest historian of Ancient Rome this country has produced. When one looks at the friends and pupils who in less than one year from his death published the volumes under review, Horace's *Non omnis moriar* comes to mind. As a contributor to the *Economic Survey* this reviewer would like to say with them in the words of Tacitus: *Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potius, te immortalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine decoremus.*

VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA.

W. E. J. KUIPER. Two Comedies by Apollodorus of Carystus. Terence's Hecyra and Phormio. (*Mnemosyne*, Supplementum Primum.) Leyden, Brill, 1938. Pp. 101. 2.50 Guilders.

Here, as in his *Grieksche Origineelen en Latijnsche Navolingen*, Kuiper employs "every available method—from deduction where data exist to speculation where the field is unencumbered by facts" (Post, rev. in *A. J. P.*, LIX [1938], p. 367). The astonishingly precise results are so clearly and so plausibly presented that the reader is overawed by the brilliance that can discover so much from so little. The novelty of the method lies in its basic point of departure, viz., that any action belonging to Exposition, Preparation, Complication, Anagnorisis, or Dénouement must have originally appeared in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, or 5th act respectively. On this basis the Greek act divisions are determined by scrutiny of action, exits, and entrances. Divisions of Terence not measuring up to the quantitative norm of act length are therefore evidence of abridgment. The nature of the curtailment is then postulated and supported by the inconsistencies, contradictions, etc. in the remaining narrative. Thus the older method (Leo's) appears merely as the last step in Kuiper's.

The reconstruction must stand or fall on the soundness of the method as a whole, for the proofs adduced from the text to support the postulations are frequently so debatable that by themselves they could never have suggested, not to say proved, the results (see examples below). Acceptance of the whole requires complete adherence to the divisional theory developed in *Grieksche Origineelen en Latijnsche Navolingen*—adherence which I fear scholars will not give with the easy assurance of Kuiper (especially if Antipho must stand *in angiportu* over the entr'acte at *Epidicazomenos* IV-V). Moreover it is continually assumed that Apollodorus was so closely dependent upon Menander that he wrote on identical dramatic theories (established by Kuiper's own reconstruction of six Menandrian plays), and that Terence revised both exemplars in such a way that original similarities would remain. These exacting assumptions will not be widely admitted even after a sympathetic reading of *Grieksche Origineelen en Latijnsche Navolingen*.

The details of the originals are too elaborate to permit retelling. Suffice it to say that in the Έκνυρά Bacchis was recognized as Myrrina's daughter by Phantias of Imbros, and that her ring was not Philumela's, but an identical one which years ago Myrrina had similarly lost to Phantias. In the Επιδικαζόμενος Pamphila was Demipho's legitimate daughter and her recognition was so linked to that of Phanium that its omission necessitated a change in the other. Chremes originally pretended that Stilpo was a deceased friend and left all but Demipho in ignorance of the truth. Both plays had divine prologues and various extra verses in existing scenes. To the *Phormio* Kuiper adds three scenes; to the *Hecyra*, five, including an entire fifth act.

In such a pyramidal argument the weakness of individual points is the more serious. Any reader familiar with Plautus and Terence will add a large number to the following examples. The very existence of some inconsistencies may be challenged: the plural in *Hec.*

717 does not prove that both *senes* must begin the interview with Bacchis; are there really any repetitions in what Bacchis tells Phidippus, 770-92? The mention of maids when Bacchis enters Myrrina's house and the failure to mention them when she comes out does not prove a Terentian change, 792, 808. Some rest on Kuiper's feeling of "absurdity" or insufficient "firm connection" with the action (must a Greek *senex* have greeted his gods *outside* the house at *Ph.* 314?). The author seems to adopt the pre-Prescott theory that all Greek *vēa* was perfect and that every inconsistency must be Roman butchering. In some cases it is hard to find a basis for Kuiper's statements (Pamphilus does not exit "from sheer necessity" at *Hec.* 495). It is strange that the author, who usually over-emphasizes the argument from character, thinks that, because Chremes sees Demipho a line sooner than he sees Nausistrata (*Ph.* 796), it is proved that she did not enter before 797. On the contrary, if one may argue at all from character, seeing Demipho first is more natural, for Chremes has but one fixed idea: to find Demipho, tell him about Phanium, and to recover what they paid Phormio. His verbal slip is perfectly in character, and creates a tense and highly amusing situation by forcing him to explain his excitement without betraying himself to his wife. It is inconsistent that the author, who sturdily defends the marriage of half sister and brother (Plautus, *Epid.*), summarily rejects on moral grounds any consideration of Sostrata for Bacchis' mother. Kuiper seems over-anxious to rehabilitate every *meretrix* who marries a free youth, and his personal preference for a double anagnorisis prejudices the investigation. Thus he is compelled to deny categorically the disconcerting similarity between Bacchis and Habrotonon of the *Epitrep.*, and the efforts to show traces in Terence of Pamphila's free born character are little short of pitiful.

With scores of similar questions, each weakening the chain, the reader may finally conclude that Kuiper has constructed two magnificent comedies of the *vēa* type, but has fallen far short of proving that Apollodorus wrote them. The very excellence of the hypothetical restorations enjoins upon Kuiper the burden of showing why Terence changed them. Granted that Terence preferred to drop divine prologues in order to increase the surprise, it is flatly false to assert that this "forced" the dropping of half the anagnorisis (pp. 48, 93) in each play. The evidence for Terence's dislike of token methods of recognition is overstated. That Bacchis was left a *meretrix* because of the impropriety of being "illegitimate daughter of a respectable matron [why not?] and former mistress of the husband of her half-sister" is not convincing. The argument for the change in the *Phormio* is admittedly intellectual and so elaborate as to betray its weakness. The reader is warranted in his doubt that Terence would have spoiled so fine a play.

The only two citations from Donatus are employed with prejudice. Whatever evidence is derived from the note on *Hec.* 826, *re* the original form of Bacchis' monologue, depends on the exact number of lines to which the note refers. Difference of opinion is justified, especially if, as Kuiper fails to admit, Donatus had not the Greek before him. The note at *Ph.* 645 simply does *not* prove that Demipho had a daughter.

But no amount of criticism can deny the fact that this book is one of the finest attempts to restore the *véa* from the Latin texts. It is, of course, not definitive but will remain as a standard work to study, confirm, or refute. From the vast store of knowledge and the critical acumen of the author all students may profit. An unintentional but important by-product of Kuiper's work is the confirmation of the old truism that Plautus revised less carefully than did Terence. For, though both authors have concealed from us their originals, the very weaknesses of Kuiper's arguments are the result of Terence's having concealed the evidence so well.

It is to be hoped that the author continues the publication of his investigations in the English language. The occasional solecisms, which cause more careful re-reading, never interfere with the clarity of the argument. An unfortunate misprint on p. 86, line 6 (read *now* for *not*) causes momentary dismay by reversing the intended meaning. A tabular analysis of the originals conveniently codifies the results.

JOHN N. HOUGH.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

HENRIËTTE BOAS. *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium: Observations on Legends, History, Religion, Topography and Related Subjects in Vergil, Aeneid VII, 1-135.* (*Allard Pierson Stichting, Archaeologisch-historische Bijdragen, VI.*) Amsterdam, N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-mij, 1938. Pp. 260.

Presented as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Amsterdam, the present monograph has the expressed purpose (p. 1) of throwing "light on the historical and related questions in the *Aeneid*, as well as on the historical background of the work," so far as such questions rise in connection with the opening hundred and thirty-five lines of the seventh book. Though the writer had intended to carry the commentary to verse 192, she was obliged to stop (p. 3) at line 135 for want of space and also to leave untreated within the verses included "several greater and minor problems" originally envisaged for discussion.

The work is decidedly meticulous, and a vast amount of material has quite obviously passed through the hands of the writer in the preparation of her study. *Inventio*, however, rather than *dispositio*, marks the handling of the materials. For, while there is a necessary system imposed by the exigencies of a treatment following the order of the verses in the poem, one looks somewhat vainly for a consistent, crisp synthesis of the materials used and for a logical marshaling and appraisal of the countless details with which the pages teem. In her eagerness to present all possible explanations of a given problem and in her somewhat exuberant readiness to hazard additional elucidations of her own, the writer has at times confused rather than clarified a difficulty.

The reasoning is not always cogent, as not a few examples might be adduced to show. Thus, in the case of Circe's domain, the

gemitus iraeque leonum vincla recusantum (vv. 15-16) is tied up with the historical use of Circeii as a place of deportation to suggest that the straining of the lions at their chains "may be an underlining of the hypothesis of Fr. Sforza as to the hidden hostile intentions which Vergil in writing the Aeneid had against Augustus" (p. 49). The fine lines (vv. 25-36) on the mouth of the Tiber as the Trojans sail in give rise to six pages (pp. 61-66) of inquiry as to the motive and purport of such a description; this leads up (pp. 66-68) to a questioning of Vergil's reasons for *fluvio Tiberinus amoenus* (v. 30), as against possible uses of *Tiberis fluvio amoenus* and *Tiberis amoenus*. One is tempted to waive considerations of deeply pondered choice here and to suppose that to Vergil, as to us, the phrase may have recommended itself for sheer beauty and stateliness. The suggestion that the Laurentes (pp. 111-112) may have derived their name from the tree *laurus*, as from a progenitor, encounters the possible objection that *laurus*, being feminine in gender, could not stand for a male forebear; but the writer is willing to suppose that matriarchy was in vogue in primitive Italy and that the Laurentine may originally have been a matriarchal society. Elsewhere (p. 197) it is questioned why *sub alta . . . Albunea* (vv. 82-83) appears, with *Albunea* instead of *Albulae*, the probable name of the site; yet the writer does not seem to point out the impossibility of *Albulae* (or, here, *Albulis*) in hexameter verse.

Despite the detailed nature of the volume, careful readers will note omissions; and, of course, the writer herself does not profess to be all-inclusive. Interesting is her statement, after remarks on the use of *pars* in *et partes petere agmen easdem partibus ex isdem* (vv. 69-70), that "perhaps we should not enter too deeply into this question" (p. 145). One may wonder whether the line *corpora sub ramis depomunt arboris altae* (v. 108) needs any underlying motivation, such as Dr. Boas (p. 249) gives it by suggesting that it may foreshadow the dietary habits of Augustus. It was natural for Aeneas and Iulus and the Trojan chiefs, freshly disembarked, to dine in just such a picnic fashion. Further, as Mr. Mackail¹ points out, the verse is a combination of two half-lines from Lucretius (I, 258, II, 30), a sufficient reason for its use by Vergil.

A conscientious effort has been made to employ all pertinent studies, and it may be captious to cite absences. Yet a reference to Miss DeGraff's dissertation on Naevius² would have been in place in the author's remarks on the rise of the Aeneas-story (pp. 20-21); and, in view of the generous use made of the Blackwell "Virgilian Studies," the failure to mention Butler's edition³ of the sixth book of the *Aeneid* is a bit surprising.

English is not a native tongue for Dr. Boas; her willingness to use that language, however, rather than Dutch, and thus to make her book more widely accessible, is truly commendable. Hence one

¹ *The Aeneid: Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930), p. 262, *ad loc.*

² DeGraff, *Naevian Studies* (Dissertation, Columbia University: Geneva, W. F. Humphrey, 1931); see ch. i, "Aeneas the Roman."

³ Butler, *The Sixth Book of the Aeneid: with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1920).

approaches only with a feeling of ungraciousness a criticism of her English. The lapses are regrettably frequent, in idiom, punctuation, and technical presentation. "August" is frequent for "Augustus," paralleling the use of "Tibull" (p. 154) and "Properce" (p. 173). American readers would find difficulty with "5 KM to the West of Tibur" (p. 195); "Aeneads" is frequent for the "Aeneadae"; and there are numerous puzzling formations, technical in character, such as the designation of the sheep (p. 212) as a "lustrations animal." The slips in general presentation are fairly numerous; examples are seen in "Hor. Sat. I, 50" (p. 84, note 26); "pedibus per mutuuum nexis" (v. 66) for "per mutua" (p. 135); the faulty use of double quotation marks within double quotation marks (pp. 143-144); further, the printing of suprascript numerals to call attention to footnotes, but followed by the half parenthesis, is, of course, not English or American usage. An interesting lapse in the bibliography is the placing (pp. 252-253) of six studies by W. Warde Fowler under 'W' rather than 'F,' as if the name were a hyphenated "Warde-Fowler."

For the advanced student of the *Aeneid*, however, Dr. Boás has provided a very useful gathering of detailed and technical material on the opening lines of the seventh book. To present so much in one volume, and in a text which is a model of legible and attractive print, is to perform a genuine service.

WILLIAM CHARLES KORFMACHER.

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY.

WILLIAM COFFMAN McDERMOTT. *The Ape in Antiquity. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 27.)* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. xii + 338; 10 plates. \$5.00.

This learned and many-sided book has grown out of a dissertation suggested by Professor David M. Robinson. The author has already published two papers on the ape in Greek and Roman Literature in *T. A. P. A.*, LXVI (1935), pp. 165-175 and LXVII (1936), pp. 148-167. The present monograph is based for nomenclature and identification on D. G. Elliot, *A Review of the Primates (Monographs of the American Museum of Natural History, I-III [1913])*. Ape is used as a general term, monkey for an ape with a tail, and baboon for the hamadryas baboon or the dog-headed cynocephalus, the sacred animal of Egypt.

Part I, the general account of the ape in the different countries, begins with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Syria in Chapter I; then follow the spread of the ape in the eastern and western Mediterranean (Chapter II), the geographical and historical knowledge (Chapter III), and the biological and miscellaneous knowledge of the ape (Chapter IV). Chapter V describes the ape as a pet and a source of humor, Chapter VI as an evil beast. Part II brings a catalogue of the representations in art, 605 numbers, many of

which are used to illustrate the general account. This is followed by a bibliography and an index. Sixteen objects are published on 10 plates: 6 primitive figurines, a black-figured Attic cylix, a fragment from a Cabirium vase, a vase in the shape of an ape's head and one in the shape of an ape, a terracotta relief of a gorilla with its young, a mosaic and a marble relief, and three terracotta lamps. Only published material is used, but this seems to be as complete as could be expected. For the Egyptian material use might have been made of the wonderful modern publications of Nina de Garies Davies, *The Tomb of Rekhmere* (1935), Pls. VII and XIV, and others instead of the inexact color plates drawn by Wilkinson in 1878.

The knowledge of the ape was spread from Egypt by means of figure vases and amulets to the Aegean Islands, Syria, and the Greek mainland. Corinthian vases in the shape of squatting apes imitate Egyptian faience vases. In contrast to Egypt, the ape had no religious significance in Greece, and therefore it is not treated with respect but is a roughly handled pet. In Mesopotamia apes are not indigenous, but representations influenced by Egypt and perhaps India are found from the third millennium to the Hellenistic period (cf. E. D. van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* [1930], pp. 180-2, Nos. 893-907). The Phoenicians probably are responsible for making the ape familiar in many sections in which it was not indigenous. But the Cretans had already put them on seals, made figurines, and painted the splendid blue monkeys, probably greenish guenos, on the wall of the House of the Frescoes (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, 2, pp. 447 ff., Pl. X). Next are the silver bowls from Cyprus and Praeneste with the hunting of a gorilla (Densmore Curtis, *Memoirs of the American Academy of Rome*, III [1919], pp. 38 ff., Pls. 20-21; Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, pp. 463 f., No. 4550). Figurines are frequent in Rhodes and Boeotia, but they come from all parts of the islands, the mainland, and Asia Minor. In literature they appear from the seventh century onward.

In the western Mediterranean the Barbary ape from the north coast of Africa was in an early period known to the Etruscans (cf. pp. 28 ff.), and from them it was taken over by the Romans as simia. The paintings in the Tomba della Scimmia and Tomba Golini or dei Velii show the apes as pets on the leash without religious significance (Ducati, *Storia dell' Arte Etrusca*, I, pp. 315 f., 412 f.; II, Pl. 133, Fig. 345; Pls. 183-4, Figs. 464-6). In the Roman Empire the apes are more frequent than in the Republican period. Thus most of the works given by the author to the artistic tradition in Egypt, pp. 49 f., belong to Roman art, when Egypt had become a province of the Roman Empire under Augustus and thus interest in Egyptian landscape and fauna had been stimulated, so that these representations have nothing to do with Egyptian art tradition. Thus also the mosaic of Praeneste, No. 485, used for the chapter on Ethiopia, pp. 65 ff., gives a panorama of Egypt as the Romans saw it, not as the Egyptians did. McDermott rightly dates the mosaic in the period of the Emperor Hadrian, not of Sulla, as Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*, I, pp. 50 f. and 83 ff., had done.

The author displays in general sober judgment in interpretation.

He thus refutes the fantastic ideas of Anna Roes, who sees in the ape, as in everything in geometric art, solar symbols (cf. note 5 on pp. 26 f.); and the equally unjustified idea of Eisler (*Orpheus der Fischer*, text to Pl. XXX and *Vorträge Bibliothek Warburg*, II, 2 (1922-3), p. 14, Fig. 6; p. 68 and p. 111, note 3), that the representations of Orpheus playing among the animals and the ape imitating Orpheus on the mosaic of Sousse, No. 489, Pls. VI-VII, are pagan persiflage of Christ as the good shepherd.

The story of Hanno and the gorillas, discussed on pp. 51-55, is interesting in the period of Tarzan, but it is probably of no greater scientific value than the books of Edgar Rice Burroughs. Apes certainly did not perform in the theatre, but in the circus (cf. pp. 121 f. and 299, No. 502 with 313 f., No. 554). I cannot believe that the only bone figurine of an ape with swastikas on his breast, No. 288 (pp. 210 f.), is meant to be the caricature of an actor. If the large mouth pulled to the side in a comico-tragic way reminds one of a mask, the same is true for many other apes like the terracotta monkey No. 172 in Berlin (Schneider-Langyel, *Griechische Terrakotten* [1936], Fig. 99).

It was a difficult task to arrange the mass of variegated material in a catalogue, which makes up more than half of the book (pp. 159-324). McDermott groups the material into: Chapter I. Figurines, Chapter II. Vases, Chapter III. Paintings, Mosaics, and Reliefs (excluding vases). This part and particularly the third chapter is the weakest part of the book. The author has attempted to keep the order within the subdivisions chronological. This has been achieved for the single divisions of the figurines, which are divided into A. Terracotta, B. Bronze, C. Miscellaneous material. But there are too many subdivisions which overlap. Among the eleven subdivisions of the terracottas no. 4 "apes' heads" and no. 11 "molds for apes" are examples of this; but also among the bronzes are figurines which belong to the subdivisions of terracottas, like Nos. 189-197, which would belong to A8, apes wearing some type of garment. The vases decorated with reliefs, II A 2, overlap with B, molded figure vases, as well as with Chapter III B, reliefs (excluding vases). I do not see the reason why they are separated from each other by the long list of paintings and mosaics. The whole list of reliefs, Nos. 497-605, is composed of too many different things. The terracotta lamps, Nos. 514-564, belong to terracotta relief vases. The seals III B 7, are separated by B 6, coins, from the gems, B 5, to which they belong, as gems were mostly used as seals. The chronological arrangement breaks down sadly when the Mycenaean seals are put at the very end of the catalogue. No. 496 ought to be cancelled, as there is no ape on this Orpheus mosaic.

The bibliography for each number is careful and full. There are few omissions: No. 325, the phrygian vase at Catania: Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.*, XV (1900), pp. 268 f., Fig. 2. Bieber, *Denkmäler*, p. 143, No. 107; *idem*, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, p. 264, Fig. 357. Very few clerical errors: p. 17, 4th line from end, read "by no means." Sometimes sources of different periods are thrown together too closely. Thus Sophocles, *Ichneutae*, presented in ca. 410 B. C., is quoted on p. 44 to illustrate the Hieroglyphica of ca. 400 A. D. Furthermore, the word ape is here used by Sophocles

not at all to illustrate the appearance of the choreutae, which was that of the satyrs, but as an abusive nickname (cf. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, pp. 15 ff.).

Despite these little mistakes the book is a model of a reliable and exhaustive monograph. It would be desirable soon to have a similar one on horses, which is being prepared by S. D. Markman, a graduate of Columbia University.

MARGARETE BIBER.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

PAUL SCHNABEL. *Text und Karten des Ptolemäus*. Leipzig, Köhler, 1938. Pp. vii + 128; 8 plates. Buckram M. 10; paper M. 8.

This is Volume II of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde*, the first German historico-geographical collection of source material ancient and modern, of which three volumes have already appeared, edited by Professor A. Herrmann of Berlin with the coöperation of a score of German and Austrian scholars.

So many studies of Ptolemy's *Geography* have appeared in Germany since the World War that critical research in this field may almost be said to be a German undertaking. Most of these studies have been concerned with the geographical content, but a few, of which the present volume written primarily for geographers is a landmark, with the history of the text and its relationship to the accompanying maps. The author, a professor at Halle, is well known for his Ptolemaic researches and has been engaged on the present work since 1930, when his essay "Die Entstehungsgeschichte des kartographischen Erdbildes des Kl. Ptolemaios" appeared in the *Sitzb. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Phil.-hist. Kl., XIV.

The clarification of the history of the text of the *Geography* is the major problem in Ptolemaic research, important for philological and historical geographers and for our knowledge of the lands of the Roman Empire. Hitherto it has been difficult even for philologically trained users of the work to extract from existing editions a satisfactory picture of the two recensions of the text which have survived from antiquity and have been generally regarded as Ptolemaic, and which are at the basis of all surviving Greek manuscripts, forty-six of which are extant. Ever since G. J. Voss in the middle of the seventeenth century first maintained that the maps which accompany certain MSS did not go back to Ptolemy but were the work of an unknown Agathodaemon of uncertain date, the question has been argued whether Ptolemy drew the maps or they were the work of late Byzantine scholars who drew them on the basis of the original text.

Recently the problem has been attacked by several scholars, notably by C. Müller ("Rapports sur les manuscrits de Ptolémée," in *Arch. des missions scient. et litt.*, 2^e Série, IV [1867], pp. 279 f.), O. Cuntz (*Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus*, 1923, pp. 1 f., rev. by the writer in *Amer. Geogr. Rev.*, Apr. 1927, pp. 349-50), L. Renou (*La géographie de Ptolémée, l'Inde*, 1925, pp. v f.), and

above all by J. Fischer in *Tomus Prodrromus* of his monumental *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas gr. 82*, I-IV, 1932 (rev. by the writer in *A. H. R.*, July, 1933, pp. 726-7). The latter regarded the problem whether the maps were a genuine inheritance from antiquity or a creation of the 13th-15th centuries as so important that he devoted his life to its solution and, through his exhaustive study of the Greek MSS which contained maps, came to definite conclusions: (a) that the view that Ptolemy added no maps to his text was contradicted by various passages which prove without doubt that he added a world-map and several sectional ones, and that Ptolemy merely "prepared material" for maps rests on a false rendering of a passage in the text; (b) that the world-maps accompanying some of the MSS cannot go back to Ptolemy, since they do not correspond with his text; and (c) that the maps of our best preserved MS—*Vaticanus Urbinas*—were not drawn by the author of that MS on the basis of its text.

Schnabel, who acknowledges his indebtedness to Fischer, is opposed, however, to his statement that he could predicate the genuineness of the preserved sectional maps, since he has not proved this, but has omitted this striking circumstance: while he has adduced evidence that the maps in the *Urbinas* were not drawn on the basis of that text, he has overlooked the possibility that they might well have been drawn supplementary to one of the many codices from which the *Urbinas* is derived. Thus he did not settle the question whether they went back to Ptolemy or not.

Schnabel's problem is manifold, first to try to settle the relationship of the various maps to the history of Ptolemy's text and of their content to the two ancient recensions of the text; to discuss the age and origin of these recensions and how far the maps owe their origin to the author of one or the other; and, finally, to answer the question whether the maps were the work of the authors of the recensions or were found by them already at hand when they wrote. Most of the discussion occupies the first three chapters which are concerned with the manuscripts, their text-families and text-groups, and the text-recensions, while in the last the author discusses the maps appended to certain manuscripts and their genuineness.

While seven of the twenty-one "important" MSS—X, A, N, S, Z, V, C—have no maps, six—K, F, V, R, O, and D (daughter MS of V)—contain maps and two others—W, G—may once have had them. The world-map at the end of Bk. VII of the *Geography* appears in two MSS; and twenty-six sectional ones found in the text of Bk. VIII in three—K, V, *Fragm. F* (world-map missing in the last); the world-map at the end of Bk. VII and the 64 sectional maps in Bks. II-VII appear only in MSS O and the predecessor of A; while the twenty-six sectional maps at the close of the text appear in R and the predecessor of X. In this complicated analysis Schnabel concludes that wherever the evidence shows that the maps contain material which can be proved older than the text of the recension to which they belong, if this material can be shown to be genuinely Ptolemaic but has got lost in the text of that recension, then we can treat the maps, despite their manifold later reworking, as "in letzter Linie" the work of Ptolemy himself.

Since the six oldest MSS—X, K, F, U, G, V—date from the

thirteenth century, none being older than A. D. 1200, they were written over a millennium after Ptolemy's death—which, at the latest, was *ca.* 175. Consequently, between Ptolemy's original text and these oldest MSS all sorts of intervening copies—"Mittelglieder"—, later lost, may have existed. Thus Schnabel rightly finds it absurd to believe that a Byzantine codex of *ca.* 1200 can have preserved the original text of the *Geography* or that Ptolemy was the last to have touched the work, to say nothing of the supposition that no change was made in the drawing of the maps, rough drafts of which by his pupils must have been in circulation and published after the master's death.

In two ways Schnabel had the advantage over his predecessors. Through his travels in Italy, France, England, and elsewhere, he was able to study all the important MSS on the spot and to make photographs of most of them; and he was the first to be able to use the codex *Constantinopolitanus Seragliensis* 57—which he regards as more important than the *Urbinas*—discovered in 1927 by A. Deissmann and published in 1930. Nor should we omit reference to the important supplements contributed by the general editor after illness in 1935 forbade the completion of the volume by the author. Here he has drawn two survey tables (pp. 120-1); one of these is a genealogical tree showing "the most important" Greek codices and their maps in the two recensions Ξ and Ω with their text- and family-groups, preserved and lost MSS of the 13th-15th centuries, etc.; the other lists all known Greek codices of the *Geography*, in one column twenty-one important ones from the point of view of text criticism, in the other the twenty-five unimportant ones. Here Schnabel's unified system of notation is used, Latin capitals to designate the important ones, and Latin lower-case letters for the unimportant, an improvement over Müller's earlier mixed notation by Latin and Greek capitals for both texts. But the editor's chief contribution is the inclusion of reproductions for the first time of the four best preserved African maps from the *Constantinopolitanus* (Pls. I-VIII).

Through his careful examination and analysis of the entire complex of Ptolemaic manuscripts of the *Geography*, Schnabel has laid a new foundation for the future recovery of a critical text, attempted so often by his predecessors. He has clarified the question of the relationship between text and maps and thus has immeasurably advanced Ptolemaic research. This little book will prove indispensable for all future scholars who use the *Geography* in any way.

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

EINAR HÅRLEMAN. De Claudiano Mamerto Gallicae Latinitatis Scriptore Quaestiones. Uppsala, A. B. Lundequistka Bokhandeln, 1938. Pp. ix + 103. Diss.

The reputation of Claudianus Mamertus, the philosopher-theologian of fifth century Vienne and friend of Sidonius, is based upon his able defence of the incorporeity of the soul against the corporeal

concept expounded by Faustus, bishop of Riez. This defence is embodied in his treatise *De Statu Animae*, in three books, dedicated to Sidonius. Since 1885, the year in which Engelbrecht published his edition in *CSEL* (vol. XI), little if any interest has been shown in Claudianus. It is only recently that this forerunner of Scotus and the schoolmen, as he is referred to, has begun to receive attention. In 1936 F. Bömer published a monograph *Der lateinische Neoplatonismus und Neupythagoreismus und Claudianus Mamertus in Sprache und Philosophie* (Leipzig, Harrassowitz), to which I shall return below. Bömer's work is followed by the volume under review.

"Quaestiones" as part of any title is vague. Hence to do justice to this dissertation a brief outline of its contents is indicated. In the "Exordium" (pp. 1-8) the author surveys the relation of the manuscripts. From an examination of several passages he argues cogently that Engelbrecht showed undue preference for the readings of *G* (*Vindobonensis*) while failing to evaluate properly *M* (*Lipsiensis*), which "ad contextum statuendum non minus quam reliquos universos vel etiā plus illis valere" (p. 5). Further proof of the great value of *M* is advanced in the first chapter (pp. 9-56), which discusses critically many passages in Engelbrecht's text. On the basis of this discussion Hårleman adopts many readings of *M* and corrects other readings which Engelbrecht and others, in disregard of the manuscript tradition, had introduced. These corrections are not haphazard but are supported by the author's solid knowledge of Claudianus' stylistic and grammatical peculiarities, which are fully analyzed. Some may be mentioned here: *cum* causal followed by both indicative and subjunctive; the impersonal use of *debet* and *potest*; the use of the present subjunctive for the imperative; excessive use of *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, etc. The author does well to compare some of these usages with those of Sidonius, Faustus, and other writers of Gaul.

I shall now turn to the third chapter (pp. 81-100), because it is really a continuation of the first. Here Hårleman examines the rhetorical element in Claudianus' work, parallelism, parallelism with homoioteleuton, the clausulae, and the use of the *oratio tripertita*, consisting of words or clauses symmetrically arranged into three cola, employed particularly when speaking of the Trinity and other religious matters. This examination again justifies Hårleman's defence of the readings of *M* and his restorations where Engelbrecht ignored the manuscript tradition. The chapters so far discussed are, then, a thorough review of the work of his predecessor and in textual matters constitute a solid advance.

Did Claudian translate a passage from Plato's *Phaedrus* (66 b-67 a = Claudianus II, 7) or did he derive it from a secondary source? This question which has vexed students of Claudianus is the subject matter of chapter II (pp. 57-80). Schanz (*Gesch. der röm. Lit.*, IV, 2, p. 547) believes that "Platons Dialoge sind ihm vertraut, wobei die Frage, ob er sie in der Ursprache gelesen hat, offen bleiben muss." Bömer (mentioned above) was of the opinion that Claudianus did not translate the passage from the original Greek but used a Latin translation of Plato which was published after Cicero but before Quintilian. Bömer's arguments do not carry conviction. While his philosophical approach to the problem (in which Hårleman is not interested) is unquestionably good, his treatment of Claudianus' *consuetudo loquendi* is somewhat sketchy. Here Hårleman is on

more solid ground because of his intimate knowledge of Claudianus' linguistic usages. He examines the passage from the syntactical, semasiological, rhythmic, and stylistic points of view and arrives at the plausible conclusion that Claudianus is himself the translator (pp. 71, 75-76, 80). This chapter also contains a short discussion of Claudianus' indebtedness to Cicero.

Hårleman's is a twofold contribution. By the evaluation of the readings of the *Lipsiensis* (*M*) and other textual observations he has contributed to the improvement of the text; he has also solved a literary problem by proving that Claudianus translated Plato. Hårleman writes a fluent and clear Latin and his book is well printed and rather well documented. One misses in the bibliography mention of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* and the *Glossaria Latina*. If clausulae are employed as a tool of criticism the contributions of H. D. Broadhead, *Latin Prose Rhythm* (Cambridge, 1922) and Susan H. Ballou, "The Clausula and Higher Criticism" (*T. A. P. A.*, XLVI [1915], pp. 157-171) ought to have been mentioned. One practice I find anomalous. Is a reader of a dissertation written in Latin helped or only confused by French versions of passages under discussion? I observed a similar procedure in another Uppsala dissertation, by E. G. Elg, *In Faustum Reiensem Studia* (1937). The use of Latin has the advantage of demonstrating the universality of scholarship. Why negate this advantage by the implied admission of Latin's inadequacy?

JACOB HAMMER.

HUNTER COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

L. A. A. JOUAI. De Magistraat Ausonius. Nijmegen, J. J. Berkhout, 1938. Pp. 282.

Ausonius, the last poet of the undivided empire, is of course one of the better known literary figures of the fourth century. Even so, one might be inclined to express some surprise that a book of almost 300 pages should be devoted to his career as a magistrate. The surprise, however, will disappear when one realizes that it was Ausonius' official career that was responsible, if not for his writing, then at least for his publishing. Accordingly it is practically impossible to treat the magistrate apart from the man of letters; nor has Dr. Jouai made any attempt to do so. His book is not confined to Ausonius' *cursus honorum*; it is a monograph on his whole life and works. It is true that, despite the fame of poems like the *Mosella* and the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, Ausonius can be regarded only as a second-rate poet (he himself, incidentally, claims to be a *grammaticus* or *rhetor* not a *poeta*); nevertheless his political, scholarly, and literary activities were such that most students of the fourth century would agree that he warrants a book of this length. Not but that one who tried to confine himself exclusively to Ausonius' official career at the court at Trier would have plenty to write about. For, although that official career occupied only some twenty years or less (365-383?) of the more than eighty that Ausonius lived, it nevertheless carried him into the very highest offices and was also

the means for his advancing his relatives and friends. Jouai does full justice to it, displaying an enviable familiarity with Ausonius' writings, prose as well as poetry (pp. 43-243). He describes in detail Ausonius' tutorship of the youthful Gratian and, after the latter's accession, the succession of important offices which Ausonius filled. He likewise investigates the appointments which Ausonius succeeded in procuring for members of his family; and this means that his book contains a complete account of Ausonius' family connections, forbears as well as posterity. Jouai does not shirk difficulties; and difficulties, particularly of the chronological sort, there are bound to be in the case of a man who hardly ever alludes to contemporary events in his own writings and is himself hardly ever mentioned in contemporary documents. Thus, the date of the composition of Ausonius' most famous work, his poem on the Moselle which he wrote with the encouragement of the emperor Valentinian, is a matter of dispute: Jouai ponders the question and on the internal evidence, especially lines 380 and 451, assigns it to 370. The questions whether Ausonius asserted much influence on Gratian and whether he was a Christian get similar careful treatment; and, as Jouai appraises the importance in the fourth century of every office that Ausonius filled, he is obliged to tackle such thorny problems as the *comitatus* in its various forms, Valentinian's relations with the senate, and the position of the senate in general at that time. The result is that historians, no less than students of Latin literature, will find much to interest them in this work; indeed they will find nothing less than an excellent picture of the empire in the fourth century. At times, perhaps, it may be doubted whether Jouai's passion to shirk no difficulty and to treat every aspect of his subject has not led him into some exaggeration. Thus, one feels sceptical when he suggests that Ausonius influenced the content and style of the legislation of the period or when he concludes, on psychological grounds, that Ausonius was vexed at his failure to fill the consulship a second time. Most of us, however, would conclude that the price of advance is frequently exaggeration.

Jouai also does not overlook the periods which Ausonius spent away from the court. Pp. 13-42 describe his life at Burdigala or with his maternal uncle Arborius at Tolosa before he was summoned by Valentinian to Trier (310-365). Pp. 244-252 similarly describe his last years in retirement at Burdigala after Gratian's assassination (383-393?). These periods combined cover a much longer period of time than did his official career, but most students find them of inferior interest and Jouai is therefore justified in allotting them proportionately less space.

Jouai, then, has succeeded in producing a book that is quite thorough and well rounded out. It is fully documented and is also provided with genealogical tables, a full bibliography, an index, and a French summary for Dutchless readers. One can confidently adduce it as an additional proof, if one were needed, that the countrymen of Erasmus are painstaking scholars.

E. T. SALMON.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY,
HAMILTON, ONTARIO.

Laureae Aquincenses Memoriae Valentini Kuzsinszky Dicatae, I.
(*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, Ser. II, No. 10.) Budapest, 1938.
Pp. 341; 80 plates. Pengö 40.

This volume is the first of a pair in honor of a distinguished scholar; it consists of sixteen studies dealing with Danubian subjects. Four of these articles are in Hungarian without any summary in a major language except a subtitle in the table of contents; they may be written off as a total loss to the generally available corpus of world scholarship. A few paragraphs of Latin, no matter how execrable, would have told us at least a minimum about the cults of Aquincum, while 120-odd pages of Hungarian merely erect to nationalistic pride a monument more resistant than bronze.

Articles are as follows: A. Betz, "Illyrisches-Keltisches aus dem Ager Carnuntinus," pp. 1 ff. (two first-century grave stelae); L. Bartucz, "Anthropologische Untersuchung des hunnenzeitlichen Grabes aus Szekszárd," pp. 8 ff. (in Hungarian); A. Brelich, "La Religiosità di Aquincum," pp. 20 ff. (in Hungarian); J. Csalog, "Ein Grab der Hunnenzeit in Szekszárd," pp. 143 ff. (in Hungarian); R. Egger, "Ein neuer Germanenstein," pp. 147 ff. (epitaph of a Qadian slave from Vienna); Fr. Eichler, "Nachlese zu den Sigillaten aus Brigetio in Wien," pp. 151 ff., including six text-plates (numerous corrections and supplements to Juhász, *Die Sigillaten von Brigetio*, and new decorated pieces by Comitialis, Onniorix, Reginus, and Respectus); Fr. Fremersdorf, "Rheinischer Export nach dem Donauraum," pp. 168 ff. (Rhenish glass, sigillata, black pottery, and terra cottas found along the Danube as far as Romania, principally observed by Fremersdorf in 1929; further investigation would reveal much more. The principal route was from Ladenburg on the Neckar via numerous stations to Kaimingen on the Danube; another was from Strassburg via Offenburg); S. Garády, "Die Feststellung der römischen Strasse Aquincum-Brigetio entlang der Arany-árok in Altöfen, Budapest," pp. 183 ff. (in Hungarian); K. Kiss, "Die chronologische Reihenfolge der Fabrikate des Töpfers Pacatus von Aquincum," pp. 188 ff. (in Hungarian with German translation; a brilliant and detailed analysis of the ceramic styles of Aquincum sigillata, distinguishing an "earlier potter" and his types from Pacatus who was partly contemporary with him and partly later, the former being a mere artisan imitating models imported from Lezoux and Rheinzabern while the latter was more original, working in three recognizable periods and two principal styles; some additional remarks on the Pannonian sigillata from Mursa/Osijek; profusely illustrated); H. van de Weerd and R. Lambrechts, "Note sur les Corps d'Archers au Haut Empire," pp. 229 ff. (known archery corps are listed; they were regularly recruited from the Orient—not locally—but were commanded by Italians; units of archers were augmented especially during and after Hadrian's principate in order to combat the Persians more effectively, but were also used widely throughout the Empire; *cataphractarii* are less numerous than light-armed bowmen); C. Praschniker, "Ein neugefundener Jünglingstorso aus Aquincum," pp. 243 f.; B. Saria, "Emona als Ständlager der Legio XV Apol-

linaris," pp. 245 ff. (this legion was quartered at Emona/Ljubljana under Augustus; under Tiberius it was removed to Carnuntum, and Emona became a *colonia*); A. Stein, "Zu den Kaiserdaten in der Mitte des III. Jahrhunderts," pp. 256 ff. (polemic against Mattingly's chronology in "The Palmyrene Princes and the Mints of Antiochia and Alexandria," *Num. Chron.*, 1936, pp. 89-114); R. Syme, "The First Garrison of Trajan's Dacia," pp. 267 ff. (I. The Military Situation, II. Legions in Pannonia and Moesia, III. Legions and Legates of Dacia, IV. The Remarkable Career of Maximus, V. The Defense of Dacia); J. Szilagyi, "Die römische Okkupation von Aquincum," pp. 287 (in Hungarian with German summary; a new fragmentary inscription of ca. A.D. 20 from Aquincum is discussed in connection with *Mon. Anc.*, V, 30); A. Alföldi, "Tonmodel und Relief-medailleurs aus der Donauländern," pp. 312 ff. (discusses these categories in relation to imperial and other festivals, and gives a preliminary catalogue of 59 examples; profusely illustrated).

Like its companions in the same series, this volume makes important contributions not merely to our knowledge of the Danubian provinces but also to a more general understanding of Roman antiquity.

HOWARD COMFORT.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE.

HUGH MACLENNAN. *Oxyrhynchus: an Economic and Social Study.* Dissertation, Princeton, 1935. Pp. 93.

The task undertaken in this monograph is an unusual one for the writer of a doctoral dissertation to attempt. We have here decidedly an extensive rather than an intensive study. A period of more than 700 years of the history of the town and nome of Oxyrhynchus is examined in a work of about 80 small pages, and a large part of the text contained in these pages consists of translations of the papyrus documents from that district. A treatise of this kind is obviously liable to the danger of "sketchiness," and this danger has by no means been escaped by Dr. MacLennan. The long period of preliminary study necessary for papyrological work has impeded, in all countries, the entrance of young scholars into the field, and the conflict between the difficulty of the subject and the pressure for the doctor's degree seems to be clearly illustrated by this dissertation.

Dr. MacLennan has sharply limited his study of the ancient and modern sources. He appears to have paid little attention to papyri from Oxyrhynchus which are not contained in the volumes of *P. Oxy.* or *PSI*; and, for the period of the principate, his study of modern historical work has been sharply concentrated upon Professor Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. The general economic and social trends which Rostovtzeff has traced in Egypt and in the Empire MacLennan follows out in brief chapters for Oxyrhynchus, presenting translations of documents mostly taken from *P. Oxy.*, and mostly those which Rostovtzeff has already cited to illustrate his observations.

In the treatment of the later period a similar bibliographical narrowness is evident; it can be illustrated by the fact that the author devotes about one-eighth of his dissertation to an account of the Apion estate (pp. 66-77), and discusses the other estates of the period with what seems to be complete unawareness of the existence of E. R. Hardy's important dissertation, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York, 1931).

An illustration of MacLehnan's unfamiliarity with the customary formulae of the papyri is given by his treatment (p. 79) of *P. Oxy.*, XVI, 1891. He implies that this loan agreement of A. D. 495 is a contract oppressive to the borrower. In order to establish this as a fact he would have had to compare it carefully with other promissory notes written under different conditions and at different times. If he had done so, he would have promptly discovered that there is nothing unfair or unjust, according to ancient usage, in the provisions of this agreement for interest payment or for collection in case of default. He takes the phrase (lines 19-20) "you shall have the right of execution upon both myself and all my property" as placing the debtor in imminent danger of serfdom—a serfdom which was the creditor's motive, he thinks, in making the loan. But phrases of this character occur in all sorts of contracts throughout the period from which we have Greek papyri, even in marriage agreements. That famous early document, the Elephantine marriage contract of 311 B. C., has an equivalent provision (*P. Eleph.*, 1, 12-13).

Without further analysis of the dissertation, we may conclude that, while its author has perhaps done as much work as the writer of the average doctoral dissertation and has doubtless considerably increased his own knowledge in the process, he has not succeeded in making a contribution which is of value to scholars. His informal style, however, makes his book rather interesting, and it may be useful for other purposes. Unfortunately it contains fairly frequent examples of inaccuracy in reference and quotation.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

CLINTON W. KEYES.

CH. MUGLER. L'Évolution des Constructions Participiales Complexes en Grec et en Latin. Paris, "Les Belles Lettres," 1938. Pp. 172.

The material which forms the subject of this monograph is taken from selected portions of the works of several authors regarded as typical of their age and literary form. The term *complex participial constructions* is to be understood as referring to those constructions in which a participle is followed by an additional participle, by a dependent clause having the same subject as the participle, by a dependent clause with a different subject, or by an absolute construction. The participles governing these expressions are them-

selves divided into five classes: the attributive participle (or rather, in accordance with current English terminology, the circumstantial participle in all its varieties); the participle as used after such verbs as *ὀρώ*, *παύσθαι*, etc., corresponding to the infinitive in *oratio obliqua*; and the three absolute constructions, genitive, dative, and accusative. Few grammarians give the dative absolute such free recognition as it receives in the present work, and one is tempted to ask whether the author has not overstated the matter when he speaks (p. 90) of *datifs réellement absolus*. Certainly the construction in question reached an advanced stage of development and nearly detached itself from syntactical dependence on the rest of the sentence, but in all the examples cited on pp. 89 ff. I can find none in which the dative substantive has not at least a trace of dependence on some other word, usually being taken as a dative of interest with the verb. See Kühner-Gerth, II, pp. 423 ff.

The Greek authors used are Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato; Thucydides marks the high point in the use of complex participial constructions; and it is he who first makes free use of the future participle. In Plato and, we are led to believe, in the other authors from the fourth century on, there is a reversion, not necessarily to a simpler sentence structure but to a style characterized more by the use of dependent clauses and less by that of participles.

In treating the Latin material the author takes care to point out the different nature of the problem: Latin in the first place had nothing like the variety of participles found in Greek, and the free use of participial constructions was, the author believes, foreign to the natural speech-habits of the people. Plautus in particular shows little inclination toward constructions of this type. The striking use of certain participial constructions in Caesar is observed and attributed to his fondness for brevity; but Cicero shows a strong reaction in favor of the use of clauses with finite verbs. The author's remarks on the Ciceronian usage have a particular interest; he places great emphasis on it and attributes it to a conviction on the part of the orator that free use of participles was not in keeping with the spirit of the language. However this may be, the constructions in question increased in frequency and complexity in the authors of the Empire, reaching their fullest development in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

The work casts light on many points of historical syntax, and its value is increased by the large number of statistical tables. Naturally the conclusions might suffer certain changes in detail if more material were studied, but the book would reach such proportions that the reader might have to do without the quoted passages and be satisfied with the statistics.

On p. 24 read VI. 7 for IV. 7; III. 3 for III. 4; on p. 35 read I 485 for 485; Ξ 203 for E 203 twice; on p. 36 $\delta\tau\iota$ avec *l'ind.* for $\delta\tau\epsilon$ avec *l'ind.*; on p. 135 XXVI. 6 for XXVII. 6; XXIX. 7 for XXX. 7.

JAMES W. POULTNEY.

Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century. Edited by E. A. Lowe. Part III, Italy: Ancona-Novara. (Edited under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale for the American Council of Learned Societies and the Carnegie Institution of Washington). Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. vii + 48. \$24.

Part III of Professor Lowe's indispensable work is characterized by the same thorough, careful, and intelligent scholarship which marked the previous volumes. In the arrangement and treatment of the material it follows the same general plan, with the exception of one small but helpful detail. Whereas hitherto a serial number was given only to the major portion of a divided manuscript, beginning with this volume every such manuscript, no matter how small the portion, will be given a serial number the first time it appears in the work.

Two volumes, this one and the one to follow, will deal with the manuscripts in the libraries of Italian cities which have been selected in alphabetical order. The cities included in this part are: Ancona, Assisi, Bologna, Brescia, Cava, Cividale, Florence, Ivrea, Lucca, Milan, Modena, Mombello, Monte Cassino, Monza, Naples, Novara. The plates present specimens from one hundred and two different manuscripts and, since in some cases more than one example is given, of almost two hundred different pages. The general treatment of the distinguishing features of these Codices Italici, with which must be included the Codices Vaticani contained in Part I, has been reserved for the Introduction to Vol. IV.

The fact that such great libraries as the Laurentian in Florence, the Ambrosian in Milan, the National in Naples have furnished a large share of the material for this volume is assurance enough of its interest and importance. For the expert palaeographer it must be a veritable store-house of treasures, containing as it does specimens of practically all types of Latin writing with the editor's careful and thorough description of every text. There are early papyri from Egypt and Herculaneum, including the Old Latin version of *Exodus* in Florence, which was purchased in 1937 (No. 294), and the first century fragment of the *de Bello Actiaco*, here produced for the first time by photographic process (No. 385); numerous plates of the Bobbio palimpsests; such important examples of Insular Script as the Bangor Antiphonary (No. 311) in Milan and the *Comm. in Psalmos*, ascribed to Theodore of Mopsuestia, with its Irish glosses (No. 326, also in Milan); two examples of Visigothic minuscule from Monte Cassino (Nos. 372-3). To the general reader also this volume offers much: the Ambrosian palimpsest of Plautus (No. 345), the Cod. Mediceus of Vergil; the Milan palimpsest containing the *Aeneid* with a Greek version (No. 306; cf. a similar "school edition" on a papyrus, No. 367, also at Milan in the Univ. Cathol. del Sacro Cuore); the papyri fragments in Florence of bits of the *Aeneid*, of Cicero's speeches, of Sallust (Nos. 287-288-289); the Naples palimpsest (Vind. 16 and Neap. iv, A, 8) of fragments of Lucan's *Pharsalia* (No. 392); the fifth century fragment in rustic capitals of Cicero's speeches (No. 363, at Milan).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL,
but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions
sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Adcock (F. E.). *The Roman Art of War under the Republic*. Cambridge, *Harvard Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. 140. (*Martin Classical Lectures*, VIII.)

Bates (William Nickerson). *Sophocles Poet and Dramatist*. Philadelphia, *Univ. of Pennsylvania Press*, 1940. Pp. xiii + 291; 6 plates; 4 figures. \$3.50.

Bigott (Edmund). *Die Komposition der Andria des Terenz*. Bochum-Langendreer, *Heinrich Pöppinghaus*, 1939. Pp. vi + 59. (Diss.)

Björck (Gudmund). *ἡν διδασκων*. Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im griechischen. Uppsala, *Almqvist & Wiksell*; Leipzig, *Otto Harrassowitz*, 1940. Pp. 139. Kr. 6. (*Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala*, 32, 2.)

Bronson (B. H.), Caldwell (J. R.), Cline (J. M.), McKenzie (Gordon), Ross (J. F.). *Five Studies in Literature*. (*Univ. of California Publ. in English*, VIII, 1 [1940], pp. 1-154.)

Carroll (Sister M. Borromeo). *The Clausulae in the Confessions of St. Augustine*. Washington, D. C., *Catholic Univ. of America*, 1940. Pp. xv + 89. (*Patristic Studies*, LXII.)

Couch (Herbert Newell). *Classical Civilization: Greece*. New York, *Prentice-Hall*, 1940. Pp. xxix + 577; frontispiece; map; 153 illustrations. \$4.65.

Deferrari (Roy J.), Fanning (Sister Maria Walburg), Sullivan (Sister Anne Stanislaus). *A Concordance of Lucan*. Washington, D. C., *Catholic Univ. of America*, 1940. Pp. vii + 602. \$6.

Delatte (A.). *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia, Tome II: Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des sciences*. Liège, *Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres*; Paris, *E. Droz*, 1939. Pp. viii + 504. (*Bibl. de la Fac. de Phil. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège*, LXXXVIII.)

Dialect Notes, VI, part XIX. Published by the *American Dialect Society*, Dec. 1939. Pp. 743-784.

Duckworth (George E.). *T. Macci Plauti Epidicus*. Edited with Critical Apparatus and Commentary in which is included the work of the late Arthur L. Wheeler. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. xiv + 464; 4 plates. \$7.50.

Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown. New York, *New York Univ. Press*, in coöperation with the Modern Language Association of America, 1940. Pp. xiii + 336.

Geer (Russel M.). *Classical Civilization: Rome*. New York, *Prentice-Hall*, 1940. Pp. xxiii + 414; 32 figures. \$3.00.

Green (Herman J.). *Anseÿs de Mes according to Ms. N (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 3143)*. Text, published for the first time in its entirety, with an Introduction. Paris, *Les Presses Modernes*, 1939. Pp. 458. (Diss.)

Haight (Elizabeth Hazelton). *The Roman Use of Anecdote*. New York, *Longmans, Green*, 1940. Pp. ix + 189. \$2.50.

Hutson (Arthur E.). *British Personal Names in the Historia Regum Britanniae*. (*Univ. of California Publ. in English*, V, 1 [1940], pp. 1-160.)

Kany (Charles E.). *Rounded Vowel E in the Spanish Diphthong UE*. (*Univ. of California Publ. in Modern Philology*, XXI, 3 [1940], pp. 257-276.)

Kelly (Thomas A.). *Saneti Ambrosii Liber De Consolatione Valentiniani*. A Text with a Translation, Introduction and Commentary. Washington, D. C., *Catholic Univ. of America*, 1940. Pp. xxi + 324. (*Patristic Studies*, LVIII.)

Kennedy (Charles W.). *Beowulf; The Oldest English Epic, Translated into Alliterative Verse with a Critical Introduction.* New York, London, Toronto, *Oxford Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. lxx + 121; frontispiece. \$1.65.

Klibansky (Raymond). *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages. Outlines of a Corpus Platonium Medii Aevi.* London, *Warburg Institute*, 1939. Pp. 58; 5 plates.

Lejeune (Michel). *Observations sur la langue des actes d'affranchissement delphiques.* Paris, *Klincksieck*, 1940. Pp. 157. 80 fr. (*Coll. linguistique publ. par La Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XLVII.)

Lundström (Vilhelmus). *L. Iuni Moderati Columellae Opera Quae Exstant, fasc. IV, Rei Rusticae Libros Sextum et Septimum Continens.* Göteborg, *Erasmus*, 1940. Pp. 157. 8 Kr.

Lutz (Henry F.). *A Neo-Babylonian Debenture.* (*Univ. of California Publ. in Semitic Philology*, X, 9 [1940], pp. 251-256; 1 plate; 2 text figures.)

Lutz (Henry F.). *A Recorded Deposition concerning Presentment for Tax Payment.* (*Univ. of California Publ. in Semitic Philology*, X, 10 [1940], pp. 257-264; 1 plate; 2 text figures.)

MacLennan (Hugh). *Oxyrhynchus. An Economic and Social Study.* Princeton, 1935. Pp. 93. (Diss.)

Macurdy (Grace). *The Quality of Mercy. The Gentler Virtues in Greek Literature.* New Haven, *Yale Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. xiii + 185. \$2.

Martin (Donnis) and Martin (Gladys). *Latin Poetry of the Empire. Selections edited with Commentary.* Boston, New York, etc., *Allyn and Bacon*, 1940. Pp. xviii + 417; 80 illustrations. (*College Latin Series.*)

Modern Language Quarterly, I, 1 (March, 1940). Seattle, *Univ. of Washington Press*. Pp. 126.

Moore (F. G.). *Livy VI (Books XXIII-XXV).* Cambridge, *Harvard Univ. Press*; London, *William Heinemann*, 1940. Pp. x + 519; 5 maps. (*Loeb Class. Library.*)

Pöbstgens (Paul). *Tibulls Ambarvalgedicht (II, 1).* Würzburg-Aumühle, *Konrad Tritsch*, 1940. Pp. vi + 91. (*Kieler Arbeiten zur klass. Philologie*, Heft VI.)

Ryberg (Inez Scott). *An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B. C.* London, *Christophers*; Philadelphia, *Univ. of Pennsylvania Press*, 1940. Pp. xiv + 247; 54 plates; in two parts. \$6. (*Studies and Documents* edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, XIII, parts 1 and 2.)

St. Amour (Sister Mary Paulina). *A Study of the Villancico up to Lope De Vega: Its Evolution from Profane to Sacred Themes, and specifically to the Christmas Carol.* Washington, D. C., *Catholic Univ. of America*, 1940. Pp. x + 131.

Seramuzza (Vincent M.). *The Emperor Claudius.* Cambridge, *Harvard Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. 328. (*Harvard Historical Studies*, XLIV.)

Sherwin (Reider T.). *The Viking and the Red Man. The Old Norse Origin of the Algonquin Language.* New York, *Funk & Wagnalls Co.*, 1940. Pp. xxvi + 340. \$2.50.

Stam (J.). *Prudentius Hamartigenia. With Introduction, Translation and Commentary.* Amsterdam, *H. J. Paris*, 1940. Pp. 274.

Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress organized and held in London by the Royal Numismatic Society, June 30-July 3, 1936, on the occasion of its centenary. Edited by J. Allan, H. Mattingly, E. S. G. Robinson. London, *Bernard Quaritch Ltd.*, 1938. Pp. xii + 490 + 15; xxvii plates.

Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1939. Edited by the late S. G. Owen. Bristol, *J. W. Arrowsmith, Ltd.*, 1939. Pp. ix + 96. 3s. 6d.

Zuntz (G.). *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri.* Bruxelles, 1939. Pp. 130. (*Extrait de Byzantion*, XIII [1938] and XIV [1939].)



AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY



VOL. LXII, 3

WHOLE No. 247

OUR CHANGING PROGRAM.¹

The Latinists of our Association have done much to broaden the program of our younger days. That we have not done more—that for instance unlike some of our scientific colleagues we are far from having taken the leadership in our subjects—is not wholly our fault. It has been difficult to persuade publishers to accept our researches, because printing has been unusually costly here and because buyers are limited. But conditions are improving. Our Association now has a respectable revolving fund, and it will grow as soon as we demonstrate its value; several universities provide liberal appropriations for good studies, and three great foundations have shown a willingness to give aid to humanistic work. No good investigation in Classical studies need now lie in obscurity for lack of publication funds.

A second difficulty has arisen from the fact that college presidents, discovering that their classical professors have disciplined minds and a fair command of English, have lured them into administrative, advisory, and editorial positions. They forestall refusal by urging that professors who have small classes must assume extra burdens. The argument is difficult to refute, and after a scholar enters the administrative office *nox est perpetua una dormienda*: he is lost to us. The way of escape is, of course, to prove a capacity for creative scholarship. And there are numberless tasks waiting to be done, partly by individual efforts, partly by groups cooperating under direction. May I not mention just a few of the more pressing ones?

¹ These suggestions for "tasks waiting to be done" were made in the author's unpublished Presidential Address delivered at the joint meeting of the American Philological Association and the Archaeological Institute of America, Dec. 26, 1929.

We Latinists have contributed very little to the library of commentaries. In fact, though our national Association has the largest number of professional members of any, we can lay claim to only some three or four of the hundred or more good commentaries on Latin texts. Though we are celebrating the Bimillennium of Vergil, there is no good interpretative commentary on Vergil's works in any language. Conington's, for instance, blows the chill air of the Teuffel-Schwabe era. Of Livy we have thirty-five books, not one provided with an adequate exegesis, not one treated by an historical scholar of deep knowledge and sane judgment and some practical sense of politics. Our school editions of parts of Livy are fairly good on ablatives and sub-junctives, but for exposition of the subject matter most of them draw from dissertations written by precocious continental doctorands who know as little about government and politics as a politician knows about philology. Each one of the thirty-five books of Livy would provide fruitful occupation for college teachers in search of a brain tonic.

Professors Pease, Sabine, and Smith have recently set an example of what needs to be done with most of the philosophical essays of Cicero, and there are at least twenty of Cicero's orations that deserve and cry for an illuminating commentary of the kind that Sternkopf has provided for a few of the *Philippics*. In Plautus we have only five of the twenty plays adequately studied for sources and linguistics, and not even these for dramatic values, despite Prescott's many excellent suggestions on how to proceed. In the study and illustration of Ovid—a rich source for the comprehension of Augustan society and literary ideals—, of Lucan, of Seneca, of Pliny the Elder, and of a dozen others we have but skimmed the surface. Pliny alone has scores of sections on the history of arts, crafts, and institutions that beg for exegesis. In most of these authors not only must we have a search into the grammar and sources—or hypothetical sources—but even more we want the authors moving in their environment and their phrases set in the stream of their own thinking and of the ideas of their time.

Then there is a large assignment that will require the co-operation of epigraphy, archaeology, and history. Pompeii, our only large segment of Roman civilization preserved for the eye, must be republished topographically. Much has been done for its architecture and painting, but the excavators' notes on the

evidence of the economic and social life have been neglected. The town ought to be resurveyed block by block, and every article, down to work-benches, hammers, and nails, reported, every room and shop reconstructed on paper in topographical order for the use of all specialists in Roman economics, society, and history. Pompeii is our one first-hand document and should be made legible.

Again Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* has unfortunately served its purpose and is waiting for its successor. A new generation of students, grown weary of out-moded juridical apriorisms and an obsolete conception of the Roman democracy, needs the facts of Roman political institutions arranged in a more realistic setting. Mommsen's own countrymen, who are also beginning to see the need of a drastic revision, will doubtless undertake the work someday. But there ought to be talent among our thousands to manage this inviting task. Or if the whole is too large even for coöperative work, let us for the present have monographs on the many chapters that call for revision: on the Senate, on the theory of Sovereignty, on the history of Alliances, on the theory of National Ownership, on Early Law in the light of present-day knowledge of history, and on a dozen similar themes.

And who will undertake the worthy life-work of writing a comprehensive history of the Republic, and of the Empire? A scholar who has come to us from Russia has shown what can be done in historical research with the facilities available here; but Rostovtzeff's great book begs for the investigation of a score of questions. Who will organize a group of men to write a complete history of Roman literature, a history that will not only reveal the continuity of literary motives and means but also realize the men and make them stand forth off the canvas? With all our devotion to high literary standards we must have trained by now a group of competent literary critics; or is our claim a mere pretense? How long must we wait for an historical Latin grammar written with some knowledge of the peoples who used the language?

In the vast field of the history of ideas what a rich harvest there would be for men properly equipped! Such work, however, must not be done in the spirit of the source-hunter, tracking down casual phrases, lines, and images in order to record the *Belesenheit* of some insignificant plagiarist; nor with the purpose of the propagandist who keeps the ledger accounts of debts to

•

shame a sales-resisting world into humble acknowledgment of past obligations. It must be a history of the continuity of significant ideas, those that take root again and bear fruit. And the investigator must know not only the soil out of which the ideas first germinated but all the conditions of the ground in which they took root again, so as to set forth honestly the share of those who had the wisdom to replant them for a new harvest.

In editing palaeographical facsimiles Rand, Morey, Lowe, and Robinson are proving what can be done here after the disasters of Europe halted the farseeing plans of pre-war days. America has wealth which can be made available. Will not someone organize a large plan to reduplicate the most valuable Greek and Latin manuscripts, so that we shall not have to be content with such inadequate reproductions as are promised for the Vatican Vergil?

And finally how long must we apologize every time we open our obsolete Latin lexicon? Money is not the lack here, for it can be found if only someone will prove himself ready to direct the work. Nor is there any reason for delay until the *Thesaurus* is complete. The Mediaevalists did not wait; they found a practical plan of coöperative work with their predecessors, and I know that we could do as much.

Such are a few of the tasks in the field of Roman studies that are demanding attention. America has reached her maturity. Europe now expects our men of affairs, our statesmen, and our scientists to lead to more effective work. They even invite our archaeologists to excavate the market place of old Athens. For some reason they seem to expect less of our classical scholars. Perhaps it is because men who are capable of building cathedrals are still playing with wooden blocks. Thirty years ago Charles Eliot Norton in an address to the Archaeologists at New Haven warned seriously against the danger of petty and aimless tasks of scholarship. What he said is as good doctrine for us as for them and as valid today as it was then, and with his characteristic words I close: "The true scholar . . . holds steadily to the main object of all study, the acquisition of a fuller acquaintance with life in all its ranges, of a juster appreciation of the ways and works of man, and of man's relation to that universe in the vast and mysterious order of which he finds himself an infinitesimally small object."

† TENNEY FRANK.

VERGIL AND THE FORUM OF AUGUSTUS.¹

In a short article in this Journal² the late Professor Tenney Frank discussed the republicanism of Augustus between 27 and 23 B. C. in connection with a passage in the sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid* and the forum of Augustus. He pointed out that the pageant of republican heroes in Vergil had its counterpart in the statues and *elogia* of the forum and perceived in both of them manifestations of an enthusiasm for the republican régime which was sincerely shared by the Emperor.

With regard to chronology Professor Frank demonstrated that there is no difficulty in associating Augustus' republican years with the period in which the sixth book of the *Aeneid* was composed. To summarize briefly, Vergil considered no part of the *Aeneid* sufficiently completed in 25 B. C. to be submitted to the Emperor's inspection.³ Yet after the death of Marcellus in the fall of 23,⁴ Vergil read Book VI to Augustus and Octavia.⁵ Augustus left Rome in the fall of 22⁶ and did not see Vergil again until he met him at Athens shortly before his death.⁷ Hence it may be concluded that the sixth book of the *Aeneid* was receiving its final form from 25 on and was finished by the fall of 22.

The forum,⁸ however, presents a chronological problem. The

¹ The substance of this article was first treated in a lecture delivered before the Classical Association of New England on March 31, 1939 (see the brief summary published in the thirty-fourth *Annual Bulletin* of the Association).

² *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), pp. 91-94.

³ *Vita* of Donatus, ll. 104 ff. (p. 7) in Brummer's edition; cf. Macrobius, I, 24, 11.

⁴ That Marcellus died after the celebration of the *ludi Romani* in September, 23 B. C. is clear from a combination of Propertius, III, 18, 19-20 and Velleius, II, 93. See the note in the Butler-Barber edition of Propertius, *ad loc.*

⁵ *Vita*, ll. 108 ff.

⁶ Augustus dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tonans on September 1 (*C. I. L.*, I², p. 328; Dio, LIV, 4, 2). He appears to have departed for Sicily very soon thereafter (Dio, LIV, 6, 1).

⁷ *Vita*, ll. 126 ff.

⁸ The most complete description of the forum Augustum since the last excavations is given by Degraffi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, 3

temple of Mars Ultor which occupied its center was vowed at Philippi in 42 B. C.⁹ but was not dedicated until forty years later.¹⁰ The forum proper was dedicated at the same time as the temple,¹¹ although press of business caused it to be opened to the public previously.¹² Is it likely, then, that the forum was being built some twenty years before its dedication or that the final plans had been drawn up by this time? Reason must be shown for assuming so long a lapse of time between inception and completion, if we are to connect the forum with Vergil and Augustus' republican years.

In answer Professor Frank called attention to the following facts. Augustus had little time or money for building during the stormy years before Actium.¹³ With regard to his forum he experienced difficulty in acquiring the necessary land,¹⁴ and the work of building moved forward slowly.¹⁵ The massive retaining wall which contained the niches for the statues must have been the first part of the monument to be built.¹⁶ Since the niches are an integral part of the wall, the statues which alone justify their existence must also have been part of the original plan. Moreover, the lettering and orthography of the *elogia* accord well with the style of the second decade B. C.¹⁷ In view of all these considerations, Professor Frank considered it a reasonable assumption that the statues of the forum were being made in the period when Vergil was writing his sixth book and Augustus had proclaimed the republic restored to the senate and the Roman people.

(*Elogia*), pp. 1-8, which contains photographs and a plan. For literary evidence and bibliography, Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, pp. 220-223, is still indispensable.

⁹ Suetonius, *Aug.*, 29, 2; Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 569-578.

¹⁰ The temple was dedicated on August 1, 2 B. C. (Dio, LX, 5, 3; Velleius, II, 100). On the significance of the date see W. F. Snyder, *Yale Classical Studies*, VII, pp. 231-232. On Ovid's incorrect dating see Frazer's comment on *Fasti*, V, 551.

¹¹ Dio, LV, 10.

¹² Suetonius, *Aug.*, 29, 1.

¹³ Cf. Frank, *loc. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

¹⁴ Suetonius, *Aug.*, 56, 2.

¹⁵ Macrobius, II, 4, 9.

¹⁶ Frank, *loc. cit.*, p. 94. See the photographs in Degraffi, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 and 3, and in Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

¹⁷ Frank, *loc. cit.*, p. 94.

Now I am in complete agreement with Professor Frank's views. But I also believe that they can be further corroborated by a different approach to the problem, an approach made through the detailed study of certain passages in Vergil. In undertaking such a study here I am chiefly interested in attaining a wider understanding of the passages themselves and of the motives which created them. But the results obtained cannot help but furnish a firmer foundation for the chronology of the forum and our conception of Augustus' attitude toward Rome's republican past.

In the seventh book of the *Aeneid* Aeneas reaches Latium. The terrifying prophecy of Celaeno is painlessly fulfilled and the Trojans know for certain that they have reached their new home at last. Envoys are sent to King Latinus. The king receives them graciously in the palace built by his grandfather Picus. It is described as follows (170-189):

- 170 Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis
 urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici,
 horrendum silvis et religione parentum.
 hic sceptrum accipere et primos attollere fascis
 regibus omen erat; hoc illis curia templum,
 175 hae sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete caeso
 perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis.
 quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
 antiqua e cedro, Italusque paterque Sabinus
 vitisator curvam servans sub imagine falcem,
 180 Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago
 vestibulo astabant, aliique ab origine reges,
 Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi.
 multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma,
 captivi pendent currus curvaeque secures
 185 et cristae capitum et portarum ingentia claustra
 spiculaque clipeique ereptaue rostra carinis.
 ipse Quirinali lituo parvaque sedebat
 succinctus trabea laevaue ancile gerebat
 Picus.

The most recent discussion of this building is contained in an article on architecture in the *Aeneid* by C. C. Van Essen.¹⁸ Calling it the palace of Latinus, he finds it comparable to the other palaces described in the *Aeneid* although "d'un type

¹⁸ *Mnemosyne*, VII (1939), pp. 225-236.

quelque peu anormal."¹⁹ The abnormality, in his opinion, consists in the vestibule with its statues and trophies of war and the sacred character of the edifice as a whole; otherwise, he sees the peristyle of the historic Roman house reflected in the *centum sublime columnis* (170).

But while Van Essen would explain the building according to his thesis that the architecture in the *Aeneid* is a general reflection of the architecture which Vergil saw about him in Italy, especially the architecture of the second century B. C.,²⁰ Servius is more precise. He identifies it with the palace of Augustus on the Palatine.²¹ The reason for this is obvious. Servius considered the building described by Vergil to be the palace of Latinus, king of Latium. Its counterpart in Vergil's time would naturally be the palace of Augustus. The adjective *augustum* applied to the building by Vergil must have seemed to put the identification beyond doubt.

Looking closer, however, we shall see that both the general characterization of Van Essen and the precise identification of Servius leave much to be desired. Vergil first calls the building the palace of Picus (171: *regia Pici*). It contains the ancestral throne of the kings of Latium (169), and it is there that they solemnly inaugurate their reigns (173-174). But it is also described as a temple of the gods (174; 192) where sacred banquets are held (175-176), and the temple serves as a senate house in addition (174).

The poet then turns to the vestibule which he treats separately from the rest of the building (177-189). Here the statues of cedar representing the ancestors stand in order (177-178). Italus, Sabinus, Saturnus, and Janus are mentioned specifically, but they are not the only ones. For we are told of other kings *ab origine* (181) and men who suffered the wounds of war fighting for their country (182). The vestibule is also adorned with chariots, axes, and other spoils taken from the enemy (183-186). Picus himself, grandfather of Latinus, is portrayed seated, clothed in the *trabea* and holding the augur's staff (187-189).

The emphasis on the vestibule is striking. In the historic Roman house it was of minor importance in comparison with the larger apartments beyond. Yet Vergil describes the vestibule

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236.

²¹ Servius on *Aeneid*, VII, 170.

more lavishly than the main part of his building. In fact, he tells us very little about the physical aspect of the latter, although he clearly defines the purposes which it served. The opposite is true of the vestibule: a graphic description of its appearance, but nothing about the use to which it was put. What, then, we may ask, was Vergil's intention in so ordering his description and why did he give particular prominence to the vestibule?

To begin with the statues which were its chief adornment, they cannot be interpreted as a poetical reflection of the historical *imagines* which had their place in the houses of the Roman nobility.²² As we know from Polybius,²³ it was customary in his time for a death mask in wax to be made of a deceased member of a family who had attained political distinction (a curule magistracy) during his lifetime. Such a mask (*imago*) was kept in a wooden shrine in the family atrium²⁴ and to it an inscription (*titulus*) was appended identifying the person and recording his achievements. Somewhat later, it also became customary to make busts of the deceased,²⁵ although these busts, as I have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere,²⁶ never supplanted the masks so long as private funerals were held in which actors impersonating the distinguished dead of the family escorted a newly deceased member to his final resting place. Finally, under the Empire, we hear of full length statues of distinguished ancestors in the atria of private homes.²⁷ These last, of course,

²² In addition to the general discussions of *imagines* by Blümner, *Röm. Privataltertümer*, pp. 493-495, Courbaud, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, III, pp. 412-414, Marquardt, *Privatleben*², pp. 241-245, 353-354, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, I³, pp. 442-447, and Schneider-Meyer, *R.-E.*, IX, cols. 1097-1104, see the more recent studies of Annie Zadoks Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome*, Allard Pierson Stichting, Bytragen I (Amsterdam, 1932), pp. 22-46, 97-110 and H. T. Rowell, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XVII (1940), pp. 132-138.

²³ Polybius, VI, 53-54; cf. Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXV, 6.

²⁴ Polybius, VI, 53, 4. The most recent discussion of these shrines is by Erich G. Budde, *Armarium und kußwörts* (Würzburg, 1940), pp. 46-49.

²⁵ Jitta, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-46.

²⁶ Rowell, *loc. cit.*, pp. 136-138.

²⁷ The *locus classicus* is Juvenal, 7, 125-128, where a triumphal statue of an ancestor and an equestrian statue of the present owner of a private house are mentioned as standing *in vestibulis* (see Mayor's comments *ad loc.*). Portrayal of the owner while alive is far removed from the spirit of the traditional republican *imagines*. The custom of placing the

furnish the closest analogy to the statues in the vestibule of Vergil's building. But here it must be emphasized that we do not know of any as early as Vergil,²⁸ that there is no evidence for large groups, and, finally, that they did not supplant the usual masks or busts²⁹ but must be considered rather as isolated works of art than as a late development of the traditional custom of ancestral *imagines*.

In the second place, the persons portrayed in Vergil's building are heroes or divinities from Italy's mythical past who are not, with the exception of Saturn and Picus, directly related to Latinus. This again prevents us from interpreting their statues as *imagines* in the traditional family sense of the word. For, according to the *ius imaginum*,³⁰ it was only members of the *gentes* of husband and wife who were represented in the atrium of the home.³¹ Even if we grant Vergil a generous poetic license and

statues of great men, not necessarily ancestors, or of personal benefactors in the atria of private houses is attested by Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXIV, 17; cf. Seneca, *De Ben.*, V, 8, 2. To the rest of the evidence collected in the general discussions cited in note 22 *supra* we may add the *effigiem patris Siliii consulto senatus abolitam* which the younger Silius had preserved in the vestibule of his house (Tacitus, *Ann.*, XI, 35; cf. the meaning of *effigies* in XI, 38 and Rowell, *loc. cit.*, p. 137, note 55).

²⁸ A possible exception might be found in the statement of Vitruvius, VI, 3, 6: *imagines item alte cum suis ornamentis ad latitudinem alarum (atrii) sint constitutae*, which Mommsen interprets as referring to statues, chiefly because of the mention of *ornamenta* (*op. cit.*, p. 445, note 1). But *ornamenta* in a general sense might well refer to the *stemmata* and *tituli* which accompanied busts as well as the crowns and togas of the busts themselves. The word *alte* also points to busts as they would have to be placed on high to be seen properly, which does not apply to full length statues. In Morgan's translation we read (p. 178): "Let the busts of ancestors with their ornaments be set up at a height corresponding to the width of the alae." This, in my opinion, is by far the most convincing interpretation of the passage.

²⁹ On this point see particularly Marquardt, *op. cit.*, p. 245, and most recently Budde, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

³⁰ The traditional interpretation of the *ius imaginum*, as formulated by Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-444, has been severely criticized by Jitta, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-110. But a detailed analysis of the evidence shows the fundamental correctness of the earlier view; cf. Rowell, *loc. cit.*, pp. 132-136.

³¹ From Cicero, *In Vatini.*, 28, it is clear that a bride brought copies of her family *imagines* with her to her new home. It is natural to assume that they were placed near her husband's in the atrium.

consider all the kings represented in the vestibule of his building as members of a family, the ties of which consisted in kingship rather than blood or adoption, we are still left with the heroes who apparently were never kings but deserved a place among kings because of their patriotism and valor on the field of battle. Their presence reduces any similarity between Vergil's statues and the *imagines* of the private house of Vergil's time almost to the vanishing point. But at the same time it also points the way to a solution of the problem which it presents.

In a passage referring to the forum of Augustus Suetonius tells us that next to the immortal gods Augustus honored the memory of those leaders *qui imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent . . . et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit*.³² Lampridius characterizes the men as *summi viri* and adds that the statues were of marble.³³ These statues are not to be confused with another group mentioned by Dio who reports a decree of Augustus that men who had enjoyed the honor of a triumph should have their statues in bronze placed in his forum.³⁴ As Degrassi has observed, the marble statues of the heroes of the past stood in the niches of the hemicycles which were admirably designed to contain them, while the bronze statues of the contemporary *triumphatores* were sheltered by the porticoes.³⁵

Of the marble statues only a few fragments were found during the recent excavations.³⁶ But we are more fortunate with regard to the *elogia* which accompanied and identified the statues.³⁷ Each one gives a brief account of the public career of the man to whose statue it was appended. The regular magistracies are first listed in descending order, then other *honores* such as pontificates chronologically. Next there follows a list of achievements in war, then those in peace, among which the dedication of temples plays a prominent part. From archaeological evidence it is

³² Suetonius, *Aug.*, 31, 5.

³³ *S. H. A., Sev. Alex.*, 28, 6.

³⁴ Dio, LV, 10, 3.

³⁵ Degrassi, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 7-8. See also the map, *ibid.*, opposite p. xxiv and the photograph and reconstruction on pp. 3 and 4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁷ The *elogia* from the forum published in *O. I. L.*, I², pp. 186-197 have been republished by Degrassi, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-36, 57-67, with the addition of new material.

clear that part of the *elogium* was inscribed on the marble base of the statue, while a marble slab under the niche contained the rest of the notice.³⁸

Either from inscriptions found in the forum proper, copies at Arezzo, or notices in the authors, we learn of twenty-five men whose statues were in the forum exclusive of the Alban kings, all of whom, according to Ovid, were represented.³⁹ The list begins with Aeneas while the latest person attested is Nero Claudius Drusus, stepson of Augustus and brother of the emperor Tiberius. Between them, we meet such memorable names as Romulus, M. Furius Camillus, Appius Claudius Caecus, C. Duilius, Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Aemilius Paullus, C. Marius, L. Cornelius Sulla Felix. These names are an impressive illustration of Ennius' noble line:

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.⁴⁰

Augustus' purpose in erecting the statues in his forum was stated in an edict known to Suetonius. They were to serve as a standard by which the Roman people might measure Augustus during his lifetime and the emperors who succeeded him.⁴¹ This imposing collection of mortal *exempla* formed a Hall of Fame in which, as Professor Frank emphasized, the heroes of the Republic occupied a preëminent position. The glory of the past was embodied in these men for all to see, and the generations of the present and the future were tacitly reminded that they should prove themselves worthy of a great inheritance.

It was, moreover, the military side of this inheritance which was emphasized. Military victories are the first achievements to be recorded in the *elogia* of the individual heroes of the past, and of the men of the present it is solely *triumphatores* who obtain the right to be represented in the forum, albeit in a distinctly separate group. Then, too, the majority of the past heroes had celebrated triumphs, and there can be no doubt that they were portrayed in the *toga picta* which proclaimed the *triumphator*. But emphasis on the military aspect reached its culmination in the temple of Mars, the god of war, whose epithet *ultor* was an open reminder of Philippi. As we shall see below, the functions

³⁸ Degrassi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

³⁹ See the list, *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ Ennius, *Ann.*, 500, Vahlen.

⁴¹ Suetonius, *Aug.*, 39, 5.

which took place in the temple were preponderantly of a military character. Thus the forum and temple constituted the military center of the city, symbols of Rome's greatness as exemplified in her men and their achievements, particularly in war.

But there is another aspect of the forum, less obvious but nevertheless important, which deserves attention. I refer to its function as an instrument of imperial propaganda; and, since I have dealt with it in detail elsewhere,⁴² I shall merely summarize my views here.

The men represented in the forum fall into three groups: 1) the great men of the Republic who were not directly related to the emperor; 2) the legendary worthies from Aeneas to Romulus from whom the emperor claimed direct descent (Aeneas, Iulus) or to whom he was related by a common descent from Aeneas (Alban kings, Romulus); 3) the emperor's historical relatives (C. Julius Caesar Strabo, C. Julius Caesar, the father of the dictator, and others). With these last we enter, so to speak, into the emperor's family atrium, for with the exception of Nero Claudius Drusus the rest of his relatives for whom we have evidence did not deserve a place in the forum on the grounds of their achievements. They are there chiefly because of family ties. They give the forum a certain kinship of spirit with the private atrium and its *imagines*, and, taken together with the legendary figures who were both the founders of Rome and the ancestors of the Julian *gens*, they identify the emperor's family with the whole development of Roman history as portrayed in the forum. More immediately, the emperor who had built the forum became associated with the tradition of Roman *virtus* as embodied in the men who had made Rome great. The forum was palpable evidence that the tradition had not been broken—rather that it was reaching its culmination in the emperor. At the funeral of Augustus *imagines* of all great Romans, whether related to the emperor or not, escorted the corpse in the funeral procession, for Augustus was the spiritual descendant of these worthies of the past.⁴³ So in the forum we find the same combination of public and private, of tradition and innovation, designed to associate the emperor and his family closely with

⁴² Rowell, *loc. cit.*, pp. 141-142.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-143, where I have shown that the funeral was arranged according to the concepts realized in the forum.

the life of the state in its finest and most vital manifestation: its great men.

We may now return to the vestibule of Vergil's building. And first we should notice that the forum of Augustus served as a sort of vestibule, in the sense of an approach, to the temple of Mars Ultor. The statues in Vergil's vestibule include ancestors of king Latinus and kings and heroes who apparently are not related to Latinus but have deserved well of their country. To Vergil, writing of legendary Italy, the greatest men were naturally kings, a status imposed by the period which he is describing. Had he been writing of republican times, such heroes would have been men who had held the highest magistracies. But, apart from this natural *mutatio mutandorum*, the individuals represented resemble those of the historical forum in regard to their personal distinction, their military valor, and the fact that some of them are ancestors of the reigning monarch. The building is an early Italic Hall of Fame closely associated with King Latinus and his family, and the trophies of war with which it was embellished confirm its military character. Vergil also has a distinct notion of the appearance of the statues. They are adorned with attributes recalling an outstanding activity or event in the life of the individual hero:

Vitisator curvam servans sub imagine falcem

is the description of Sabinus (179). In the historical forum M. Valerius Corvus was depicted with a crow on his head⁴⁴ and Scipio Aemilianus wore the *corona obsidionalis*.⁴⁵

Furthermore, analogy does not stop here. In speaking of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor, Dio reports a series of decrees which established the various functions which were to take place in the temple.⁴⁶ They provided that boys coming of military age should be enrolled in the *iuventus* there; that the senate should meet there to discuss the granting of triumphs; that commanders who had celebrated a triumph should dedicate their sceptre and crown to Mars Ultor; that military standards recaptured from the enemy should be placed in the temple; that

⁴⁴ Gellius, IX, 11.

⁴⁵ Pliny, *H. N.*, XXII, 13.

⁴⁶ Dio, LV, 10; cf. Suetonius, *Aug.*, 29, 2.

the *seviri equitum* should celebrate a festival by the steps of the temple annually.⁴⁷

With regard to the main part of Vergil's building, it too, as we have seen, was a temple which served as a senate house. The kings took up their sceptres of office and their first fasces there, while magistrates set out from the historical temple for their provinces, and thus symbolically, at least, connected the beginning of their imperium with the temple. Vergil speaks of sacred banquets partaken by the fathers. The Salian priests held banquets in the temple of Mars Ultor.⁴⁸ Finally, though the military trophies described by Vergil are situated in the vestibule, it is worthy of note that the historical temple served as a repository for the same kind of object.⁴⁹

I hasten to admit that some of the analogies just presented are far from being exact. But in view of the statues in the vestibule and their striking similarity in form and spirit to those of the forum of Augustus, even the slightest resemblances in the other part of Vergil's building to the temple of Mars Ultor seemed worth noting. Precise similarity was not to be expected. Vergil did not work through factual description in verse, forgetful of his powers of poetry and invention. When an object was drawn from the world in which he lived, it was recrystallized in his mind and in its new form it was capable of many new reflections. But the mass from which the new form was worked is recognizable and the spirit behind the mass never suffers from Vergil's touch. After weighing similarities against dissimilarities both of fact and spirit, I do not hesitate to conclude that it would be asking too much of pure coincidence for Vergil to have described an ancient equivalent of the historical forum and temple of Augustus such as we find in the building of the seventh book, without knowledge that Augustus was planning to erect or possibly was already erecting such a building.

⁴⁷ The festival was the *ludi sevircles* or *Martiales*, celebrated on August 1st, the day of the dedication of the temple; see L. R. Taylor, *J. R. S.*, XIV (1924), p. 161, note 3.

⁴⁸ Suetonius, *Claud.*, 33; *C. I. L.*, VI, 2158.

⁴⁹ It is reasonably assumed that the standards recovered from the Parthians were transferred from the temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol to the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum of Augustus when the latter had been dedicated; see Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

Corroboration of this view may be found in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. In it we have the great scene, glowing with patriotism, in which Anchises points out to Aeneas a number of the men who are fated to play a significant rôle in the annals of Rome (756-846). The speech, as characterized by Norden, is a *λόγος παραινετικός* (*πρωτρεπτικός, συμβουλευτικός*).⁵⁰ He points out that the individual heroes are *παραδείγματα* from the rhetorical point of view and that they are treated encomiastically, although the contrasting element of *ψόγος* is not entirely lacking. As to the spirit and purpose of the passage, he defines it as "eine Huldigung für die Vergangenheit . . . eine Mahnung für die Gegenwart und ein Vermächtnis an die Zukunft, sich solcher Ahnen würdig zu zeigen." Speaking of the pictorial element in the description of several of the heroes, he recalls the statues in the forum of Augustus and maintains that poetry and monument grew out of the same idea.⁵¹ But he does not attempt to establish a chronological connection between them.

Now, as we have seen above, the obvious purpose of the heroes of Vergil to serve as *exempla* to the Roman people and to remind them of a glorious past which it was their duty to preserve undiminished and untarnished for the future is precisely the obvious purpose of the statues in the forum. But we can go further, I think, than both Norden and Professor Frank in connecting the heroes of the *Aeneid* and the statues of the forum.

To begin with the men represented in both places, I would attribute very little importance to the fact that among the heroes of the republic mentioned by Vergil only five are attested for the forum.⁵² The epigraphical evidence from the forum has come down in a very confused state and we owe what we have to pure chance. On archaeological grounds it is possible that over one hundred statues stood in the forum,⁵³ while we have only nineteen republican heroes directly attested. Surely it is a mere accident

⁵⁰ Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI*², pp. 312-316.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁵² They are Camillus (Vergil, 825 = Degrassi, *op. cit.*, no. 61), T. Fabius Maximus (845 = nos. 14 and 80), L. Aemilius Paullus (838 [cf. Norden *ad loc.*] = no. 81), Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (842 [cf. Norden *ad loc.*] = no. 82), P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (843 = Pliny, *H. N.*, XXII, 13 [cf. Degrassi, *op. cit.*, p. 4]).

⁵³ Degrassi, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

of fate that we do not possess the *elogia* of such men as the elder Scipio and the elder Cato, both mentioned by Vergil. A national Hall of Fame without them is unthinkable.

More is to be gained, however, from examining the way in which Vergil has divided his heroes. They fall into two large general groups. The first comprises the direct descendants of Aeneas (760-805), and it in turn is divided into two branches: Aeneas' descendants through Silvius (760-787) and those through Iulus (788-805). The Alban kings ending with Romulus belong to the first or Italic branch (Lavinia is the mother of Silvius), while the Julian *gens* culminating in Augustus belongs to the second or Trojan branch of the family. The second large group is composed of heroes outside the family. It includes the kings who succeeded Romulus and the heroes of the Republic.

This division into family and non-family groups is obviously intentional. In the *propositio* (756-759) Vergil indicates the division between the Trojan (*Dardanium prolem*) and the Italian (*Itala de gente nepotes*) branches of the family. With the words (788-789)

Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem
Romanosque tuos. Hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
progenies.

Anchises calls Aeneas' attention to the Trojan branch of the family. The family part is separated from the kings and heroes of the Republic by the *παράθεσις* of lines 806-807.

We have here, then, something more than a simple pageant of the men who had raised Rome to greatness and glory. And that something more is the private or family element which we have perceived in the statues of the forum. Augustus and his legendary and historical ancestors including the collateral branch which descended from Silvius precede the heroes who are not members of the family as was natural in a poem *in quo, quod maxime studebat, Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur*.⁵⁴ But, if the speech of Anchises is taken as a whole, the imperial family in the widest sense of the term is no more than a part of the great tradition of virtue and ability embodied in Rome's great men. Hence the same dualism observed in the

⁵⁴ *Vita*, ll. 77-78, Brummer; cf. Servius, p. 4, Thilo.

forum of a family which is distinguished from the whole and yet constitutes one of its most important parts and thus, without losing its individuality, is still identified completely with the larger element.

Also, the attention devoted to the Alban kings by Vergil is another indication that he had the forum in mind. We do not find a complete list of them until the Augustan historians and there very little is told about them.⁵⁵ But their statues stood in the forum⁵⁶ and it is difficult to find any other reason why they should be mentioned by Vergil in such detail. In other passages he passes over them quickly enough.⁵⁷ Let us note, too, the description of Silvius (760):

Ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta.

It clearly suggests a statue in its pictorial quality and it is not the only one of its kind.⁵⁸

Vergil closes his pageant of heroes with the memorable words on the mission of Rome (847-853):

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera
(credo equidem) vivos ducent de marmore vultus.
orabunt causas melius caelique meatus
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

With regard to the Greeks the meaning is obvious. They are the acknowledged masters in the arts of beauty, wit, and specula-

⁵⁵ The earliest complete list is given by Diodorus, VII, 5, 9. For a conspectus of all lists see the table in Trieber, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 124.

⁵⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 564 and Degrassi, *op. cit.*, nos. 2-5.

⁵⁷ I cannot here go into the problem of the genealogy of the Alban kings as treated by Vergil. Suffice it to say that he makes them descendants of Silvius, the son of Aeneas and Lavinia in VI, 760-766, and of Iulus, the son of Aeneas and Creusa in I, 267-274. My general conclusions would indicate that Vergil was following the official genealogy as set down in the *elogia* of the forum in Book VI, and if this is so my restoration of the *elogium* of Aeneas Silvius (Degrassi, *op. cit.*, no. 2) is certainly correct as against Degrassi's; see my note in *P.A.P.A.*, LXVIII (1937), pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁵⁸ Cf. Alban kings (772), Romulus (779), Numa (808); others in Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

tion. The Roman task is to rule. But this mission of ruling has two aspects as conceived by Vergil. Roman rule is to bring the blessings of order and civilization, but it will be imposed on others from above and to impose it war will be the necessary instrument. Here Vergil has tempered the rude concept of ruthless conquest with the notion of *clementia* and has justified war by the benefits which will flow from the ensuing peace. But the unity of the passage shows that war is a necessary part of the Roman mission and that the mission will be achieved only in so far as the Romans show themselves successful as well as merciful in their conquests.

Hence it is the Rômans in their capacity of rulers and warriors whom Vergil contrasts with the Greeks. The emphasis on military excellence, coming as it does at the end of a passage which reviews the great Romans of the past, is in complete harmony with the aspect of their achievements emphasized in the forum of Augustus and the temple of Mars Ultor. The spirit is the same so far as Rome's greatness in war is concerned. But to it Vergil has added a finer concept of the use to which this greatness must be put: to bring a peaceful order into the world.

Finally, how shall we explain the abrupt transition from the worthies of the Republic to statues of bronze and marble?

In his treatment of the details of the whole passage from the rhetorical point of view,⁵⁹ Norden suggests that Vergil had a traditional scheme in mind such as we find outlined in the pseudo-Menander's chapter πῶς δεῖ ἀπὸ ἐπιτηδεύσεων τὰς πόλεις ἐγχομιάζειν.⁶⁰ Such a scheme would apply only to the lines referring to the Greeks, for the lines referring to the Romans, as we have seen, are far removed from a rhetorical commonplace.⁶¹ But with regard to the Greeks, we find in the pseudo-Menander that the ἐπιτηδεύσεις are divided into three categories in the following order: κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστήμας, κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις. Vergil has one of the activities of the first category (astronomy and geometry; also treated as one in the rhetorical manual), one of the second (sculpture), and one of the third

⁵⁹ Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

⁶⁰ *Rhetores Graeci*, III, pp. 359-361, Spengel.

⁶¹ Norden, who separates the military element from the civilizing mission, also asserts the Roman origin of the different concepts which Vergil has woven together; *op. cit.*, p. 336.



(rhetoric). Is it pure chance that Vergil began his list with statues of bronze and marble directly after enumerating the heroes of the Republic?

At first sight the transition is brusque, but if Vergil had the forum in mind the thought moves easily from hero to statue and from statue to the larger subject of art and the Greeks who excelled in it. Vergil, I would venture to say, was reminding the Roman that there was more to the statues in the forum than the art which created them. The making of statues, the fashioning of beauty in material things, was the province of the Greek together with science and oratory. Rome produced men, the kind of men represented in the statues of the forum. By personal example during their lifetime they had established the inheritance of conquest and good government which was to be the mission of the future. They had shown the way. Vergil reminds the Roman to remember and follow.

All in all, then, the evidence indicates that Vergil was much closer to the forum of Augustus than we had previously suspected. (It is not necessary to assume that he had seen much or any of it completed, but it is reasonable to believe that he knew of the plans for its outer aspect, the national ideas which it was to suggest, and the part it was to play in the imperial propaganda of the period. Even without such evidence as we have, it would be difficult to think of a person more likely to be consulted by Augustus in planning the great national monument of his régime than the poet whom he had charged with writing the national epic. We cannot know to what extent the ideas behind the forum may have originated in Vergil's mind. But we can be sure that Augustus did well to consult him.

HENRY T. ROWELL.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

THE MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC CAMPAIGN OF T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS IN 198 B. C.

The complete significance of the year 198 B. C. and of the military and diplomatic campaign waged by T. Quinctius Flamininus against Philip V of Macedon has never been defined in its precise relationship to the history of Roman domination in the Hellenistic world. The first step toward the comprehension of this campaign is to readjust the conception of Rome as a world power. This anachronism has been fostered by Livy, the principal source for this period inasmuch as Polybius is largely lost.¹ Rome was simply a member of a coalition against the Macedonian empire. It is true that this status was to undergo a rapid and radical change within the next few years—the beginning of which change constitutes the basis of this study—, but it had not occurred as yet. The rôle of Flamininus in that change has never been clearly outlined in all its significance, nor has the unity of the whole campaign conducted in 198 been sufficiently stressed. In view of the importance of this period for the subsequent history of Roman relations with the Orient, it has seemed pertinent to make a full survey of the events and the motivation of Flamininus' campaign of 198.

Before it is possible to begin this survey, it seems necessary to pose a question. Are the incidents of 198 the pieces of a consciously integrated plan of strategy initiated by Flamininus early in his campaign, or do they represent the blind employment of fortuitous circumstance? In order to answer this question recourse must be had to the conclusion of Flamininus' campaign of 198-194. When he left Greece, he had restored as equitably and carefully as possible all of the Greek states to the territories and position to which their past history gave them claim. Greece was free, not a Roman soldier remained within her borders.² But this freedom had been established by the arbitrary dominance, artfully concealed though it was, of Rome.³ But there was

¹ Tenney Frank, "A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism," *C. P.*, IV (1909), pp. 118-133 *passim*.

² Livy, 34, 49-50; cf. Plutarch, *Flam.*, 12-13.

³ *Ibid.* Note especially the skill and tact with which Flamininus made his dispositions. Cf. Livy, 34, 22.

to be no tampering with this settlement. Livy says that *alienis armis partam, externa fide redditam libertatem sua cura custodirent servarentque, ut populus Romanus dignis datam libertatem ac munus suum bene positum sciret*.⁴ This veiled warning, ignored by the Greeks, intimated that Rome intended the order which she had established to endure. The intention of Rome, the responsibility for which and the execution of which she entrusted to Flaminius, stands revealed as follows. Greece was to be organized on the basis which promised best for her stability and then was to be presented with autonomy. Rome was to guarantee this order against all disarrangements internal and external.⁵ Inasmuch as this situation actually did come to pass, it is reasonable to believe that it does represent a conscious strategy on the part of Flaminius, and a careful study of the events which led to this conclusion gives the positive impression that this plan was not the result of circumstance. To illustrate this thesis the campaign of 198 will be examined in detail.

The purpose of Rome in Greece, moreover, could not be accomplished until she had been advanced from the position of equal ally (cf. *supra*) to that of arbiter and guarantor. This was the aspect of the final plan with which Flaminius first dealt. His strategy of 198 forged steadily toward that goal. This integral unit in his statesmanlike policy was completed at the end of this year.

The conference of Nicaea held late in the autumn of 198 has received considerable attention from scholars as an isolated event. Frank in his *Roman Imperialism* has made an excellent though summary estimate of this struggle between Roman and Macedonian diplomacy.⁶ Homo has also presented a clear account, but his point of view is not so advanced as that of Frank.⁷ The present study, therefore, is to some degree an amplification of the

⁴ Livy, 34, 49.

⁵ On the sincerity of Rome's intentions cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World*, II, p. 13; Holleaux, in *C. A. H.*, VIII, pp. 180-181, 194 ff. With regard to the Roman pledge of Greek freedom cf. especially the language in which Polybius, 18, 44, 4 quotes the *senatus consultum* which established peace between Rome and Philip. τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἕλληνας πάντας, . . . ἐλευθέρους ὑπάρχειν καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις.

⁶ Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 152-153.

⁷ Leon Homo, "Les Conférences de Nicée et la diplomatie Romaine en Grèce," *Mélanges Cagnat*, pp. 31-50.

view of previous authors and in addition an attempt to show that the Conference of Nicaea is the natural culmination of Flamininus' campaign in 198.

On a prearranged date Flamininus, accompanied by duly appointed representatives from his allies in the war against Macedon, met Philip and several members of his staff. The meeting took place on the beach by the sea. Philip preferred to remain aboard his ship and when Flamininus mocked him lightly for his fear of the present assemblage Philip sardonically replied that he *feared* no one except the gods but suspected most of those present, especially the Aetolians. To Flamininus' further remark that the danger was equal for both Philip replied that an Aetolian *strategus* was readily replaced whereas he knew of no substitute for himself. Flamininus asked Philip to state his reasons for asking a conference, but the latter parried with a request to hear the Roman demands. Flamininus then replied briefly and unequivocally that Philip was to withdraw altogether from Greece, returning all prisoners and deserters in his power; to surrender to Rome that part of Illyria secured to him by the treaty of Phoenice; to restore to Ptolemy Epiphanes all the cities of which he had robbed him since the death of Ptolemy Philopater. Then the Greek allies stated their demands in a tone full of contentiousness and rebuke in reply to which the arrogant Macedonian gave free rein to his mordant humor. The first day passed with no agreement reached.⁸

On the second day Philip kept the allies waiting until early evening—undoubtedly to avoid the bickering and contumely of the day before. Upon his appearance he expressed the wish to confer apart with Flamininus that tangible result might replace the aimless feuding of the preceding day. At the urgent plea of Philip Flamininus asked the counsel of the Greeks, and they advised him to yield to the King's desire. It is imperative to note in passing that in agreeing to the request of Philip upon this point, apparently a natural step in the course of negotiations, the allied Greeks abandoned the administration of their foreign affairs to Rome—the entering wedge of Roman interference and control. Accordingly Flamininus, accompanied by a military tribune, withdrew to a secluded spot and conferred with Philip.

⁸ Polybius, 18, 2-5; cf. Livy, 32, 33-35; M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques*, p. 278, n. 1.

Unfortunately a precise account of this meeting has not been preserved, but the Greek allies were dissatisfied with the report of Flaminius.⁹ Philip hastily moved adjournment to avoid the display of further ill-feeling.¹⁰

On the third day of the Conference Philip astounded the Greeks with a proposal to adjourn the council to Rome and to abide the decision of the Senate. Only Flaminius favored the king's design, but finally his influence won over the allies and the Conference adopted the motion of Philip.¹¹ Thus ended the Conference, in its implications more significant than the field of Cynoscephale, although these implications were less evident to the protagonists, Flaminius excepted.

As the Conference closed Philip had little reason to congratulate himself. True to his prearranged strategy of pacifying Rome he had spared no effort, devoting his entire attention to Flaminius and yielding to all Roman demands which concerned her own Illyrian territory. In desperation he had finally succeeded in gaining permission to send an embassy to Rome for which opportunity he had paid dearly by withdrawing his garrisons from Phocis and Locris.¹² That last faint hope was rudely quenched by the Senate in Rome when that body demanded complete and final withdrawal from Greece—the death-blow to Macedonian imperialism.¹³ Philip had failed utterly and could only look forward to the ruin of his empire.

On the other hand Flaminius might well have counted the Conference of Nicaea his greatest victory, the fitting climax to the careful campaign he had begun in Epirus in the spring of 198. The defeat of Philip was only a matter of time. Rome, the equal member of an Hellenistic coalition against Macedon, had become the arbiter of any settlement which could possibly arise from the present situation. Because of the trust and confidence in the power and intentions of Rome which the campaign of the previous summer had engendered, the Greeks delegated to Flaminius the authority to treat with Philip in their name. Probably at the suggestion of Flaminius to Philip at their

⁹ Philip promised to restore all the territory which Rome demanded in Illyria, but demurred at many of the demands of the allied Greeks.

¹⁰ Polybius, 18, 7-9; cf. Livy, 32, 35-36.

¹¹ Polybius, 18, 9-10; cf. Livy, 32, 36; Plutarch, *Flam.*, 5.

¹² Polybius, 18, 10; cf. Livy, 32, 36.

¹³ Polybius, 18, 11; cf. Livy, 32, 37.

private conference and certainly because of his insistence the Conference was adjourned to Rome for the final decision. The implication of these two events is clear. The Hellenistic world had delegated to Rome the authority to pass and, as a consequence, maintain the final judgment in the settlement of their affairs. *They never again exercised to any marked extent any independent jurisdiction over their own foreign affairs.* From this position, secured by the efforts of Flamininus, Rome was to proceed to Oriental empire.¹⁴

The Conference of Nicaea, however, significant though it was, in reality merely represents the culmination of the deeply-laid and consistent strategy which Flamininus had initiated upon his assumption of the command of the Roman forces against Philip. In order fully to appreciate the significance which Frank and Homo have perceived in the Conference, it is necessary to examine it through the perspective afforded by a review of the campaign, both military and diplomatic, which preceded it. Once removed from its position of isolation the Conference assumes its proper place as the climax of a far-seeing policy of statesmanship, and the unity and consistency of the campaign of 198 as a whole claims the admiration of the historian.

The campaign begins with the election, in the third year of the Macedonian war, of Flamininus to the consulate at the early age of thirty. In the lots for that year he drew the Macedonian command. He was empowered to enroll more troops and carefully chose his levies from the flower of the veteran troops who had served with Scipio. Flamininus then departed to his command at the earliest possible moment, contrary to the custom of his predecessors. He sailed from Brundisium and crossed to Corcyra whence he proceeded to Epirus by quinquireme and finally to the Roman camp in the gorges of the river Aous. There he relieved his predecessor Publius Villius Tappalus and assumed his command.¹⁵

The situation which confronted the young commander was disheartening. The desultory campaigns waged against the wary,

¹⁴ For further studies on the Conference of Nicaea see Maurice Helleux, "Études d'Histoire Hellénique, Les Conférences de Lokride et la Politique de T. Quinctius Flamininus," in *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XXXVI (1923), pp. 115-168, and my "The Tradition of Flamininus' 'Selfish Ambition' in Polybius and Later Historians," *T. A. P. A.*, LXX (1939), pp. 93-103.

¹⁵ Livy, 32, 8-9; cf. Plutarch, *Flam.*, 2-3.

defensive strategy of Philip had produced nothing but a stalemate. Rhodes and Pergamum had contributed nothing as yet and their only possible contribution would be naval victories—futile unless attended by success in the field. None of the Greek powers had ventured to declare for the allied cause, even though there were many who hated Philip and Macedon. The Romans were regarded as barbarians and were considered no better if not worse than the Macedonians. A decisive success for Philip probably would have meant the end of the alliance. Simply by representing himself as the defender of Greece against a barbarian foe Philip could have swung nearly all the sentiment and support of the Greeks against the invader. The only ray of hope in the situation was that Flaminius was aware of these factors and Philip was not.¹⁶ It was Flaminius who made the move, who gambled with the odds against him, while Philip made no attempt even to improve his position.

The decision of Flaminius to act was not taken until he had spent considerable time in consideration. Philip had assumed a well-chosen position absolutely invulnerable to a frontal attack. After forty days spent in fruitless search to discover some means of dislodging Philip, Flaminius agreed to a conference arranged by the mediation of the people of Epirus. Flaminius demanded that Philip withdraw his garrisons from the cities of the Greeks and make reparation for the damage he had done. Philip offered to surrender his own conquests, but not those which his ancestors had bequeathed, and submit all damage claims to a neutral nation. Flaminius in reply betrayed his inexperience by harshly remarking that Philip was so obviously at fault in every instance and so guilty of unprovoked aggression that there was no need of an arbiter. Then, when he named Thessaly as the first state to set free, Philip rushed from the conference in rage, exclaiming, "What heavier command could you lay upon a beaten foe, Titus Quinctius?" A skirmish very nearly resulted.¹⁷

Shortly after this unpropitious meeting a shepherd sent by Charops, a leading Epirote,¹⁸ offered his services as guide to Flami-

¹⁶ Wilhelm Theiler, *Die Politische Lage in den beiden makedonischen Kriegen*, pp. 34-35, 42-43.

¹⁷ Livy, 32, 10.

¹⁸ The Epirotes were nominally Macedonian supporters. This is the first instance in which they offered help to the Romans, apparently because they were convinced of the sympathy of Flaminius for their

ninus, alleging that he was thoroughly familiar with the whole valley of the Aous. Although he was suspicious of this guide Flamininus finally dispatched a picked force under the guidance of the shepherd, heavily loaded with both bribes and chains, to take the Macedonian force in the rear. Flamininus then constantly harassed the enemy positions until on the third day the flanking force reached its position. Upon a given signal a simultaneous attack from front and rear routed the Macedonians in headlong flight. The rocky, uneven terrain cut the Macedonian losses to 2000, but their camp and supply of war material was captured.¹⁹ Flamininus did not follow hot on Philip's heels but considered it more important to occupy Epirus in orderly fashion, since he was well aware that the Epirotes were Macedonian sympathizers. Policy, of course, dictated that they receive the Romans with cordiality. But the readiness of Flamininus to overlook their previous connections and judge them only by their present behavior converted a merely diplomatic cordiality into permanent support of Roman interests.²⁰ Thus Flamininus, by virtue of the friendly relations he had established with the Epirotes and his determination to force the issue, opened his campaign for the overthrow of Macedon and the advance of Roman prestige with conspicuous success.

The victory on the banks of the Aous had an immediate effect upon the Aetolian League. Hitherto they had been waiting to see which side was stronger, for they had no overwhelming love for either Rome or Macedonia. The battle of the Aous convinced them, and they at once became active for the allied cause. Released from the dread of Philip they moved into helpless Thessaly and plundered fearlessly.²¹ The Aetolian League was one of the two strongest powers in Greece, and their support of the Roman cause was an important factor in the ultimate defeat of Philip. A decisive victory such as that of Flamininus was needed to enlist their support, however,—a victory which no previous general had been able to win.

With Epirus consolidated behind him Flamininus marched interests. Philip had made a fatal blunder by carelessly exposing his Epirote allies to the pervasive influence of Flamininus.

¹⁹ Livy, 32, 11-12; cf. Polybius, 27, 15; Johannes Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, II, pp. 39-47.

²⁰ Livy, 32, 14.

²¹ Livy, 32, 14; cf. Plutarch, *Flam.*, 5.

by easy stages into Thessaly, recently devastated before him by Philip in his flight.²² Philip had left behind his garrisons in all fortified towns and retreated himself to the natural fortress of the Vale of Tempe whence he sent troops to each point as it was threatened by the Romans. To Phaloria, the first of these garrisons in the line of march, Flaminius turned his attention. The town was held by 2000 Macedonians, but despite a desperate defense it fell before the vigor of Flaminius' attack.²³ Phaloria was burned and destroyed. Metropolis and Cicerium, nearby towns, promptly surrendered. Lack of provisions, since Flaminius had refrained from plundering the country which he had conquered, forced the Roman general to move southward to Gomphi. From there it was a short distance to Ambracia on the seacoast whither he had ordered his supply ships. As soon as Flaminius had provisioned his camp he moved to the siege of Atrax. There his siege engines opened a breach in the wall, but the Macedonian phalanx hastened to fill the gap and repel every assault. All the efforts of the Romans proved futile, and Flaminius was forced to abandon the siege because of the imminence of winter and the lack of supplies.²⁴ This was the only defeat suffered by Flaminius during his Grecian campaigns.

With his attention turned toward winter quarters Flaminius moved toward Anticyra in Phocis. En route he took Phanotes. Then Anticyra fell, Ambrysus and Hyampolis surrendered, and Daulis was captured by a clever trick. Many other strongholds surrendered as Flaminius marched on, but Elatia prepared to withstand his siege. It refused Flaminius' terms of surrender, and he then breached the wall and took the city in a fierce assault.

²² Livy, 32, 13; cf. Plutarch, *Flam.*, 5; Kromayer, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and Livy, 32, 15. Kromayer states that Philip plundered merely for the sake of plundering, inasmuch as he could not seriously hope to trouble Flaminius by his depredations in a country as thickly populated as Thessaly. Livy says, however, that Flaminius was forced to abandon the siege of Atrax because of lack of facilities for wintering in the wasted territory of Thessaly. See *infra*.

²³ It is worth while to note that once Flaminius had begun an attack he never ceased or allowed the enemy a moment's rest until he had obtained his objective. Only once did these tactics fail of victory. This characteristic can be observed in all his campaigns. Flaminius had not the military genius of a Scipio Africanus, but his military tactics were adequate and thoroughly sound.

²⁴ Livy, 32, 15.

The citadel held out a few days longer but then surrendered upon promise of immunity to its defenders.²⁵ Thus ended the military campaign of 198 distinguished by the almost universal success of Roman arms and a policy of leniency toward the vanquished. The effects of this campaign, however, were to produce even more important results.

While Flamininus was still besieging Elatia he received the report that the Achaean League, the second important power in Greece, had expelled Cycliades, leader of the Macedonian faction, and that their *strategus* Aristaenus favored Rome. At this moment the Achaean League was firmly bound to Macedon by ties of friendship as well as alliance. Flamininus promptly dispatched his brother Lucius,²⁶ Attalus, king of Pergamum, together with embassies from Rhodes and Athens to tempt the Achaean League to a Roman alliance with the offer of Corinth, at that moment held by Philip. For four days the question was debated before the assembly of the Achaean League, but no conclusion was reached. Finally a combination of factors, namely the increasing power of Rome, distrust of Philip's present policy, fear of Nabis, powerful tyrant of Sparta, the pro-Roman sympathies of Aristaenus, won over five of the ten *δημοποιοί*, the magistrates upon whom it rested to propose a motion. The council would still have been deadlocked, however, had not Memnon, one of the five who blocked a motion, been influenced to join those who favored Rome by the threat of his father, Pisas of Pellene, to kill him unless he abandoned his Macedonian sympathies. The motion was proposed, and the council at once ratified a treaty with Rhodes and Pergamum but postponed their treaty with Rome until such time as they could dispatch ambassadors thither. A few representatives, deeply indebted to Macedonia for recent services, withdrew from the council before the treaties were ratified. The Achaean army at once put itself at the disposal of L. Quinctius Flamininus, who was currently besieging Corinth.²⁷ Despite the fact that the decision of the Achaean League to join the alliance against Philip was reached only after

²⁵ Livy, 32, 17-18, 24; cf. Pausanias, 10, 34, 4.

²⁶ L. Quinctius Flamininus served as *legatus* in charge of naval operations during T. Flamininus' command in Greece.

²⁷ Livy, 32, 19-24; cf. Plutarch, *Flam.*, 5; Pausanias, 7, 8; Appian, *Maced.*, 7.

long and bitter debate and with such a small majority among the representatives of the Achaeans, the policy of Flaminius can still be said to have won a sweeping victory. Neither of his predecessors had been able to influence any of the peoples of Greece proper to join their cause. The fact that the Achaean League had been closely connected on excellent terms with Macedonia readily explains the bitter controversy and the slight majority obtained by the pro-Roman sympathizers. Yet the campaign of Flaminius had made it imperative in the eyes of the majority of Achaeans that they join the anti-Macedonian coalition—an allegiance which had become advantageous solely by reason of the growth of Roman power and influence under the skilful guidance of Flaminius.²⁸

²⁸ Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques*, p. 236, n. 1, terms this negotiation unsuccessful, citing the ancient sources given in n. 27 *supra*. His thesis, it appears from his statement in *C. A. H.*, VIII, pp. 170-171, is that only circumstances—i. e. the pre-eminent might of Roman arms, now manifest for the first time, I may add—, not Flaminius, forced the Achaeans, much against their will, to join Rome. These compelling circumstances had been created by the campaign of Flaminius and in my judgment the source of the compulsion therefore remains Flaminius. The natural reluctance of the Achaeans noted above only enhances Flaminius' achievement; for their final surrender was forced by the situation which he had developed. Nor was their surrender temporary, and the completeness of the diplomatic triumph of Flaminius at this point is emphasized by the continued and constant support in the Achaean League of the subsequent policies of the Roman statesman. Holleaux also cites other references which have no relevance to the present discussion. In my opinion, however, the evidence therein does not justify Holleaux's description of Flaminius' diplomacy as an "insuccès habituel." For example the hostile attitude of the Dymaeans (Livy, 32, 22, 9-10) toward Rome at the assembly of the Achaean League in 198 cannot be attributed to the conduct of Flaminius, for he had had absolutely no contact with them at this point. The protestations of the Aeginetan Cassander (Polybius, 22, 8, 9 ff.) had nothing to do with Flaminius, but rather dealt with the brutality of his predecessor, P. Sulpicius Galba. The affair with the Acarnanians (Livy, 33, 16, 3 ff.) was a failure for Flaminius. They remained staunch supporters of Macedon in spite of an offer of a Roman alliance, and force was necessary to subdue them. I should prefer to count this primarily as a tribute to the staunch spirit and loyalty of the Acarnanians in the face of a mightier foe, rather than as a diplomatic failure for Flaminius. It fails to concern the subject of this paper, however. As regards Flaminius' dealings with the Boeotians (Polybius, 18, 43, 1-6) the Romans certainly blundered badly. Again,

The season of active campaigning had ended and Flamininus had placed his men in winter quarters throughout Phocis and Locris. Shortly thereafter he received a summons from the citizens of Opus, who desired to be rid of the Macedonian garrison installed in their city. The Aetolians were likewise summoned by another group of citizens, and, being nearer, arrived before he did. The citizens of Opus refused to open their gates to the Aetolians, however, but held them outside the city until the arrival of Flamininus.²⁹ The incident shows very clearly the trust and confidence which the name of Flamininus now inspired among the Greeks after his summer's campaign.

At Opus an embassy from Philip found Flamininus and requested him to meet with their king. Philip was reduced to desperate straits by his defeat in the field and the loss of his allies but he still remained a dangerous foe as he was probably well aware. Flamininus granted his request and the conference was set for Nicaea on the Melian gulf.³⁰ There the combat which had begun in the gorge of the Aous was to be resumed with the subtle and delicate weapons of diplomacy. The central figures are the same, Philip and Flamininus. The campaign of the previous summer had convinced Philip that he was no match for Rome in the field, and he was now about to attempt to induce Rome to abandon the conflict by every means of persuasion in his power. With the Greeks he could deal and he was determined to satisfy Rome at all costs. In this way alone could he hope to continue the policy of imperialism on which he was ever intent. Flamininus had waged a successful campaign and realized fully the extent to which his military success had placed Philip on the defensive. His policy, however, saw beyond the immediate prospect of the defeat of Philip to the settlement which should

~~come afterwards and the part which Rome should play in relation~~

to her Greek allies in that settlement. His chief concern at the Conference was not so much the defeat of Philip as it was the whole problem of the relations between Rome and the Hellenistic world. Here Flamininus laid the foundation for the settlement

however, this instance has nothing to do with the subject of this paper. Nor can Holleaux cite any other incidents in Flamininus' career to prove his point. I do not maintain that Flamininus was always the consummate diplomat, but in the campaign now under discussion it would be difficult to improve upon his strategy.

²⁹ Livy, 32, 32; cf. Plutarch, *Flam.*, 5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

of 194. Rome had attained the necessary degree of dominance which enabled her to establish an order in Greece adapted to her own interests.

The brilliant results of the Conference of Nicaea, the realization of the objectives of Flaminius and the utter defeat of Philip, have already been noticed. A study of the preliminary campaign, however, makes it evident that the foundation for this outstanding success was laid down before the start of the Conference itself. By his military victories, by his attraction of Greek support to Roman interests, by his painstaking efforts to inspire in the Greeks confidence in himself and in Rome Flaminius had prepared the downfall of every Macedonian aspiration for Hellenistic empire. At the Conference of Nicaea by his cool and accomplished conduct of affairs he had reaped the reward of his careful preparation. Philip's hopes were overthrown, never to rise again to such a menacing position. Rome had obtained tacit recognition as the dominant power of the Hellenistic world. These results, tremendously significant for all subsequent history, had been realized by the genius of Flaminius. His military competence, his consummate diplomacy, so rapidly learned, and his farseeing statesmanship had fostered a course of integrated strategy, manifest throughout the whole campaign of 198, which was profoundly to affect all future relations between Rome and the Hellenistic world. For Flaminius, however, only the preliminaries of his policy had been completed. Now that Rome had assumed a position of dominance he could proceed with his plan of establishing in Greece a régime in harmony with Roman interests. Rome's dominance together with the confidence which Flaminius had inspired in the ability and justice of himself and Rome was to produce the last flicker of Greek independence at the Isthmian Games in 196 B. C. and the managed autonomy of 194. But the solution of Flaminius failed, for the Greeks of his day no longer fitted the mould of independence which he wished to place upon them. Irony is inherent in the situation, for what appeared to Flaminius as the first stage in the policy which he had formulated remained a potent factor in all subsequent relations between Greece and Rome, while his ideal restoration of Greece, almost as soon as it was complete, crumbled before the impact of harsh reality.

FREDERIC M. WOOD, JR.

DUKE UNIVERSITY.

THE ROMAN GOLD STANDARD AND THE ANCIENT SOURCES.

Since the publication by Mickwitz of his book, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* in 1932, there seems to be a new interest in the monetary history of the third and fourth centuries. This work had been preceded by some excellent studies of the extant coins, among them articles by Pink and Alföldi. It has been followed by other articles by Mickwitz and by Heichelheim. Of particular interest to all who have written on this subject has been the alleged varying ratio of gold to silver, and the varying relationship between the gold coins and the contemporary subsidiary coinage.

In support of the various ideas advanced, certain epigraphical and papyrological evidence is offered. Because of the importance of the discussion, it has seemed desirable to examine this evidence and to examine the validity of the inferences that have been drawn from it. The documents, unfortunately, are not numerous. They will be discussed as far as possible in their chronological order.

C. P. R., I, 12 or *S. P. P.*, XX, 2 (93 A. D.)

B. G. U., 1065 (97 A. D.)

P. Oxyrh., 496 (127 A. D.)

These three may be discussed as a group. All indicate prices for jewelry. The first refers to brooches of fine gold weighing $7\frac{1}{2}$ minae that were pledged for 2160 drachmae; the second refers to bracelets of fine gold weighing 8 minae that were worth 2816 dr.; the third refers to jewelry of fine gold weighing about $5\frac{1}{2}$ minae that were valued at 1680 dr. To be sure the metal in each case is "uncoined," but to say that *P. Oxyrh.*, 496 indicates a decrease of about 3% in the price of gold since the time of Domitian or of Nerva is misusing the evidence; for in no case do we know either the amount or the cost of the workmanship put on the jewelry. If this element of workmanship can be disregarded then Martial, III, 62 might properly be used for the valuation of 5000 denarii for a pound of silver.

P. Giessen, 47 (Hadrian)

After giving prices for a few articles, this document goes on: "the price of silver (asemon) is now 362 drachmae, for as you know the prices at Coptos change from day to day." The papyrus gives no indication as to the weight of the silver, and so any inference drawn from this sentence must remain only a guess.

P. Baden, 37 (107/112 A. D.)

The pertinent sentence of this document may be translated as follows: "Gold, which was selling at 15 drachmae, has fallen to 11." It should be pointed out that the word "gold" is an adjective, which causes one to wonder whether a gold coin or some other gold was in the writer's mind. Segrè¹ interprets the document to mean that the aureus had fallen from 115 to 111 drachmae; Johnson² that the ratio of gold to silver had dropped from 1:15 to 1:11. Though there is no supporting evidence for either of these ideas, that advanced by Johnson is the more attractive in view of the fact that the weights of Trajan's aureus and denarius indicate a ratio of 1:11. It is easy to assume that the financial demands of the Dacian wars brought about a temporary market change.

There is no doubt that the writer of this letter and the recipient of it both knew what was meant; there is also no doubt that we do not know what was actually intended.

Lucian, Pseudologistes, 30 (Pius ?)

This passage seems to equate 30 gold pieces (presumably aurei) and 750 (Attic) drachmae and accordingly shows the relation of 1 aureus = 25 drachmae = 25 denarii.³ It is said that the 30 gold pieces were paid for a book priced at 750 drachmae. The gold coins seem to have passed by count and not by weight, but this was a private transaction where the buyer was being badly swindled. Kubitschek,⁴ basing his figuring on the belief that the denarius contained only 70% of silver, speaks of the ratio of gold to silver as 1:8.2.

¹ *Metrologia*, p. 430; cf. Heichelheim in *Klio*, XXV (1932), p. 124.

² *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), p. 53; cf. *C. A. H.*, XII, p. 724.

³ Kubitschek, *Quinquennium*, pp. 105 ff. thinks the ratio of gold to silver at this time was 1:8.2.

⁴ *Quinq.*, p. 103.

C. I. G., 5008, 5010 (241/244 A. D.) ⁵

5008: "... I spent 6500 (?) drachmae in the second year for the god Pursepmonis."

5010: "... obeisance of Psentuaxis ... priest of the guild for the second time. ... For the first time 20 gold pieces were spent and for the second 30 gold pieces."

As first read these two inscriptions were used to support the statement that 20 aurei were then worth 3500 drachmae; a later reading was used to support the statement that 20 aurei were then worth 6500 drachmae.

It is unfortunate that the figures representing the number of drachmae are a matter of uncertainty; but, in view of that uncertainty, any inferences from these inscriptions should be made as possibilities rather than as facts. To say that these inscriptions show a value of the drachma 31% lower than in the time of the Antonines ⁶ or a 170% decrease from the time of Commodus ⁷ is, it seems, going beyond the evidence. If 5 Egyptian drachmae are rated equal to 1 denarius, the aureus can, on one reading, be said to be worth 65 denarii.⁸ The inscription has also been used to support the theory that the relation of gold to silver was 1:5.86,⁹ but of course nothing in the inscription proves this, even if one accepts the second reading as correct.

Edict of Diocletian (301 A. D.)

The purpose of Diocletian's Edict was to benefit the purchaser of goods and services, in other words to reduce prices. If, as seems likely, every commodity and service mentioned in the Edict was undervalued, it is reasonable to assume that the value given to a pound of gold was something less than the current market value. In this event the valuation of one pound of gold at 50,000 denarii indicates what Diocletian wanted it to be rather than what it actually was. Theories deduced from that

⁵ Wilcken in *Z. f. N.*, 1887, p. 325; Kubitschek in *Quinq.*, p. 105; Mickwitz, *Geld*, p. 51; Heichelheim in *Klio*, XXVI (1933), p. 103.

⁶ Mickwitz, *Geld*, p. 51.

⁷ *Klio*, XXVI (1933), p. 103. Arithmetically this is an impossible decrease.

⁸ *Num. Chron.*, XIX (1939), p. 44. Kubitschek, *Quinq.*, p. 105 says possibly 6 drachmae to 1 denarius.

⁹ Kubitschek, *Quinq.*, p. 105.

valuation, therefore, are of little if any value in determining current conditions.¹⁰ The conclusion reached by Mickwitz¹¹ that an analysis of the prices mentioned in the edict indicates a ratio of 1:20.8 for gold to silver, must, because of what has just been said, be treated with caution.

P. Giess. Univ. Bibl., 22 (Diocletian ?)

This document records the shipment of four jars of money, the contents of the separate jars being listed as follows:

Jar 1	40 talents	
Jar 2	4 talents	5600 drachmae
Jar 3	4 talents	2400 drachmae
Jar 4	4 talents	2500 drachmae

Although nothing is said in the papyrus about the size of the jars and nothing is said about the kind of money actually in the jars, for the talents and drachmae probably represent a book-keeping practice rather than actual money, Heichelheim assumes that the contents of Jar 1 were aurei and the difference in contents between Jar 1 on the one side and jars 2 to 4 on the other side indicates a ratio between gold and silver of 1:8 or 1:9. In another article¹² Heichelheim without comment quotes this papyrus in support of a ratio of 1:8.

In all fairness the papyrus proves nothing of the sort. According to Heichelheim's own figures the 40 talents in Jar 1 would weigh about 1¼ pounds, if they were in reality aurei on Diocletian's standard, or about 25 pounds if they had actually been the heavier aurei of the period before the appearance of badly depreciated subsidiary coinage.¹³ Neither quantity would, it seems, be transported rattling around in a large jar generally used for the transport of wine.

¹⁰ It is curious that so little has been said about the use of the depreciated denarius in the *Edict* in place of the good silver coin introduced by Diocletian at least five years earlier.

¹¹ *Geld*, p. 69; Giesecke, *Geldwesen*, p. 222 favors a ratio of 1:7.8 for A. D. 294, while *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1925, p. 68, favors 1:13.

¹² *Klio*, XXIX (1936), p. 131.

¹³ Heichelheim speaks incorrectly of the aureus of one forty-second of a pound of the period Commodus to Gallienus. The aureus of that weight, however, had disappeared long before Commodus.

P. Oxyrh., 1653 (306 A. D.)

This document may be translated as follows:

Account of uncoined silver delivered by the landowner and transported to Hermopolis to be delivered on account of the extra levy of uncoined silver imposed for purposes of taxation at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces upon the 100 artabae of corn by the public measure, as follows. By another 2 lb. 1 oz. 8 gr.; (by?) Bayllius out of 1 lb. after reckoning the $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz. 2 gr. left by the landowner, the remainder 7 oz. 10 gr. Total 2 lb. $8\frac{1}{2}$ oz. 6 gr. Phamenoth 2, to Sarapion, silversmith, 2 lb. 3 oz. 17 gr., for refining these 1 oz. 12 gr. Likewise 2 oz. 10 gr. of gold in 12 holokottinoi. Remainder. From which there were delivered to the landowner on Phamenoth 17 of the 14th and 2nd year, 3 oz. 9 gr. Recto: uncoined 2 lb. 8 oz. 12 gr. To Sarapion, silversmith, 2 lb. 3 oz. 17 gr., for refining these $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Total 2 lbs. 5 oz. 5 gr. Remainder 3 oz. 7 gr.

This papyrus records the payment of a tax levied in silver. Two receipts are mentioned: one of 2 lb. 1 oz. 8 gr., the other of 7 oz. 10 gr. which make a total of 2 lb. 8 oz. 18 gr. The tax official clears his accounts by the following transactions:

(a) delivery to Sarapion	2 lb. 3 oz. 17 gr.
(b) charge for refining	1 oz. 12 gr.
(c) delivery to landowner	3 oz. 9 gr.

for a total of	<hr/> 2 lb. 8 oz. 14 gr.
----------------	--------------------------

This is 4 gr. less than the amount he had received. On the recto, where the addition is correct, the sum shown as receipts is 6 gr. less than the total of the two receipts on the other side, but there need be no necessary connection between these amounts.¹⁴

Heichelheim¹⁵ works out from this document a relation between gold and silver of 1:13 $\frac{1}{2}$. This can only be done if one assumes that the twelve gold pieces were equivalent to the total of 2 lb. 8 oz. 12 gr. in silver paid as taxes, and this equation unfortunately is not shown in the papyrus. Later papyri which do equate gold and silver do not use for that purpose the word "likewise."

¹⁴ The original editors state that this papyrus shows a cost of 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ % for refining. The charge of $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. for refining 2 lb. 3 oz. 17 gr., however, is approximately 5.4%.

¹⁵ *Klio*, XXIX (1936), p. 131.

In the papyrus the weight of 12 holokottinoi is given as 2 oz. 10 gr., or an average of 4.83 gr. each.¹⁶ The editors call these coins solidi, which weighed 4 gr. each. It would seem more correct to call them "aurei," which on the basis of 60 to the pound should weigh 4.8 gr.

Publ. Soc. Ital., 310 (307 A. D.)

One ounce, presumably of gold, is here said to equal 2776 drachmae, which is in accord with the equation in the document that 3 oz. 22½ gr. (of gold) are equal to 1 talent 4930½ gr. of "silver." The document, however, contains nothing to support a ratio of gold to silver of 1:18, for the weight of the "silver" is not given.¹⁷ It is clear that the good silver coin of Diocletian, the piece at ⅙ of a pound, is not meant by the word "silver" but only the old debased coins of the pre-Diocletian period or the contemporary low-valued subsidiary coins.

P. Theadelphia, 33 (312 A. D.)

This document gives a series of receipts for payments in gold and silver. It may be summarized as follows:

Year	311	Gold	Silver
June	5	6¼ gr.	
	6	10 gr.	
	17	11¼ gr.	4 oz.
	18		2 oz.
	18		2 oz. 16 gr.
	20		1 oz.
	21		1 oz. 8 gr.
which total		17½ gr.	11 oz.

It will be noticed that on only one day are payments made in both gold and silver, and that if there was any idea of parity¹⁸ between these two weights, the ratio of gold to silver would be 1:77, which of course is ridiculous. Heichelheim¹⁹ says that the total of the various payments indicates a ratio of gold to

¹⁶ This gram is the Latin scrupula, not the metric gram.

¹⁷ As pointed out in *Klio*, XXIX (1936), p. 131.

¹⁸ No relationship is shown in the papyrus.

¹⁹ *Klio*, XXIX (1936), p. 131. The papyrus is also mentioned in Mickwitz, *Systeme*, p. 8.

silver of about 1:15. The papyrus is of course evidence only for the fact that certain payments were made in gold and that others were made in silver, and for nothing more. There is not the slightest hint of any relationship in the papyrus between the payments in gold and those in silver.

Dessau, 9420 (323 A. D.)

This inscription, found at Feltre in northern Italy, is as follows: ²⁰

Severo et Rufino coss. V K Sept acceperunt coll fabr et cc (denarii) quingenta milia computata usura anni uni centesima una (denarii) LX de qua usura per singulos an die V idu Jan natale ipsius ex usura ss at memoriam Hos Flaminini refriger se . . . debunt et IIIIvir et sex princ et off pub spor no aureos den et sil sing neic non et per ros at memor eius refrigerar deveb n CCCLXII.

The word "denarii" has been substituted for the sign commonly used to designate that coin, otherwise no abbreviations have been expanded. Only a few things are clear about this inscription. The sum of 500,000 denarii was to be invested at 12% interest, and the income of 60,000 denarii ²¹ was to be used to keep alive the memory of a certain Hos. Flamininus. Cesano interprets, "aureos den" as aureos denarios; Kubitschek, following Dessau, as ten aurei. The number of persons who are to receive payments in aurei and siliquae is composed of three groups: (a) the IIIIvir., (b) the sex princ., (c) the off. pub., although the last two seem to be usually considered as one group. Groups "a" and "b" clearly comprise ten persons, but there is no indication of the number in the third group.²² With one exception the "n CCCLXII" at the end of the inscription has been interpreted to mean the number of members in the coll. fabr. et cc. Kubitschek, however, insists that the correct interpreta-

²⁰ Cesano in *Rendic. della r. Acc. dei Lincei*, Ser. v, XVII (1908), p. 237; Kubitschek in *Num. Zeit.*, II (1909), p. 47; in *Anz. Wien. Akad.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1934, p. 144; and in *Byz. Zeit.*, 1935, p. 347; Heichelheim in *Klio*, XXIX (1936), p. 131.

²¹ If we supply milia after LX.

²² Dessau interprets the inscription to mean that ten persons each received annually one aureus and that each member of the collegium received one siliqua. While this may be the meaning of the inscription, it does not seem to say so.

tion is nummis CCCLXII, or more properly nummis CCCLXIS ($361\frac{1}{2}$), in order to obtain a ratio of $1:1\frac{1}{2}$ between the total of 241 siliquae (10 aurei plus 1 siliqua) and the $361\frac{1}{2}$ nummi.²³

Because the inscription mentions denarii, aurei, and siliquae,²⁴ it is tempting to use it to find a ratio between gold and silver. Heichelheim²⁵ and Kubitschek²⁶ both confidently claim the ratio shown is $1:18$. But no ratio of any kind is to be found in the inscription unless one makes inferences that are not based on the facts stated in the inscription.²⁷

P. Oxyrh., 2106 (Early Fourth Century)²⁸

The essential part of this papyrus is as follows:²⁹

"Ten myriads (of denarii) for each pound (of gold) shall be paid to those providing it by the sacred Treasury; and in order that the price may be paid on the spot in ready money I have sent to my lord and brother, the most eminent catholicus, so that he may command the overseers to do this."

This quotation is from a document ordering a levy of 38 pounds of gold from Oxyrhynchus. It is difficult to see why the government should speak of purchasing gold unless the intention

²³ As pointed out by Mickwitz, this is not convincing. Neither is the assumption in Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 228, who says that 10 (the number of aurei) times 24 (the number of siliquae in a solidus) plus 1 siliqua plus 362 siliquae (*sic*) equals 603 siliquae or 25 solidi, 3 siliquae.

²⁴ One does not expect to find the siliqua, which was introduced in 312, mentioned in the same inscription with the denarius, which perhaps should be considered here as meaning the follis.

²⁵ *Klio*, XXIX (1936), p. 131.

²⁶ *Byz. Zeit.*, 1935, p. 347.

²⁷ Mickwitz has already pointed out that there is no relation in the inscription between the denarii and the aurei and the siliqua. *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1925, p. 68 favors a ratio of $1:12$ for Constantine; Giesecke, *Geldwesen*, p. 222 a ratio of $1:9$ for A. D. 307 and a ratio of $1:12\frac{1}{2}$ in A. D. 340, but in both cases he assumes that 1 gold piece equals $12\frac{1}{2}$ silver pieces.

²⁸ Before the establishment of Constantinople: Heichelheim in *Klio*, XXVI (1933), p. 109.

²⁹ See Kubitschek in *Num. Zeit.*, VI (1913), p. 161; *Num. Zeit.*, XVI (1923), p. 29; Wessely in *Num. Zeit.*, VI (1913), p. 219. In *Num. Zeit.*, VI (1913), p. 161 the document is assigned to the end of the fourth century. The word "denarius" seems to have been often used in place of drachma in papyri dated after Diocletian.

is to provide change for those taxpayers who could not offer the exact quantity required of them.

It is sometimes said that this papyrus shows a price of gold just twice that mentioned in Diocletian's Edict. It may well be, however, that the document indicates only a further depreciation of the old subsidiary coinage.

S. P. P., I, p. 3 or *SB.*, 6086.

The recto of this document is as follows:

line	gold	silver
1	1 lb. 2 oz. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ($\frac{1}{3}$) ($\frac{1}{48}$) gr. (and)	11 lb. 10 oz. 12 plus gr.
	(itemized as follows:)	
3	1 oz. $16\frac{1}{3}$ gr.	(and) 1 lb. 4 oz. $19\frac{1}{3}$ gr.
4	6 oz. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ gr.	(and) 5 lb. $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
5	2 oz. $12\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ plus gr.	(and) 2 lb. 1 oz. $2\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ gr.
6	2 oz.	(and) 1 lb. 8 oz.
7	1 oz. $4\frac{1}{10}$ gr.	(and) 11 oz. 17 gr.
8	$20\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ gr.	(and) 8 oz. $15\frac{1}{3}$ gr.
9.	1 lb. (3) oz. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ gr.	(and) 12 lb. 6 oz. $7\frac{1}{2}$ plus gr.
	(itemized as follows:)	
11	2 oz. $13\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ gr.	(and) 2 lb. 1 oz. $13\frac{1}{4}$ gr.
12	1 oz. $8\frac{1}{4}$ gr.	(and) 1 lb. 1 oz. $10\frac{1}{2}$ gr.
13	6 oz. $18\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ gr.	(and) 5 lb. 7 oz. $16\frac{1}{3}$ gr.
14	1 oz. 12 gr.	(and) 1 lb. 3 oz.

The verso reads:

- 1 6 oz. $14\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ gr. (and) 2 lb. 1 oz. 2(2) gr.
- 3 (gold 5 oz. 4) $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ gr. and for the half of the silver weighing 2 lb. 1 oz. 22 gr. were paid $8\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ nomismatia, which weigh 1 oz. $10\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ gr.
- 4 and for the other half 2 lb. 1 oz. 22 gr. (of silver).
- 5 7 oz. 16 gr. (and) 2 lb. 6 oz.
- ~~7 (6 oz. and) for the half of the silver weighing 2 lb. 6 oz.~~
- ~~were paid 10 nomismatia which weigh 1 oz. 16 gr.~~
- 8 and for the other half 2 lb. 6 oz. (of silver).
- 9 1 lb. 10 oz. $7\frac{3}{4}$ gr. (and 7 lb. 7 oz. $7\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ gr.)
- 11 6 oz. 6 gr. and for the half of the silver weighing 7 lb. 7 oz. $7\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ gr. were paid $30\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ nomismatia which weigh (5 oz. $1\frac{3}{4}$ gr.)
- 12 and for the other half 7 lb. 7 oz. $7\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ gr. (of silver).
- 14 2 oz. $13\frac{1}{3}$ gr. (and) 10 oz.
- 16 (2 oz. gold and for) half of the silver weighing 10 oz. were paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ nomismatia which weigh $13\frac{1}{3}$ gr.
- 17 and for the other half 10 oz. (of silver).

Mickwitz believes³⁰ this papyrus concerns a tax payable in gold and silver, the weight of the silver demanded being ten times the weight of the gold required, but with the provision that half of the amount of silver demanded could be paid in gold.³¹

As first read by Wessely the papyrus seemed to show four different ratios of gold to silver, namely 1:18, 1:18.04, 1:17.9, 1:16.5, but when the readings were revised by Wessely and Kubitschek³² it was found that the only ratio was 1:18.³³ See lines 3, 7, 11 and 16 on the verso.

It will be noticed that lines 1 to 4, 5 to 8, 9 to 12 and 14 to 17 form four groups identical in their arrangement of the figures that are used. Using lines 1 to 4 as an example, it will be seen that line 1 contains (a) the total amount of gold received and (b) that part of the total tax in silver that might be paid in gold. Line 3 contains (c) the gold received in payment of the tax in gold and (d) the gold received in payment of half the tax that was levied in silver. Line 4 contains (e) the amount of silver actually received. It will also be seen that (d) gives a precise ratio between gold and silver, which in each of the four groups is 1:18. Except in the third group, the sum of (c) and (d) exactly equals (a).

In each instance the amount of gold mentioned in (d) is expressed in solidi as well as by weight, unlike the amount of gold in (c) which is mentioned by weight only. In every case the average weight of the solidus is exactly 4 grams, its theoretical weight. In two instances the number of solidi is expressed in fractions that are impossible from the standpoint of actual coinage. It seems clear, therefore, that the papyrus was not considering actual coins, but simply the theoretical solidus equivalent of a particular amount of gold.

The ratio of 1:18 shows that a pound of silver was considered equal to four solidi, a value that is explicitly given in *Cod. Theod.*, VIII, 4, 27.

³⁰ *Système*, p. 7. The present writer can find no other reference to such a tax, if it was a tax.

³¹ This ratio of 1:10 is also found by adding (b) and (e) and dividing by (c). For these letters see below.

³² *Byz. Zeit.*, 1935, p. 340.

³³ Mickwitz, *Geld*, p. 56, and in *Annales d'Hist. econ.*, VI, p. 242.

The recto of this document records two groups of receipts, each of which was itemized; thus, lines 3 to 7 make up the totals given in line 1. The weights shown in each line seem to be the amounts of gold and silver received in payment of some tax, but there is nothing to indicate that the two were of equal value. If they were equal the ratio between gold and silver would be 1:10. Two ratios in the same document would be extremely difficult to explain. If, as seems likely, the amounts here are related to the figures shown on the verso, then the gold represents both the amount received in payment of the tax payable in gold, and the amount received for that half of the silver tax that might be paid in gold.

P. Bremer, 83 (Fourth Century)

This papyrus is of interest in showing the weights of solidi in circulation. In one place 111 solidi are said to weigh 1 lb. 5 oz. 20 gr. or an average of 3.86 gr. each. This is about 3½% below the theoretical weight and seems to indicate worn coins. In two places single solidi weigh 3.91½ gr. each, or about 2% below the theoretical weight.³⁴ In another place ten solidi weigh 39 gr. or an average of 3.9 gr. each.

In Col. ii, which is not printed, it is said that a village is shown to have paid 2 pounds of gold and 25 pounds of silver. This is not the proportion shown in *SB.*, 6086, nor is there any evidence that the gold was equated in value with the silver.

P. Harris, 97 (Fourth Century)

This papyrus gives prices of gold and silver but does not give any weights. As Mickwitz³⁵ has pointed out, it is of no assistance in determining the relative value of gold and silver.

P. Oxyrh., 1524 (Fourth Century)

This document may be translated in part as follows:

gold 1 gr., uncoined (silver) 10 gr.
gold ½ gr., uncoined (silver) 5 gr.

³⁴ Luschin in *Sitzb. Wien., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, CLXIII (1909), p. 63 gives the average weight of the solidus as 3.89 gr. or 4.42 metric grammes.

³⁵ *Num. Chron.*, XVII (1937), p. 143.

If the document is similar to the verso of *SB.*, 6086, it shows a ratio between gold and silver of 1:10. Its form, however, makes that comparison extremely unlikely. If, as is more reasonable, it is to be compared with the recto of *SB.*, 6086, it probably shows payments of some levy made in the ratio of ten units of silver by weight and one unit of gold by weight without any indication of the relative value of the two metals.

Both Mickwitz³⁶ and Heichelheim³⁷ assume it shows a ratio of gold to silver of 1:10, but until the meaning of the document becomes clear, it is unwise to draw any inference from it.³⁸

Cod. Theod., XIII, 2, 1 (397 A. D.)

Iubemus, ut pro argenti summa, quam quis thesauris fuerat inlaturus, inferendi auri accipiat facultatem, ita ut pro singulis libris argenti quinos solidos inferat.

This permits the acceptance of five solidi instead of one pound of silver in obligations owing to the government. As a solidus weighed 4 gr. this gives a ratio of gold to silver of 1:14 $\frac{4}{10}$.³⁹ Mickwitz⁴⁰ believes the ratio here shown was due to an accidental increase in the value of silver, caused perhaps by the reasons which led to the prohibition of exports of gold in A. D. 375.⁴¹

Cod. Theod., VIII, 4, 27 (422 A. D.)

Pro singulis libris argenti quas primipilares viris spectabilibus ducibus sportulae gratia praestant, quaterni solidi praebeantur, si non ipsi argentum offerre sua sponte maluerint.

Here again gold solidi seem to be acceptable by count in payment of obligations due in silver. Differing from the preceding document the payment is four solidi for one pound of silver, or a ratio of 1:18.

³⁶ Mickwitz, *Systeme*, p. 8.

³⁷ *Klio*, XXIX (1936), p. 131.

³⁸ On the same basis *SB.*, 6086 could be used to show two contemporary ratios, one of 1:10, the other 1:18.

³⁹ Mickwitz, *Systeme*, p. 7 says 1:14 $\frac{3}{10}$. Giesecke, *Geldwesen*, p. 222 says 1:15. For A. D. 383 he has worked out a ratio of 1:18.

⁴⁰ *Annales d'Hist. econ.*, VI, p. 242. Here he gives the ratio as 1:15.

⁴¹ *Cod. Just.*, IV, 63, 2. A lag of 22 years, however, seems to weaken this idea.

Summary

The facts that seem to be well proved by this discussion may be quickly summarized. Sound evidence for the ratio between gold and silver is found in three places, and only in three places:

<i>SB.</i> , 6086	Fourth Century	1:18
<i>Cod. Theod.</i> , XIII, 2, 1	397 A. D.	1:14 $\frac{1}{10}$
<i>Cod. Theod.</i> , VIII, 4, 27	422 A. D.	1:18

Compared with the first and second centuries, silver was cheaper in relation to gold, not more expensive.

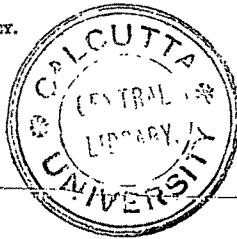
For the weight of aurei and solidi in circulation, *P. Oxyrh.*, 1653 and *P. Bremer*, 83 are good evidence. *SB.*, 6086, on the other hand, seems to be using a fictitious gold piece.

For the exchange of gold and silver by count rather than by weight the two sections of the *Theodosian Code* just quoted seem to be evidence. Because the story told in Lucian's *Pseudologistes* is a swindle, too much weight should not be placed upon that bit of evidence.

P. Oxyrh., 1653 may be considered evidence for the passing of gold coins by weight. Whether or not a particular obligation could be settled by tendering gold coins by count or by weight would seem to depend upon the needs and power of the creditor. Here perhaps practice did not differ from more modern times.

LOUIS C. WEST.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY.



INTEGRATION AND THE *HYMN TO APOLLO*.

Professor H. T. Wade-Gery, starting with the results of Professor Felix Jacoby,¹ has lately reëxamined the structure and history of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.² He decides that Kynaithos performed the hymn in Syracuse about 504 B. C.; that it was then a composite work, lines 179-213 being the only considerable fragment which he wrote himself;³ and that lines 182-206 are a piece of Ionian verse by a contemporary of Simonides.⁴ I do not discuss his account of the hymn, confining myself to one principle involved, and some details that it affects.

In Professor Wade-Gery's article⁵ there arise the questions whether epic style is a criterion for solving problems concerning the history of a poem in epic verse and what is the force of rational incoherences in epic passages as evidence. I begin with a description of epic creation, as I suppose it to be.

"Not the poems, but the epic technique was learnt" by the minstrels.⁶ The poems grew by frequent recitations, at each of which changes were made, some intentional and some unintentional, and at some of which alterations were made in the broad structural design of the poems. It was rather an advantage than a disadvantage to use old phrases and old lines or groups of lines. What new creation there was concerned the mortar which combined old bricks into a new edifice; and perhaps also passages which had been forgotten and needed to be composed again. How much small improvements were consciously sought it is hard to say. Possibly they were liked, if an analogy may be derived from English and Scottish ballads, which survive in many versions, as many as twenty-seven in one instance.⁷ But in general the conscious will to improve and perfect all phrases is later than the epic ages. The best modern example of these conditions

¹ *Sitzungsb. Preuss. Akad.*, 1933, pp. 682-725.

² *Greek Poetry and Life, Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1936), pp. 56-78.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70, 74, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70, n. 3.

⁶ M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, Methuen, 1933), p. 207.

⁷ W. A. Edwards, *Plagiarism* (Cambridge, Fraser, 1933), pp. 8-32.

is to be found in Southslavic Epic, in which composition by formulae is still practised.⁸

Professor J. W. Woodhouse lately examined the question whether the original work of Homer himself could be distinguished from the lines and passages which he inherited from others and used.⁹ The problem is "What do we mean by 'composer' in this connexion?"¹⁰ On the whole, new and old work are scarcely distinguishable. "Of spontaneity there is nothing—except the illusion of it." "Greek poetry is conventional; but . . . with each repetition the poet hits the nail on the head and his lines seem newly minted for just this place and occasion." "Does it ever occur to us to remind ourselves that such lines¹¹ are in fact ready-mades, stock lines pigeon-holed in the bard's memory for use on appropriate occasions?"¹² Even Homer could not have said which were his own verses;¹³ though of course some verses were his own composition—"so far as the words 'own composition' have any real meaning in reference to that ancient minstrelsy."¹⁴ On the whole Woodhouse thinks that we cannot distinguish older from newer work;¹⁵ but he also writes "It seems then that just as we find derivatives from the Saga apt to be characterized by more or less elaborate similes, so, in parts of the poems in which the poet has been free to invent after his own heart, we find an extraordinary poetic beauty and depth of quality, which make each such passage stand out in a quite special way."¹⁶ One passage¹⁷ "is suffused with the romantic quality that is one of the characteristics of the poet's manner when, so far as we can tell, he is working with a free hand."¹⁸ In spite of the difficulties, therefore, and the special nature of epic composition, it is often hard not to think that certain passages come directly from the mind of Homer himself,

⁸ M. Parry, *T. A. P. A.*, LXIV (1933), pp. 179-197.

⁹ J. W. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930), pp. 232-244.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹¹ For example, β 427 f.; cf. ε 43-54, μ 181-191.

¹² Woodhouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 235; cf. *passim*, and especially pp. 232-235, on "the poet's cement."

¹⁷ ω 226-348.

¹⁸ Woodhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 233.



in some quite special way, however many may be the current, common epic formulae which appear in them. Even Woodhouse has to think this, though strictly it is in conflict with his other expressed opinions. It is easy to find passages in the *Iliad* which give the same effect of Homeric authenticity; for example most of A; the scenes in which Thetis appears, and perhaps above all the death of Hector in X, especially the softness of X 123-130 contrasted with the terrible splendour of X 131-144. It is important that such passages are on the whole those which are organic not to hypothetical former lays but to the last grand tragic scheme of Homer's own *Iliad*.

In spite of this precarious possibility of detecting new and authentic composition, it is still a mistake to separate too sharply the new from the old which is being used again. In a sense the poetry is always the old being used again, and in another sense it is always new, if only because the context, or even merely the time and the audience, are different. Partly, it is a question of good and bad borrowing of phrases and thoughts: "... we reach the conclusion that the best borrowers are those who have abundance of their own; the great capitalists who, having large possessions, can make use of their loans from others."¹⁹ But "borrowing" is not the most modern definition of the process; and in general the whole problem has been obscured by a failure to see that the technique of early oral poetry is not really different in kind from the most universal sort of poetic activity. That is, earlier and later poetic creation can help to explain each other. It is not even quite safe to say with Professor M. P. Nilsson²⁰ that in the time of Greek epic composition a poet's genius "was displayed in other forms than we are wont to take as natural for poetical work," on account of the derivative method of early epic poetry. The early poets and others too are all original in similar and often derivative ways.

Poetry, as Professor John Livingston Lowes has shown, by his work on Coleridge, is normally made by an unconscious process, by which fragments of material, many of them the images and phrases of former poetry, are stored together, often for a long time, in "the deep well of unconscious cerebration," and are

¹⁹ E. E. Kellett, *Literary Quotation and Allusion* (Cambridge, Heffer, 1933), p. 45; cf. *ibid.*, *passim*.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 183.

eventually thrown up into the conscious mind in a new unity, to be again combined into a larger unity by the conscious direction of will and design.²¹ That this process is at least often characteristic of Vergil (as indeed it is probably characteristic of poets in general) has been shown by Professor E. K. Rand,²² who discloses the important principle that when poetry appears imperfect and weak the reason may be that phrases and images have not been allowed a long enough time to settle down into a new unity within the unconscious mind.²³ That is, conscious direction has invaded the rightful province of unconscious cerebration. Now much is known of the Vergilian process, and it can throw light on the Homeric. Vergil and Homer, as Father A. Espinosa Pólit has acutely suggested, are not very different in their dependence on former poetry;²⁴ and, since Vergil's knowledge of all early epic was probably unique, he may indeed have learned or acquired his method from it.

In the work of Homer, Vergil, and other poets also there is complete distillation, entire fusion, and perfectly spontaneous, satisfying poetry, firmly and decisively self-governed, whenever reminiscences have been stored in the unconscious mind sufficiently long and have there been subjected to the right unconscious processes. Otherwise there may be dislocations and irregularities of many sorts. They happen principally between the units of unconscious creation, at points where the conscious will assumes excessive authority. Examples of the perfected units occur in every book of Vergil, who ". . . avec la maestria qui le caractérise dans la représentation d'une poursuite en circuit fermé, entrelace les lignes harmonieuses. Le petit tableau est tout à fait réussi et charmant pour l'imagination."²⁵ Perfec-

²¹ John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xenodochia* (London, Constable, 1933), p. 56 (quoting Henry James' phrase concerning "the deep well"), and *passim*, especially pp. 427-432.

²² E. K. Rand, *The Magical Art of Virgil* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1931), pp. vii-ix, 10-15, and *passim*.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁴ A. Espinosa Pólit, *Virgilio, El poeta y su misión providencial* (Quito, Ecuador, Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1932), pp. 36-133.

²⁵ A.-M. Guillemin, *L'originalité de Virgile* (Paris, "Les Belles Lettres," 1931), p. 137, on *Aeneid*, V, 545-603 and comparing *Aeneid*, XI, 664-915; cf. e.g. also *Georgics*, II, 136-176, *Aeneid*, I, 723-755, II, 40-56, 199-233, 567-587, VIII, 608-731.

tion is actually more likely when there is plenty of earlier material, images and phrases, to be stored, awaiting new fusion, in the unconscious. Poets and poems can be distinguished by the degree of the perfection which by this fusion is created. Mr. David Gurney has somewhere observed that Coleridge positively could not write his best poetry without originals to follow closely. The same could be said of many other poets, ancient and modern; though, as I have shown,²⁶ some poetry is notably independent of literary derivation.

The principal difference between the Homeric, or early, and the Vergilian, or later and developed, method of artistic dependence is this. Early poets do not avoid "epic repetition," but Vergil, and most later poets, do.²⁷ The early poets use older verses again without change, if they fit, and often with the smallest necessary change, if they do not; later poets, especially Vergil, tend to insist on some change at least, and perhaps even to subject old lines to the unconscious process of fusion described by Lowes. This is almost equally so whether poets use old lines composed by other poets or old lines of their own; though the special sensitivity of individual poets to certain sounds, rhythms, and forms of thought controls very greatly the changes which poets may or may not make within a certain range of association.²⁸

At a very rough approximation to the truth, the whole matter of authenticity, derivation, and poetic quality is much complicated by the difficulty and importance of the question, in respect of any passage, as to how much of the process by which it was created was conscious and how much of it was not. In fact the relation between the more consciously and the less consciously constructed parts of a single poet's work is likely to be very much like the relation between the patching work of a redactor or editor and the fragments of a poet's work joined or rejoined by it; or like the relation between corrupt and sound parts of a text transmitted through many copyists. Dislocations and inco-

²⁶ In a paper read to the Sheffield Classical Association on 4th March 1936 and in an article in *Vergilius*, May 1940, pp. 7-16.

²⁷ John Sparrow, *Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 76, etc., proves this for Vergil.

²⁸ Cf. Jan van Gelder, *De Woordherhaling bij Catullus* (The Hague, N. V. de Zuid-Hollandsche Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij, 1933), especially pp. 87-96, on the effect of rhythm, and pp. 105-118, on the combined effect of all the psychological influences on the construction of verses.

herences may just as well be due to a single poet's mind as to ill coördinated coöperation between several individuals, unless there is some special reason to believe in multiple agency. Seneca's plays give good examples of such dislocations, which are the result of a process which at one extreme may be verbal dependence on some authority and at the other is almost a kind of textual corruption. The circumstances have been worked out by Dr. W.-H. Friedrich.²⁹ In Seneca's *Oedipus*, for example, the scenes of haruspicy and necromancy are rather parallel than successive; they have two unities rather than one. They are joined by two lines that are unsatisfactory, 388-389,³⁰ and by others, 390-400, which are satisfactory as an introduction to the necromancy, but not as a conclusion to the haruspicy.³¹ Later, at 643, 658, Oedipus discovers that Laius was his father; but afterwards, at 663, 665, appears to have forgotten it.³² Yet it can be shown that the scenes belong to Seneca's mind and are not the work of a redactor.³³ "Diese Tatsache, dass ein Zusammenhang des dramatischen Geschehens objektiv hier nicht besteht, sondern jeweils durch einen geistigen Akt des Lesers hergestellt werden muss, wird durch die verschiedenen kleinen Übergangspartien nur notdürftig verschleiert."³⁴ In Seneca's *Troades* two motives are combined, the death of Astyanax and the death of Polyxena. The scene of Talthybius, 360-370, is indispensable, though it is incoherent with the rest of the play.³⁵ Often two passages are in the text together, neither complete without the other, but both together in conflict; so that if one had been removed the other would have needed to be rewritten.

With this background some passages of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* can be approached. I assume that the early, Delian, part

²⁹ Wolf-Hartmut Friedrich, *Untersuchungen zu Senecas dramatischer Technik* (Borna-Leipzig, Noske, 1933).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91, comparing Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* and *Troilus and Cressida*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101; cf. e. g. pp. 110-113, 131-147, 150, especially pp. 134-136, on the unity which existed in the mind of Seneca and is variously dissolved in the written plays, needing for its restoration a contribution from the imagination of the percipient, and pp. 146-147, on the difference between "Doppelfassung" and interpolation.

was changed, as Professor F. Jacoby has shown, to make it roughly fit the extension of the later, Pythian, part, when that was added. I also assume, as Professor H. T. Wade-Gery has now proved, that the Pythian part is itself composite, since it has clearly been adjusted to the change of ownership of the oracle, and for other reasons also; and that in composing the Pythian part, again as Professor Wade-Gery has shown, an earlier poem on the foundation of the oracle was used.

The *Hymn to Apollo* has dislocations in both its parts, but it has also units of perfectly achieved poetry. The dislocations do not, as I have already argued, necessarily prove composite authorship just because they are dislocations. Again, weaker passages may be by the same poet as the best passages, but composed by a less effective mental process, and perhaps in a different mood. Therefore, style, quality, accuracy, and originality are not sufficient criteria by themselves. Other arguments are needed for a decision; especially the argument from conjecturally inferred different contexts, in which verses, not strictly coherent in their present places, would have fitted exactly. Woodhouse is probably inclined to overestimate the strict accuracy of even some of the verses which he himself would like to call Homer's own; it must not be forgotten that irregularities must have been far less easy to notice in oral than in written poetry.

Professor Wade-Gery compares the second scene in Olympus, *Hymn. Apoll.*, 179-206, to *Hymn. Art.* and *Hymn. Ath.* on account of their finished, strong, and self-dependent style, and suggests that all three are by the same poet. I agree; and only doubt which, of the many poets who might be identified, this poet was.

The three passages have the quality which poetry gains when images and phrases have been for a long time in the unconscious mind, becoming fused into the new unity which will appear at the moment of creation. The conscious mind has not invaded the province of the unconscious. More can be said. The three passages are reiterations, like the reiterations of Vergil. They show different applications of the same or similar words, sounds, and images—the beginning of the principle by which Vergil avoided epic repetition; but there is no sign that any one of the passages was composed by a different poet, using reminiscences from one or both of the other two. By contrast, *Hymn. Apoll.*,

514-516 seem to be a reminiscence, by another poet, of 202, which is more accomplished and more smoothly set in its context.

The "second scene in Olympus" is almost a perfect unit in itself, independent of its context. The qualification is needed at the beginning; it is possible that 182-183, where Apollo goes to Pytho, and 186-187, where he goes to Olympus, are adapted to the present context, in the "Pythian part" of the expanded hymn; and, as the manuscript *P* does not give 189, and 190 fits well onto 188, the passage may have been complete from 190, rather than from 179 or possibly 182, when it was built into its present place in the text. But wherever it originally started, the scene looks like a short detached hymn, composed and existing in its own right, like the two to which it has been compared. *Hymn. Apoll.* at the longest has twenty-seven lines, *Hymn. Art.* twenty-two, and *Hymn. Ath.* nineteen; so that all are about the same length, as if they were all by one poet, who naturally composed within this span of rhythm.

To answer the question which of all the poets composed the three short hymns, another short unit has to be compared. It is Σ 590-606, the description of the dancing floor and the dance pictured on the shield of Achilles. The passage has again about the same rhythmic span; it is sixteen lines long. It has the same visual clarity, and the same interest in dress and moving figures; and for once there is an instance of epic repetition, since *Hymn. Apoll.*, 196 appears as Σ 594,

ὄρχευντ', ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες

(except that Mr. T. W. Allen in his text of the hymn begins this line with \omicron not ω). Elsewhere there is true retraction, as in the descriptions of lyre-playing, *Hymn. Apoll.*, 182, 201-202, and Σ 604-605.

Now the shield of Achilles is an elaborate work of the late geometric age, as Professor J. L. Myres has shown.²⁶ The description of it is authentically Homer's, if anything is. The picture of dancers, hand on wrist, is therefore Homeric; and there is nothing in the four similar passages here compared which is obviously not. The conclusion is obvious. All four are

²⁶ J. L. Myres, *Who Were the Greeks?* (Berkeley, California, Univ. of California Press, 1930), pp. 517-525.

Homer's own; and the true *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* was built into the existing *Hymn. Apoll.* probably enough by Kynaithos, when he rebuilt the Pythian part and combined it with the Delian.

The sense of unity, due to long fusion in the unconscious and to great poetic control, is nowhere else in the hymn so strong. In particular, the fusion is often bad in the passages 283-318, 388-501, 526-544. The conscious invades the unconscious; and the changes of style and dislocations suggest a long and eventful history for the poem.

The loss of 261-289 from the manuscripts *E* and *T* seems to be a sign that a version without the incident of Telphousa once existed. It is to be supposed that our 290,

ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔχουσιν,

which is soon followed by 294,

Ὡς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμήλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,

then came immediately after 249 (= 289),

ἐνθάδ' ἀγνήσουσι τελέσσας ἐκατόμβας,

leading on through identical lines to 254 (= 294). 290 seems to have been already in the mind of the poet of 419,

ἀλλὰ παρὲκ Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔχουσα,

and of 432,

ὅς τε διὲκ Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔργει,

both of them in the description of how Apollo found the Cretans and installed them at Pytho.

Not far away there is a bad example of irregular creation or perhaps too conscious manipulation. The lines are about the snake, 302-304:

ζατρεφέα μεγάλην τέρας ἄγριον, ἣ κακὰ πολλὰ
ἀνθρώπους ἔρδεσκειν ἐπὶ χθονί, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοὺς
πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ταναύποδ' ἐπεὶ πέλε πῆμα δαφουρόν.

This is a mechanical mixture, not a chemical compound. It was mixed consciously with epic formulae changed just sufficiently to provide the requisite explanation of the snake. τέρας ἄγριον in

its place in harsh but tolerable. After *χθονί* something like *πουλυβοτείρη* has been removed, but the transformation only succeeds at first; *ταναύποδ'* is rather a grotesque Aeolism, and the last four words are very weak, if not tautologous, in the manner of the worst parts of Quintus Smyrnaeus and Tryphiodorus; they merely fill up the line with an obvious formula, in which *βροτοῖσι* has been changed to *δαφουόν* by the influence of *ζατρεφέα*.

Among other imperfectly adapted lines is 318, with *ελοῦσα* where *έλών* is wanted, and 354, where surely *κακῶ* should be *κακῇ*.

There are more informative signs of manipulation in 388-396:

- Καὶ τότε δὴ κατὰ θυμὸν ἐφράζετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
οὓς τινὰς ἀνθρώπους ὀργίονας εἰσαγάγοιτο,
390 οἳ θεραπεύονται Πυθοῖ ἐνι πετρήεσση·
ταῦτ' ἄρα ὀρμαίνων ἐνόησ' ἐπὶ οἶνοπι πόντῳ
νῆα θοήν· ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ἔσαν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοί,
Κρήτες ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ Μινωῖτον, οἳ ῥά τ' ἀνακτι
ιερά τε ῥέζουσι καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι θέμιστας
395 Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, ὅττι κεν εἴπη
χρεῖων ἐκ δάφνης γυάλων ὑπο Παρνησοῖο.

388 is an obvious formula. 389 is an attempt to effect a transition as quickly as possible; *ὀργίονας* is an unique form for *ὀργείωνας* (*ὀργείωνας* may be the right reading), and not a very natural word to use. 390 is not smooth and finished without a dative governed by the verb. 391-392 are satisfactory. 388-392 were apparently composed hastily for the sake of a quick transition from obvious epic formulae by the poet of the whole hymn as we have it now. The question of 393-396 is more complicated. They were not roughly composed of epic formulae for this context; on the contrary, they are good lines, rightly composed for another context, which have been transposed to their present place, or possibly, in some sense, left where they were, without change, when changes in them had become necessary on account of alterations in the context. The great difficulty is of course the occurrence of present tenses in 394. They are preserved by *E* and *T*, the very manuscripts which omit 261-289, thereby implying a version in which the incident of Telphousa did not occur. There is no justification for altering the present tenses to futures; and therefore these following possibilities, for the text as it is, are available. The presents may mean that the Cretans

were worshipping Apollo in Crete, and communicating his oracles, when the poet was composing. But 395-396 say that the oracles which they communicate are given at Delphi; and it is hardly credible that the Delphic oracle had an agency in Crete. The other possibility is that *ὅττι κεν εἴπῃ, κτλ.*, is thoughtlessly added, a possibility involving much complication and likely to be entertained by no one. The suggestion that *ἀνακτι* does not mean Apollo but some other divine or human prince is much too forcible in the context and does not remove the difficulty of 395-396. The solution must be this. The poet of the extant hymn has now reached the existing Hesiodic poem on the foundation of the oracle, but he is not yet following it in its original sequence. In it 393-396 came at a point where the sense was this: "<Those who look after the shrine of Apollo at Delphi are> Cretans from Cnossus, who . . . report his oracles, whatever he announces . . . under Parnassus." The four lines are out of place as they stand now, because they come before the installation of the Cretans at Delphi. It is to be supposed that the final poet of the hymn remembered them and joined them to his transitional lines, without noticing—in oral recitation—the incoherence of the present tenses. This theory also resolves the difficulty about *ἀνακτι*; for in the old poem there may be supposed to have been some mention of Apollo just before, which made ambiguity impossible. There the story of Apollo looking round for priests and seeing the ship either was not told or else came in a different order in respect of 393-396.

The episode of Apollo disguising himself as a dolphin need not belong to any Delphian story. It may belong to a Cretan aetiology for the Delphinian month and Delphidian festival, which as Mr. T. W. Allen shows in his full edition of the Homeric Hymns, *ad loc.*, were known there. It is not likely that the obvious etymology connecting these words with dolphins was made only for Delphi in North Greece. Actually the element *δελφ-* in these words seems to mean *vulva*, in application to clefts in mother earth, symbolically equated with human anatomy.³⁷

Hesiod's fragment 265 (Rzach, 1913) shows that someone at

³⁷ F. Muller, "De 'Komst' van den Hemelgod," *Mededeelingen d. Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, LXXIV, Ser. B, No. 7, p. 33; cf. my article in *Vergilius*, January 1939, pp. 6-16.

some time thought, or at least intended to say, that Homer himself and a poet traditionally considered Hesiodic together composed a hymn to Apollo by epic combination and performed it at Delos. The lines are:

ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοὶ
μέλπομεν ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδὴν
Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον ὃν τέκε Δηῶ.

Unless the passage can be proved a literary fairytale or joke, an Hesiodic poet would appear to have used poetry by Homer himself, in coöperation with him, for just such a poem as the extant hymn. If so, it is hard not to think that the Homeric material is the surviving second scene in Olympus, created, with the other unitary hymns and the passage in Σ, by the Homer who composed the *Iliad*. Then the Hesiodic poet, who in the fragment is the speaker, in coöperation with Homer, combined the second scene (ῥάψαντες) with other material, first (τότε πρῶτον) to form a longer hymn suitable to be performed at Delos, and afterwards to create the Hesiodic *Foundation of the Oracle*. The signs of adaptation at the beginning of the scene recommend this possibility; or the later combination implied by τότε πρῶτον may refer to a still later form, perhaps even the final form of the extant hymn. This is scarcely possible, however; since the Hesiodic fragment, if it is honest, must clearly mean a date about 700 B. C. or sooner for the first combination of the Homeric with the Hesiodic material. Can there actually be here a trace of the real historical Homer's life?

W. F. J. KNIGHT.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE SOUTH WEST OF ENGLAND,
EXETER, ENGLAND.

ON THE TRIBAL COURTS IN PLATO'S LAWS.

In the system of courts proposed by Plato in the *Laws* there appear certain tribunals variously called *δικαστήρια κατὰ φυλάς* (768b, 921d), *φυλετικά δικαστήρια* (768c), *φυλετικά δίκαι* (915c, 920d), and *κωμηταί τε καὶ φυλέται* (956c).¹ These courts are courts of second instance in private litigation. Below them are the "neighbors or arbitrators" (920d), to whom all such disputes are first referred, and above them stands the Court of Select Judges, which has final jurisdiction over all civil cases (956c-d).

Of the constitution of these tribal courts we are told very little in the *Laws*. That they are to be popular courts, selected by lot, is clear enough. "It is necessary, even in the settlement of private litigation, that all should have a part as far as possible. For he who does not share in the administration of justice thinks that he has no part in the city at all. For this reason we must set up courts according to tribes, with judges selected by lot (*κλήρῳ*) as occasion demands (*ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα*), who shall give judgment without fear or favor (*ἀδιαφθόρους ταῖς δέξεσι δικάζειν*)."² Elsewhere we are told that the details of their selection by lot (*κληρώσεις δικαστηρίων καὶ πληρώσεις*) are to be left, along with many other matters of judicial procedure, to the "younger legislators" (956e; cf. 846c).

All the translators and commentators, without exception (so far as I know), have taken these texts as referring to local courts established in the several tribes. Ernest Barker's interpretation is typical: "The court of second instance is the tribal court of each of the twelve territorial districts."³ But there is little

¹ That the *κωμηταί τε καὶ φυλέται* are identical with the *δικαστήρια κατὰ φυλάς* is clear from the fact that they are courts of second instance in private disputes. The connection of *κωμηταί* and *φυλέται* is easily understood when we remember that there is only one village for each tribe (848c).

² *Laws*, 768b.

³ *Greek Political Theory: Plato and His Predecessors*, p. 337. "A court of law in every tribe" is the way Jowett translates 768b; so also Apelt, "Gerichtshöfe für die einzelnen Phylen"; Bury, "courts for each tribe"; Ritter (*Darstellung*, p. 51), "ein Gaugericht"; and Taylor, "courts for the several tribes." Cf. also Newman, *Politics of Aristotle*,

evidence in favor of this interpretation, while there are weighty arguments against it; and its general acceptance has obscured from view one of the most significant parts of Plato's judicial system.

In the first place, if it is Plato's intention to set up local courts of this character, it involves something quite different from anything in the judicial system of Athens, or of any other Greek city that we know; whereas it is mentioned in the *Laws* as something easily understood and not needing to be described in detail. Attempts have been made to discover an historical parallel to these courts, for example, in the Forty at Athens.⁴ The Forty were indeed selected by lot and by tribes, four being chosen from each tribe,⁵ but they had very limited judicial powers and were not a popular court at all. They were competent to settle claims of ten drachmae or less, as Aristotle tells us, but, when a dispute came before them involving a greater amount, their function was to assign it to a public arbitrator, and later (if there was an appeal from the arbitrator's decision) to bring the case before a heliastic court. Nor can we find any closer parallel in the predecessors of the Forty, the *δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους* instituted by Pisistratus, abolished sometime later, and reëstablished around the middle of the fifth century. Aristotle's language shows that they were itinerant judges, rather than a group of local courts.⁶ Since there were only thirty of these *δικασταὶ* it is obvious that they did not constitute a popular court or courts. In all probability they were more like the arbitrators of later times, with power to render a binding verdict if their efforts at arbitration failed.⁷ As reëstablished under Pericles their function seems to have been a double one: first, to arbitrate the dispute, if possible, and, if not, to bring the case before a heliastia court. ~~Later their functions were taken over by the~~ Forty and the public arbitrators.⁸ Another possible analogy

I, p. 442: "each tribe is to have a dicastery of its own"; and England, *The Laws of Plato*, II, p. 604.

⁴ Bisinger, *Der Agrarstaat in Platons Gesetzen*, p. 27.

⁵ Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, LIII, 1-2.

⁶ *Const. of Athens*, XVI, 5; LIII, 1.

⁷ Bonner and Smith, *Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, I, p. 184.

⁸ Bonner and Smith, I, pp. 351 ff.; Kahrstedt, "Untersuchungen zu Athenischen Behörden," *Klio*, XXXII (1939), pp. 155 ff.

to Plato's tribal courts, interpreted as local courts, would be the deme assemblies; but these only rarely, if at all, exercised judicial functions, and that only with respect to offenses against the public, such as false registration in the list of citizens.⁹ There is no evidence that they ever had jurisdiction over private disputes, and, even so, they consisted of all the members of the deme, not a group selected by lot. Thus there is no clear analogy to Plato's tribal courts, as above interpreted, in any known Athenian tribunals; nor do we know of any such tribal courts in any other Greek city. It is not impossible, of course, that Plato should have departed very considerably from the institutions familiar to his people; but it is unlikely that he would have done so without giving more explicit information about the new proposal than the brief and scattered references to these tribal courts contain. Elsewhere it seems to be his practice, whenever his proposals involve important innovations, to draw attention to the fact and to take pains to make the outlines of his new institution clear.¹⁰

A second objection to regarding these tribal courts as local courts is that this view would ascribe a degree of importance to the tribe in judicial matters completely out of accord with the insignificant rôle it plays in the political system described in the *Laws*. The tribe has no local autonomy in Plato's state. The most that can be said is that tribal distinctions are sometimes recognized in the selection of officers. For example, each tribe selects an equal number of the rural magistrates (*ἀγρονόμοι*), but once elected these persons serve as officers of the state, not of the tribe, as is shown by the fact that they take turns policing each tribal district (760a ff.). Tribal divisions also figure in the election of the religious officials known as Interpreters (*ἐξηγηταί*, 759d), but there is no indication that they function as local officers. Treasurers of the various temples, on the other hand, are elected without regard to tribal divisions (759e); and so are the Generals (755c-d), the members of the Council (756b-e), the Examiners (*εἰθυνοί*, 945b ff.), the Nomophylakes (753b-d), the Select Judges (767c-d)—in fact, most of the important officials of the state. Plato's state exhibits an even higher degree

⁹ Bonner and Smith, I, pp. 319 ff.

¹⁰ Note, for example, the fulness with which he describes the selection of the Council (756b-e), the Select Judges (767c-d), and the Examiners (945b-948b).

of centralization than existed at Athens.¹¹ To set up a popular court within each tribe would be markedly inconsistent with the rest of the scheme.

Again, what would be the jurisdiction of one of these tribal courts? Granting that each court would have jurisdiction over disputes between members of its own tribe, what of disputes between members of different tribes? To think that such disputes would be exceptional is to overlook the smallness of Plato's state. Although Plato's text abounds in references to private litigation of various sorts, there is nowhere any suggestion of a distinction between the court of the plaintiff's tribe and the court of the defendant's tribe, and of course no statement as to which of these courts would have jurisdiction.

Lastly, these courts are often referred to as *κοινὰ δικάστηρια* or *κοινὰ δίκαι* (762b; 846b; 847b). These terms certainly suggest central rather than local courts.

If, then, these tribal courts are not local courts consisting of the fellow tribesmen of one or both the litigants, what are they? The obvious answer is that they are tribal courts in the sense in which the Athenian dicasteries were, i. e. tribal divisions were taken into account in their constitution. We know best the Athenian procedure of the late fourth century, from the detailed account given in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. This account teaches us that the dicasts were selected by tribes,¹² and that each dicastery contained representatives from each of the tribes.¹³ This method of selecting the dicasts by tribes goes back at least to the middle of the fifth century; it seems to be established that the panel of six thousand dicasts, which is attested for the time of Pericles, consisted of an equal number

¹¹ For example, whereas at Athens the Council contained an equal number of members from each tribe and deme, Plato's council is elected on the basis of *τιμήματα* or property-classes, an equal number of councillors being chosen from each *τίμημα* (756b-c). It would therefore be the merest chance if an equal number happened to be chosen from each tribe. It follows that Plato's division of his council into prytanies (758b-d) will not mean, as it did at Athens, the presidency of each tribe in turn over the deliberations.

¹² LXIII, 1: τὰ δὲ δικάστηρια κληροῦσιν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες κατὰ φυλάς. Cf. LIX, 7. Hommel, *Heliaia*, *Philologus*, Supplementband XIX (1927), pp. 59 ff.

¹³ Cf. LXIV, 4; LXV, 4; LXVI, 2.

from each tribe, chosen by lot.¹⁴ Though many changes were made in the system during the fourth century, the principle of selecting by tribes was never abandoned.¹⁵ This procedure, therefore, was so old and so familiar that when Plato asserts that courts must be set up *κατὰ φυλὰς* he most certainly would be understood as meaning that these dicasteries are to consist of representatives from each of the tribes. This method of selection distinguished these courts both from Plato's court of arbitrators, who are selected by the parties to the dispute, and from the Select Judges, chosen on the basis of merit from the office-holders of the previous year; and hence they may properly be called *δικαστήρια φυλετικά*, and also, by a bold though intelligible extension of language, *κωμῆται καὶ φυλῆται*.

There is another cryptic statement about these courts in the *Laws* that seems to be clarified if we adopt this interpretation. In 956c it is said that the *κωμῆται καὶ φυλῆται* are to be divided by twelve, or into twelve parts (*κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον μέρος διηρημένοι*). England takes this clause as meaning that the members of each tribe are to be divided into twelve parts and that each part is to serve as the tribal court for one month in the year.¹⁶ But this is inconsistent with the statement that the judges are to be selected *ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα* (768b). Besides, a twelfth part of the tribe would be only thirty-five citizens, a number hardly large enough for a popular court. We know that in the fourth century, and perhaps earlier, the dicasts were divided into ten sections, as well as into ten tribes, these sections being denoted by the first ten letters of the alphabet, A to K.¹⁷ Formerly the dicasts were assigned to sections annually, but in Aristotle's time a dicast, once assigned to a section, remained in that section for life. Now Aristotle designates these sections as *μέρη*, the term used by Plato in the above passage in the *Laws*. Since this procedure of dividing into sections was old and familiar in Plato's time, it seems highly probable that Plato takes it for granted that a

¹⁴ For the evidence, see Bonner and Smith, I, p. 230, and Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, pp. 135 f.

¹⁵ For these changes, see Bonner and Smith, I, pp. 365 ff., 372 ff., 375 ff.; Lipsius, pp. 139 ff.; and Hommel, pp. 108 ff.

¹⁶ II, 604.

¹⁷ Lipsius, pp. 136, 139 ff.; Aristophanes, *Plut.*, 1166; *Ecceles.*, 683-688; Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, LXIII, 4: *νετέμνηται γὰρ κατὰ φυλὰς δέκα μέρη οἱ δικασταί*.

similar procedure would be employed in selecting the members of his tribal courts. Since in his state there are to be twelve tribes instead of ten, he would naturally divide his dicasts into twelve sections; and it is easily understood why he should make a passing reference to this particular detail, since it involves a departure from the familiar Athenian system, while refraining from giving further unnecessary explanation of the procedure he has in mind.

A suggestion may be made in passing as to the significance of this division into sections. Obviously it cuts across the division into tribes. It seems that originally each section was assigned annually to a certain court, the members of the same section thus sitting together.¹⁸ But the procedure as described by Aristotle yields a different result. It appears that in selecting the quota from each tribe to serve on any given day an equal number from each section were chosen. The dicasts on any given day would therefore consist of an equal number from each tribe and an equal number from each section. The same distribution would tend to be reproduced in each court, since the lot again was used in the assignment of the dicasts to the several courts. The reason for the abandonment of the earlier practice can only be guessed. Perhaps it was an additional attempt to prevent bribery of the judges, or collusion among them. Another possible explanation is suggested by the fact that in judicial theory the body of dicasts, and each dicastery, were supposed to represent the sovereign people; and it may have been felt that selection by sections as well as by tribes, resulting in a double cross-section of the demos, would give a body more representative of the demos and hence more competent to discharge its sovereign judicial powers.

~~There are certain other features of these tribal courts that~~ suggest the Athenian dicasteries. We have already mentioned the fact that they are courts of second instance; the cases coming before them must first have been heard by arbitrators, as at Athens.¹⁹ It is true that the Athenian dicasteries were usually regarded as courts of first instance,²⁰ because the arbitrators

¹⁸ Bonner and Smith, I, pp. 234 ff.; Lipsius, pp. 138 f.

¹⁹ *Laws*, 768c, 915e, 920d, 956b-c. For Athenian law, see Lipsius, p. 222; Bonner and Smith, I, p. 287.

²⁰ Bonner and Smith, I, p. 224; Lipsius, p. 134.

were not regarded as a court, in the technical sense of the term. Plato, however, explicitly disputes this point, and with reason. Certain features of Athenian arbitration, such as the power of the arbitrators on occasion to render a binding verdict, and the requirement that the evidence presented in arbitral proceedings be preserved and sealed for the use of the dicastery, if the decision of the arbitrator was not accepted, would amply bear out Plato's contention that the arbitrators were a genuine court.²¹ In any case, the difference between his and Athenian law is merely one of terminology. Again Plato's provision that these courts shall be selected ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα suggests the increased circumspection of the fourth century. In the earlier days, when the dicasts were assigned to the same court for a year, it was possible for them to know in advance what cases were to come before them.²² Even the way in which Plato leaves to the "younger legislators" the details of the process of selecting and filling these courts seems to reflect the fact that the procedure at Athens underwent much change in Plato's lifetime, as constantly new precautions were found necessary to prevent bribery and collusion.

In short, it seems that Plato's tribal courts are the familiar heliastic courts at Athens. The significance of this conclusion is great. Since the popular courts were generally regarded, both by friends and foes of democracy, as one of the most typical features of a democratic constitution, it is evident that Plato has gone even farther than has previously been supposed in incorporating elements of democracy in the constitution described in the *Laws*. It is true that Plato does not take over the popular courts without modification. Besides recognizing twelve tribes and twelve sections, instead of the ten tribes and ten sections at Athens (an insignificant modification), he places certain restrictions upon their procedure and competence. They are not to impose the death sentence (this is to be left to a special court of capital offenses, 855c); pleading before them is restricted by the prohibition of the party oath, the evidentiary oath, and the challenge to the oath;²³ and the presiding officials are given

²¹ 956c: διαίτηται δικαστῶν τοῦνομα μᾶλλον πρέπον ἔχοντες.

²² Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 240, 156 f., 288 ff.

²³ 948d-949b. On the various uses of the oath in Attic procedure see the good account in Bonner and Smith, II, pp. 145 ff.

power (which it seems the presiding officers in the Athenian dicasteries did not have) to prevent irrelevant pleading (949b). These innovations are aimed at defects in the popular courts that have been pointed out often, both in ancient and in modern times. Lastly, an appeal is permitted from the decisions of these courts to a higher court, with a penalty for unsuccessful appeal (956c-d). This last innovation is the most important, for it takes from the dicasteries that judicial supremacy which was such an important factor in the power of the demos at Athens.²⁴ But we make a mistake if we infer that the introduction of these courts is merely an empty gesture to democracy. For they would put an end to much, perhaps most, of the litigation coming before them, since there is a penalty for unsuccessful appeal. Furthermore, the chief reason Plato gives for the institution of popular courts is that the right to participate in the administration of justice is thought to be an essential part of citizenship.²⁵ Aristotle, himself defending this conception of citizenship, points out that in the strict sense it is applicable only to the citizen in a democracy.²⁶

GLENN R. MORROW.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

²⁴ Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, IX, 1; XLI, 2. [Xenophon], *Const. of Athens*, I, 14-18.

²⁵ In Attic parlance, *πολίται* are *οἱ μετέχοντες τῆς πόλεως* or *τῆς πολιτείας*. Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1275b 31 ff.; and *Const. of Athens*, XLII, 1: *μετέχουσιν μὲν τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότες ἀστών.*

²⁶ *Politics*, 1275a 22 ff. For further comments on the function of these popular courts in Plato's judicial system, see the author's article, "Plato and the Rule of Law," in *Philosophical Review*, March, 1941.

AN ANCIENT MILITARY CONTACT BETWEEN ROMANS AND CHINESE.

The Romans and the Chinese were the two greatest military powers of the ancient world. Just as the Romans conquered the whole Mediterranean world, so the Chinese in the Han period (200 B. C.-A. D. 200) conquered all the worthwhile parts of their world. If armies from these two powers met, it could only have been in central Asia, since the Romans did not get far east of the Mediterranean and the Chinese rarely found it worth while to go west of the Pamirs. The occurrence of such a meeting has not previously been noticed, because our only evidence is a single curious phrase in a first-century Chinese history.

This meeting resulted from the fact that in 36 B. C. the Protector-General of the Chinese Western Frontier Regions (Chinese Turkestan) made, on his own responsibility, an expedition into Sogdiana to take the head of the Hun *Shan-yü* Chih-chih. The Huns (in Chinese, *Hsiung-nu*) then occupied the present Mongolia. A contestant for the Hun throne (the Hun emperor was called the *Shan-yü*), whose clan-name was Lüan-ti, given name Hu-t'u-wu-szu, and reign title Chih-chih-ku-tu-hou, so that he was commonly called *Shan-yü* Chih-chih, had killed a Chinese envoy and fled to the west, where he had been invited by the King of Sogdiana to come and drive away the invading nomads. Emboldened by his phenomenal success, *Shan-yü* Chih-chih now dreamed of establishing an empire in central Asia and built himself a capital city on the Talass River (*circa* long. 71° E, lat. 43° N),¹ exacting tribute from surrounding tribes, including some under Chinese protection. The Chinese Associate Protector-General, Ch'en T'ang, saw a potential danger to Chinese interests in this new power. He gathered a force composed of the Chinese army stationed in the Western Frontier Regions, with auxiliaries from the native states, persuaded his superior to accompany the expedition, and set out.

¹ This is de Groot's identification (*Die Hunnen*, p. 229). A. Hermann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, p. 91, locates Chih-chih's capital on the river Chu.

The troops successfully made the long journey of about a thousand miles to Chih-chih's capital, where they immediately stormed and captured the city. The account of this brilliant exploit has been told several times, most recently by Dr. Duyvendak.² He has shown that the Chinese *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, our only source, took its information largely from some paintings of the attack that were sent by Ch'en T'ang to the imperial court.³ In this account there is the extraordinary remark that, at the beginning of the attack, outside of Chih-chih's city there were "more than a hundred foot-soldiers, lined up on either side of the gate in a fish-scale formation."⁴ The fact that this curious remark comes from the description of a painting gives it an unusual degree of reliability.

Now a "fish-scale formation" is not a manoeuvre easily accomplished. These soldiers must have crowded together and overlapped their shields. This manoeuvre, requiring uniform action on the part of the whole group, especially when executed in the face of an attack, would require a high degree of discipline, of a sort to be found only in a professional army. The only professional soldiers of the time of whom regular formations are recorded were Greeks and Romans. Nomads and barbarians rushed into battle in a confused mass.

The Macedonian phalangite shields were round and small

² Cf. *T'oung Pao*, XXXIV, pp. 249-264; cf. also my remarks there, XXXV, pp. 211-214. An account of this expedition will also be found in the introduction to chap. IX, vol. II in my translation of the *History of the Former Han Dynasty*.

³ It was then the practise of Chinese generals to make maps of any new regions to which they came and to send these maps to the imperial court for future reference. Along the margin of the roll of silk delineating Ch'en T'ang's thousand-mile long road there were probably painted pictures of the attack upon Chih-chih's city. Ch'en T'ang had forged an imperial edict in gathering his force (a capital crime) and so needed to arouse imperial interest in his behalf. These paintings excited considerable interest at the court and were exhibited at an imperial banquet even to members of the imperial harem (*History of the Former Han Dynasty*, chap. IX, folio 11 b [trans. in my vol. II]). These pictures were preserved in the imperial archives and were used by the first-century historian, Pan Ku, in preparing his account of that expedition.

⁴ Dr. Duyvendak has accepted this emendation of his original translation; cf. *T'oung Pao*, XXXV, pp. 214 f.

(only $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter),⁵ so that there would be little advantage in overlapping them, whereas the Roman legionaries carried large rectangular shields which could easily be linked together to form a protection against missiles. We must then look for some sort of Roman tactics that would produce something looking like fish-scales in the front of an array and for Roman legionaries deep in central Asia.

In 54 B. C., Crassus marched into Parthian territory with a force of seven legions, four thousand cavalry, and a like number of light-armed men.⁶ The Parthians met him at Carrhae. Their army was composed chiefly of horse-archers who surrounded the Roman square and kept up all day a deadly stream of arrows. The Roman legions were helpless, for the Parthian horsemen retired before their charges, so that the Romans could not come to grips with their opponents. A determined charge by the auxiliary cavalry and some legionaries under Crassus' son, Publius, only separated this force from the main army. In order to defend themselves from the Parthian arrows, the legionaries could only form a square and lock shields all around.⁷

The best known Roman formation in which shields were locked is the *testudo*, in which shields were locked above the soldiers' heads to protect them when manoeuvring below a city wall. It does not seem to have been noted that in this formation the Roman soldiers also locked shields on the sides. In the representation of a *testudo* found on Trajan's monument,⁸ the Roman legionaries are shown not only to lock shields above their heads but also to do so on their left side (the only one exhibited). When marching it might have been difficult to lock shields on the right and rear sides, but, when standing still, it was easy to lock shields all about a square. Then the act of Crassus' legionaries, of locking their shields, was part of the *testudo* manoeuvre. We know that they did not in this case lock shields above their heads, for Plutarch's source states that Publius Crassus' men,

⁵ Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung*, p. 108.

⁶ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 20.

⁷ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 24, 3.

⁸ To be found in Conrad Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, pl. LI, picture lxxi, sect. 181. The much inferior *testudo* on M. Aurelius' monument does not represent the locking of shields at the sides. It is reproduced in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, Taf. 51, Abb. 144.

when cut off from the main force, retired to a sandy hillock and locked shields, but those persons higher up on the hillock projected above the level of the shields and so were shot down by the Parthians.⁹ Eighteen years later, Antony's men had improved their tactics; when similarly attacked by Parthian horse-archers, the front rank dropped to their knees, with their shields resting upon the ground, to protect the legs of those behind them; the next rank held their shields up to the level of their heads, while the remainder held their shields above their heads, thus completing the *testudo*.¹⁰ In this way, the whole force was protected from the Parthian arrows, and Antony's men got safely away. Crassus' men, however, formed only a single line of locked shields, and the Parthians shot arrows with a high trajectory over the heads of the outer soldiers, mowing down the Roman force with little danger to themselves.

In locking shields against arrows, the round or oval shields used by the Greeks and practically everyone else would be of little use; only the Roman *scutum*, which was rectangular in outline (semi-cylindrical in shape), would be effective. A line of Roman *scuta*, extending without a gap along the front rank of a line of foot-soldiers, would look to someone who had never seen such an array before, like a "fish-scale formation," especially because of their rounded surfaces. It would indeed be difficult to describe it otherwise.

The battle of Carrhae was a serious disaster to the Romans. Of the 42,000 who had set out with Crassus, scarcely one-fourth escaped. Twenty thousand were slain and ten thousand were made prisoners. The Parthians moved these Roman prisoners to Margiana (the *Μαργιανή* in central Asia containing the present Merv) to guard their eastern frontier.¹¹ How many of the ten thousand reached this place we are not told; the distance from Carrhae to Antioch in Margiana is something like 1500 miles, and captives would hardly be treated kindly on such a march. Roman and Greek accounts report practically nothing more about these men. Horace guessed that these Romans married barbarian women and served in the Parthian armies.¹²

⁹ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 25, 9. Crassus' campaign is summarized in N. C. Debevois, *Political History of Parthia*, pp. 78-92.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Antony*, 45, 2.

¹¹ Pliny, *H. N.*, VI, 47.

¹² *Odes*, III, 5, 5. There is a story that in 36 B. C. Antony, on his

It was about 500 miles from the Parthian border of Margiana on the Oxus to *Shan-yü* Chih-chih's capital on the Talass, and eighteen years from the date of Crassus' defeat to the time when the Chinese saw men lined up in front of Chih-chih's town "like the scales of a fish." These Roman legionaries had been accustomed to make their living as professional soldiers and probably welcomed an opportunity to serve as mercenaries. When Chih-chih came to Sogdiana at the invitation of its king, with an escort of Sogdianan nobles and several thousand pack-animals, the caravan chanced upon a severe cold spell, so that only three thousand persons of the whole party survived the trip.¹³ Chih-chih was later emboldened by his military successes, broke with the King of Sogdiana, murdered the one of his wives who was the king's daughter, and built his own capital. He could not expect support from the Huns—they had flocked to the rule of the legitimate *Shan-yü*, his rival and half brother, who was supported by the Chinese. Chih-chih had also antagonized many Sogdianans by his high-handed actions. Hence he naturally sought for mercenaries outside of Hunnish and Sogdianan territory. The Romans were the best hand-to-hand fighters in the world; they would be attracted to a famous warrior who promised to become a rival of the hated Parthians. The silk route from the Chinese Western Frontier Regions ran by Chih-chih's capital to Antioch in Margiana (Merv), so that the news of Chih-chih's rise and of his desire for troops would naturally be carried to these Roman exiles.

The Huns in Mongolia fought as horse-archers, just as did the Parthians; the Chinese had, however, improved upon the bow and used the crossbow.¹⁴ Some of the ancient Chinese crossbows were so stout that to bend them a strong man had to lie upon his

retreat, was warned and guided by a survivor of Crassus' army who had been serving with the Parthians (Velleius Paterculus, II, 82 and Florus, II, 20, 4). The story is untrue, the sources which call the man a Mardian being almost certainly correct (Plutarch, *Antony*, 41, 1; Tarn in *C. A. H.*, X, p. 74 and note), but the fact that Velleius Paterculus and Florus thought the story true is perhaps significant.

¹³ Duyvendak, *T'oung Pao*, XXXIV, p. 249; de Groot, *Die Hunnen*, p. 225.

¹⁴ The Chinese probably invented the crossbow; cf. M. Wilbur, *Smithsonian Institute, Annual Reports*, 1936, pp. 427-438.

back, push with his feet against the bow, and pull the string with his hands, thus utilizing the force of his leg, back, and arm muscles.¹⁵ To control these crossbows, the Chinese had invented an extraordinarily efficient trigger mechanism.¹⁶ These crossbows were accurate weapons and outranged any mobile weapon possessed by any other troops. They were doubtless able to pierce any shields and armor. In attacking Chih-chih's city, the Chinese naturally began the attack with a shower of crossbow bolts, while themselves keeping out of range of the Hun arrows. In this manner, the Chinese wounded even Chih-chih himself in the nose as he was shooting at the attackers from a tower in the city.¹⁷

The "more than a hundred foot-soldiers, lined up in a fish-scale formation," painted by the Chinese artist outside Chih-chih's city, were then almost certainly some of Crassus' legionaries, who were serving as mercenaries with *Shan-yü* Chih-chih. When assailed by Chinese crossbow bolts, they naturally repeated the manoeuver made by Crassus' army at Carrhae—they held up their *scuta*, locking them together in front. No other known soldiers and weapons than Roman legionaries with *scuta* would have produced the effect of a "fish-scale formation."¹⁸

¹⁵ E. Chavannes, *Mission Archéol.*, I², p. 179, fig. 109, 1207; *Mémoires historiques*, II, p. 469, n. 4.

¹⁶ Specimens of this Han crossbow trigger mechanism are to be found in our larger museums. The mechanism is a triple compound lever, rugged, easily operated, and readily removed, so that it would not fall into the hands of the enemy. Its secret was retained in China until modern times. Some of these mechanisms had sights for elevating the bow to different degrees in shooting at different distances.

¹⁷ Cf. Duyvendak's translation, *T'oung Pao*, XXXIV, p. 260.

¹⁸ It is very unlikely that these men were natives trained in Roman fashion. There were cases in which natives were trained in an alien mode of fighting, but not at their own initiative. Alexander had Persian youths trained in the Macedonian manner of fighting; when he returned from India, his governors brought him some 20,000 such soldiers (W. W. Tarn, *C. A. H.*, VI, p. 418). It was not uncommon for Hellenistic kings to arm their people in Macedonian style. The *locus classicus* is the battle of Raphia in 217 B. C. between Antiochus III and Ptolemy IV (Polybius, V, 63-65, 79-86), at which the bulk of Ptolemy's phalanx was composed of 20,000 native Egyptians armed as phalangites (V, 65, 9). In addition, Antiochus had 10,000 picked men from his whole empire armed in Macedonian fashion, mostly as hypaspists (V, 79, 4), and

The presence of Romans at this place is confirmed by the double wooden palisade which the Chinese found outside the city wall. Dr. W. W. Tarn says, "I cannot remember ever having met, either in literature or archaeology, with any Greek town that had a palisade outside the wall. The rule of one wall with a ditch outside (or in a great fortress even three ditches) seems to have been absolute."¹⁹ The Romans, however, regularly used palisades to strengthen their ditches, especially before the gates. Where there was a bridge over water, there might be stockades built out from either bank above and below the bridges.²⁰ The

Ptolemy had 3000 Lybians similarly armed (V, 65, 8). The Ptolemaic leaders armed men as seemed expedient to them, without regard to their previous weapons (V, 64, 1). This information I owe to Dr. Tarn.

Both Alexander and these Hellenistic kings had a prestige that Crassus' legionaries lacked. A conqueror might naturally arm his people in his own fashion, but people from a conquering tribe do not spontaneously imitate the armor and tactics of defeated exiles. The prestige of Rome, if known at all in Sogdiana, must have been seriously discounted in a place so distant from the Roman empire.

Dr. Tarn has also called my attention to the fact that Curtius, the late Roman historian of Alexander's campaigns who wrote about the middle of the first century A. D., applies the word *testudo* to the Greeks. At Alexander's crossing of the Jaxartes, Curtius states that the armed men protected the rowers against missiles from the further bank *scutorum testudine* by holding their shields in front of the rowers (VII, ix, 3); the troops protect Alexander *testudine objecta* (text incomplete; V, iii, 21); and the men protect themselves with a *testudo* from stones hurled down from above, called in V, iii, 23 *scutis super capita consertis*. The Macedonian small round shields could not have been joined together to form a real *testudo*. Curtius is evidently using a word of his own day to refer to matters in the time of Alexander. He does that sort of thing more than once. Men drawn up in rank with the small round Macedonian shields would hardly look like fish scales.

The Greek word *χελώνη* (cognate with the Latin *testudo*) refers only to an artificial construction, a penthouse or great movable shield, like that used to cover sappers. Liddell and Scott give no instance of its use for actual shields held together, and Kromayer and Veith (*Heerwesen*, pp. 218 f., 235) describe it only as a machine. It thus seems plain that the Hellenistic Greeks did not join shields in battle formation. Indeed the size and shape of their shields would have made it impossible. Dr. Tarn has supplied most of the information above.

¹⁹ Taken from a personal letter. I have to thank Dr. Tarn for suggesting to me that these men might have been Crassus' legionaries.

²⁰ Lieut.-Col. L. C. Jackson, s. v. "Fortification" in *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., X, p. 681; repeated in 14th ed., IX, p. 524, under the name of

double wooden palisade that the Chinese burnt down in attacking the city probably protected the bridge over the ditch outside Chih-chih's city wall. The palisade was a standard feature in Roman fortification, so that Chih-chih seems to have had Roman engineering assistance in building his city. The Huns were nomads who had no towns except a very few built by Chinese renegades in northern Mongolia; in Sogdiana Chih-chih naturally sought the best military engineering assistance he could find, and the Roman legionaries were able to offer unrivalled assistance in fortification.

What happened to these Romans? The Chinese record states that when the town was attacked these foot-soldiers retired behind the wall. Doubtless they found the Chinese crossbow bolts even more devastating than the Parthian arrows at Carrhae. The Chinese record says nothing more about them specifically. Chinese crossbows were able to drive the defenders from the wall, with the result that the Chinese had no difficulty in storming the town. They burnt Chih-chih's palace and took his head, recovering the dead Chinese envoy's credentials. Ch'en T'ang reported that he executed altogether 1518 persons. These were probably Huns, for Ch'en T'ang was anxious to keep on good terms with the Sogdianans to ensure the safe return of his expedition. He states that, in addition, 145 of the enemy were captured alive and more than a thousand surrendered.²¹ These people were divided up (as slaves) among the fifteen kings of states in the Western Frontier Regions who had come with the expedition as auxiliaries of the Chinese.

The curious number of 145 captured alive tallies with the number ("over a hundred") of Romans drawn up outside the walls. It is attractive to identify them with the Romans. Mercenaries frequently prove able to take care of themselves in an emergency. We may consequently infer that these Roman legionaries were possibly moved still further east, to some state in Chinese Turkestan. We know nothing further about them; it would be interesting to know whether any ever got to China, but such an event seems somewhat unlikely.

Bt.-Col. E. N. Kelley. I have to thank Professor R. S. Rogers of Duke University for directing my attention to this information and for other assistance.

²¹ *Han-shu*, 70, 10a = de Groot, *Die Hunnen*, p. 236.

At the Hun *Shan-yü* Chih-chih's capital on the Talass River in central Asia the Chinese, then, probably met a few Roman legionaries from Crassus' army who seem to have escaped from the Parthians and who were delighted to serve under a famous warrior who might some day challenge the Parthians. These Romans had assisted in fortifying his capital city. Their small number and the superiority of the Chinese weapons seemingly prevented the Romans from taking any active part in the battle. They were probably captured and taken to Chinese Turkestan. The fact that in the first century B. C. some Romans traveled three thousand miles from Roman territory should make us aware of the extensive possibilities for travel on the Eurasian continent at that time and the difficulty of limiting the influence of one people upon another.

HOMER H. DUBS.

DUKE UNIVERSITY.

THREE STUDIES IN OLD ENGLISH.

I. *The Context for Some Latin Words in the Harleian Glossary.*

The Latin and Old English glossary from MS Harley 3376, published in the Wright-Wülcker *Vocabularies*, columns 192 to 247 inclusive, and containing some two thousand Old English glosses, is described by Wright as a glossary of difficult and uncommon Latin words.¹ Since many of the Old English words in this glossary are also uncommon and some are known from no other source, a knowledge of the context from which the Latin words are taken is not only of interest in itself but also of possible value in enabling one to judge the meaning of the gloss by something more than the mere lemma out of context.² Most of the lemmas in the glossary consist of single Latin words and might of course be found in several sources. Some hundred and fifty lemmas, however, consist of groups of words, usually an adjective and a noun which it modifies; and, if many of these groups are found in any one work and there with the same inflectional forms as in the glossary, there is much probability that this is the source from which they were taken. Of these word groups I have noted the probable context for ninety-one: thirty in the *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius, twenty-five in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and thirty-six in Aldhelm's *Aenigmata*, *De Laudibus Virginum*, and *De Laudibus Virginitatis*. Many of the single words from the glossary also appear here, and all of these works were read and glossed in the Old English period. It is of course possible that the groups of words from the glos-

¹ Cf. *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies* by T. Wright, 2nd ed., edited and collated by R. Wülcker (London, 1864), vol. 132.

² For an account of the compilation of glossaries cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Publications of the Philological Society*, VIII, p. 1. To the Latin explanations culled from marginalia the compiler of the glossary may have added English glosses or substituted them, and English glosses may have been taken from marginalia. An indication of the latter is such a gloss as *feruentibus: onettendum cretum*, W. W. 237, 6, which implies a following word for "chariots" as in *ferventibus . . . quadrigis*, *Psych.*, 407. Similarly *delentifica: blipe word*, W. W. 218, 36 and *erassis: leochtum*, W. W. 229, 6 suggest the original presence of following words. The gloss to *docta fastigia*, 224, 40 does not suit the meaning, but does if referred to *docta fastidia* (v. l. -gia) *Psych.*, 529.

sary may have been culled from other sources, but it seems unlikely.

In the following five instances each gloss contains an Old English word documented in the dictionaries from this glossary only, and the context is pertinent to the meaning of the gloss.³ I cite first the lemma and gloss as published in the Wright-Wülcker *Vocabularies* and then the probable context for the lemma. A complete list of citations is given in the footnote.⁴

W. W. 241, 3 *Fluctiuagam praedam*: þa ypworigendan huþa
Carm. Pasch., 5, 395 *Pendula fluctivagam traxerunt retia praedam*

The Old English word *ȝpwōrigende* means "wandering on the waves" according to Hall's *Dictionary* and "wave-wandering" according to the Bosworth-Toller *Dictionary*. In the *Carmen* the words *fluctivagam prædam* refer to a catch of fish which Peter took when he let his nets into the sea. The Old English

³ I refer to the Bosworth-Toller *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and *Supplement* and Hall's *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 3rd ed.

⁴ Context is cited from Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XIX for Sedulius by book and line except for Dedication by column and line; *ibid.*, LX for Prudentius by line of poem; *ibid.*, LXXXIX for Aldhelm by column and line. W. W. 194, 43: *Carmen Paschale*, 5, 107; 201, 18: 3, 75; 203, 15: col. 542, 3; 204, 12: 3, 314; 209, 36: 5, 70; 212, 32: col. 544, 1; 213, 41: 3, 135; 214, 22: 1, 168; 214, 24: 1, 292; 218, 42: 4, 145; 220, 36: 2, 103; 221, 3: 1, 44; 222, 21: 1, 266; 222, 34: 4, 234; 225, 26: 1, 361; 226, 5: 1, 272; 225, 43: col. 542, 15; 228, 30: 2, 74; 231, 3: 4, 129; 235, 7: 4, 170; 239, 2: col. 540, 4; 239, 28: 1, 179; 240, 27: col. 535, 18; 240, 44: 2, 166; 241, 3: 5, 395; 242, 13: 2, 191; 242, 15: 2, 200; 243, 33: 1, 131; 243, 36: 4, 46; 247, 12: 1, 58. W. W. 204, 6: *Psychomachia*, 411; 209, 38: 846; 215, 20: 335; 217, 12: 858; 217, 28: 473; 218, 6: 743; 221, 8: 609; 221, 23: 345; 223, 42: 909; 224, 33: 616; 224, 39: 102; 224, 40: 529; 224, 41: 756; 225, 5: 785; 225, 19: 397; 235, 39: 64; 236, 20: 565; 236, 21: 719; 236, 34: 355; 237, 19: 181; 237, 24: 688; 239, 3: 278; 240, 6: 46; 243, 11: 91; 247, 4: 293. W. W. 194, 14: *Aenigmata*, 188, 29; 205, 13: 197, 41; 222, 31: 187, 25; 236, 18: 188, 50; 236, 19: 197, 37; 237, 5: 191, 2; 240, 20: 196, 8; 240, 33: 197, 55; 243, 40: 196, 21; 244, 25: 194, 30; 245, 36: 194, 8. W. W. 194, 34: *De Laudibus Virginum*, 244, 5; 196, 25: 241, 57; 201, 2: 239, 24; 207, 10: 265, 24; 217, 25: 241, 50; 240, 39: 239, 5; 243, 41: 263, 59. W. W. 194, 38: *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, 114, 30; 194, 42: 114, 31; 208, 29: 129, 19; 212, 6: 126, 8; 212, 14: 111, 33; 213, 26: 125, 18; 215, 39: 106, 3; 218, 30: 112, 9; 218, 34: 106, 1; 220, 40: 111, 7; 223, 35: 114, 31; 230, 13: 117, 46; 234, 41: 111, 55; 235, 8: 143, 37; 235, 43: 127, 8; 238, 44: 117, 37; 239, 34: 147, 26; 239, 35: 109, 37. Nine of these groups from Aldhelm are noted by Napier, *Old English Glosses*, p. xii.

is probably a slavish rendering of the Latin, but as applied to fish a translation "wave-wandering" seems preferable to "wandering on the waves."

W. W. 243, 11 *Frigida pestis: colcwyld*
Psych., 91 *Abde caput tristi jam frigida pestis abyssu*

Hall's *Dictionary* queries if *cōlcwyld* means "ague." In the *Psychomachia* the expression *frigida pestis* is a metaphorical characterization of the personified Libido and does not refer to a specific illness such as ague. The Old English appears to be two usual words, *cōl* for *frigida* and *cwyld* for *pestis*.

W. W. 221, 3 *Dedalei tecti: of daliscre þecene*
Carm. Pasch., 1, 44 *Caecaque Daedalei lustratis limina tecti*

Hall's *Dictionary* queries if *dalisc* is not for *dedalisc*. The gloss *daliscre* is obviously a scribal error, the scribe having taken the *de* of *Dedalei* as a preposition and rendered it by *of*; then the meaningless remnant *dalei* was rendered by the equally meaningless *daliscre*. The known Old English glosses to Sedulius contain a number of proper adjectives formed for the nonce, such as *memfitisc* and *caldisc*.

W. W. 247, 4 *Fundali stridore: liþerlicum swege*
Psych., 293 *Dextera fundali torsit stridore lapillum*

The dictionaries agree that *liþerlic* means "of a sling"; the gloss apparently means "sound of a sling." One gains a certain amount of assurance about the meaning "sound of a sling" in view of the fact that in the *Psychomachia* the *fundali stridore* accompanies David's throw of a rock at Goliath.

W. W. 237, 19 *Ferinis jubis: deorenun fihhtum*
Psych., 181 *Quo se fulta jubis jactantius illa ferinis*

The *Supplement* gives for *fihht* the meaning "a mane," evidently on the basis of the lemma *jubis*. The form *fehht* also exists, with meaning equivalent to that of Latin *vellus*, very probably "sheepskin with the fleece on it."⁵ Ritter has pointed out that *fehht* and *fihht* are variant forms.⁶ The context for the lemma to *fihhtum* suggests that the gloss may not mean "mane" but rather some-

⁵ Cf. O. Schlutter, *Englische Studien*, XXXVII, p. 177 and O. Ritter, *Vermischte Beiträge z. englischen Sprachgeschichte* (Halle, 1922), pp. 45-6.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

thing like "shaggy pelt," thus approaching the meaning of *feht*, "sheepskin with the fleece on it." In the context it is *ferinis jubis* on which the personified Superbia is supported as she rides a charger on which has been spread the pelt of a lion. Latin *juba* is several times rendered in Old English by *manu*, "mane"; in the *Psychomachia* passage the glossator had reason to render it with a word having to do with "pelt."

II. An Old English Term for Waled Ornamentation.

The Old English word *wala* occurs in the following passage from *Beowulf*, 1030-31:

Ymb þæs helmes hrof heafodbeorge
wirum bewunden walan utan heold

On the meaning of *wala* here Hoops notes: "In 1031 bedeutet *wala* wohl einen mit Draht umwundenen (*wirum bewunden*) Schutzbügel aussen (*utan*) am Helm."⁷ Klaeber in the glossary to his edition of *Beowulf* defines *wala* as "rounded projection on helmet," "rim," "roll"; and in the notes he remarks: "The exact nature of a *wala*, which seems to be an ornamental as well as useful part of the helmet, is not known."⁸ The word seems to appear in the compound *wyrtwala*, "root"; and other Old English words thought to be related to *wala* are *walu*, "ridge," "bank," "weal" and *waled*, "striped."⁹ The amount of uncertainty about *wala* in the *Beowulf* passage does not prevent a fair understanding of the text, but it comes under discussion in view of the following two instances of what is possibly the same word.

Ruin, 19-20:

hwætred in hringas hygerof gebond
weallwalan wirum wundrum togædre

Die althochdeutschen Glossen, i, 429, 5:

Istriarum: uualana uuira

⁷ J. Hoops, *Kommentar zum Beowulf* (Heidelberg, 1932), p. 129.

⁸ F. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* (Boston, 1928), p. 164.

⁹ Cf. *walu* in Holthausen's *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* and *N. E. D.* under *wale*. Old English *waled*, for which dictionaries give the meaning "striped," is known only from the gloss *Histriarum: waledra*, W. W. 417, 23.

It is noticeable that something like *wala* and *wir* occurs in each of these three citations. In each the meaning is vague; but taken together they point to an interpretation for *wala*.

The gloss occurs on folio 53v of the Paris MS Lat. 2685, a manuscript which contains among Old High German glosses such Old English ones as *dun*, *meu*, *crop*, *fecislun* (for *fetelsum*).¹⁰ It has been suspected that *uualana uuira* is Old English and the gloss *Histriatarum: waledra*, Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 417, 23, has been compared.¹¹ The group *Istriarum uualana uuira* occurs in a batch of Bible glosses, the two preceding glosses being to iii Regum 7, 2 and 7, 17 respectively and the following one to iii Regum 7, 29.¹² The lemma is taken from *duo ordines sculpturarum striatarum erant fusiles*, iii Regum 7, 24; variant readings here show *histriatarum* for *striatarum*.¹³ It is most probable that the lemma in *Histriatarum: waledra* derives from this same passage.¹⁴ Old English *waledra* is genitive plural of *waled*, "waled," "striped"; under *waled* meaning "striped" *N. E. D.* cites this gloss *waledra* and three instances from the 17th century.¹⁵ In view of numerous miswritings of Old English glosses in the Paris manuscript, one is perhaps correct in seeing in *uualana uuira* an original *waledra wira* to *striatarum sculpturarum* and meaning "of striped metal ornaments." It may, however, be a double gloss, *uualana* genitive plural of *wala* from which *waled* is derived and meaning "of ornamental bands," and *uuira* genitive plural of *wir* meaning "ornaments made of wire."¹⁶ The latter seems to me more

¹⁰ Cf. C. Leydecker, *Über Beziehungen zwischen ahd. und ags. Glossen* (Bonn, 1911), pp. 30 ff.

¹¹ Cf. E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, I, p. 429, n. 5 and Leydecker, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹² In the related Carlsruhe MS Aug. CXXXV, 99v, the gloss appears as *Histriatarum .i. historias imitantium*, and the following gloss is to iii Regum 7, 26. In the frequently corrupt Bern MS 258, 10v, the gloss appears as *Histriarum .i. uyalina uiscoyo*.

¹³ Cf. C. Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum* (Rome, 1864), II, p. 476.

¹⁴ On the interchange of initial *s*, *his* in Latin words cf. *C. G. L.*, VI under *Hispania*, *Hispidus*, *Historiographus*, *Histriate*.

¹⁵ It marks *waled* as obsolete, but *Webster's New International*, 2nd ed., does not.

¹⁶ On folio 49v of Paris MS Lat. 2685 *mutiet* has the double gloss *grennat gillit*. Cf. also *Die ahd. Gl.*, I, 446, 10 where *Istriatarum* from same context in iii Regum is glossed by OHG. *vuieron*.

likely; but whether *uualana* be corrupted from *waledra* or not is of less importance than the fact that it contains the element *wal* descriptive of striated ornamentation.

In the *Beowulf* passage the *wala* is *wirum bewunden* and gave protection on the outside about the top of the helmet.¹⁷ Since it is fairly certain that both the *uualana* and *waledra* of the glosses refer to what is described as *striata*, "striped," "banded," the *wala* should be something like a stripe, band, or strip. The sketches in Hoops' *Reallexicon* of helmets found in Germanic territory and dating from about the sixth and seventh centuries show that the rounded top of the helmet was crossed by strips or bands.¹⁸ The sketch in Klaeber's *Beowulf* of the bronze plate from Öland with the famous boar-helmets indicates that the tops of these helmets were ridged, banded, or covered with strips crossed by other strips; and the sketch of the helmet from Vendel, also in Klaeber's *Beowulf*, shows two strips across the top of the helmet, these strips being decorated with something very much like filigree work or interwoven wires. As the emendation of *walan* to *wala* at *Beowulf*, 1031 seems advisable,¹⁹ it is likely that *wala* here means collectively the metal banding over the top of the helmet, an ornamental protection made of bands or strips; similarly at *Beowulf*, 1503 *hring* means armor formed of rings and at *Beowulf*, 2413 *wir* means ornaments made of wire.

In the *Ruin* passage it is the *weallwalan* that some ingenious and valiant one bound into circular enclosures wonderfully together with wires (*hwætréd in hringas hygerof gebond/weallwalan wirum wundrum togædre*). In translating *in hringas* by "into circular enclosures" I believe that the whole circular form of the wall is referred to; in line 45 the hot bath is referred to as *hringmere*, the wall enclosed the hot baths (ll. 39-40), and that the writer had baths in mind in mentioning *weallwalan* is indicated by the reference in the next line to *burnsele monige*, "many baths."²⁰ Dictionaries interpret *weallwala* questioningly as "part of a house-wall," "wall-foundation." In the gloss

¹⁷ That the *wala* was on the outside is expressly stated in *utan*; a somewhat similar expression occurs in *awerge wirum utan*, *Riddle*, 40, 47.

¹⁸ J. Hoops, *Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, II, p. 502.

¹⁹ J. Hoops, *Kommentar zum Beowulf*, p. 129, remarks of the MS *walan*: "Schreibfehler mit Vorwegnahme des *n* von *utan*."

²⁰ As several lines preceding *hwætréd in hringas* are partially destroyed, the syntax of the expression must remain uncertain.

uualana uuira the matter referred to is the ornamental brass work that Hiram of Tyre did for Solomon on his buildings, specifically two rows of ornamentation about the edge of a bronze sea which he had cast. In the *Ruin* passage too the emphasis is on ornamentation: the wall was once a bright wall (*weal eall befeng beorhtan bosme*); the wall-stone was *wrætlic*, "artistic," "ornamental"; it was *readfah*, "varied in red." Might not the wall of a Roman building which the Anglo-Saxon poet is describing have been adorned with something that had the appearance of strips, perhaps raised panelling fastened with metal bands? That the walls about a Roman bath were ornamented is known from the remains at Pompeii.²¹ In Roman houses the walls were sometimes lined with panels of thin marble slabs of various colors fastened by bronze clamps,²² and the walls of baths were similarly made.²³ That the buildings described in the *Ruin* were Roman there is no doubt; they were stone buildings enclosing baths. In describing the walls the use of a word having to do with something like ornamental strip or panel agrees with what is known about the decoration of the walls of Roman buildings.

A description of wall decoration occurs in a passage from the *Epistola Alexandri: numerauimus auratosque parietes laminarum digitalium grossitudine*, which passage—or one from some variant version—is rendered into Old English as *þa wagas wæron eac gylðne mid gylðnum þelum anæglede fingres picce*.²⁴ Here there is mention of the fastening of the adornment to the wall (*anæglede*) as in the *gebond wirum* of *Ruin*. These expressions extend in meaning beyond the wholly utilitarian idea of "fastening"; *næglian* connotes ornamentation, as in *næglede beagas* and *nægled sinc*, and what is bound with wire is also adorned, as in *wire geweorþað* and *wrætlic wæron smiþa wire beforungen*.²⁵ Also the term *þel* which describes wall adornment and the term *wala* which may describe it have a semantic contact elsewhere. One

²¹ Cf. *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, ed. H. T. Peck, p. 191.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 550; H. W. Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, revised by M. Johnston (Chicago, 1932), p. 163.

²³ Cf. T. Dyer, *Pompeii* (London, 1891), p. 170.

²⁴ S. Rypins, *Three Old English Prose Texts*, *E. J. T. S.* 161, p. 81 and p. 6.

²⁵ The references for these four Old English citations are *Husband's Message*, 35, *Beowulf*, 2023, *Riddle*, 71, 5 and 26, 14 respectively.

meaning of Modern English *wale* (from O. E. *walu*, *wala*) is "piece of timber extending horizontally round the top of the sides of a boat," "gunwale";²⁶ and *pel* besides describing wall adornment refers to this same part of a boat, as in *se sæ eode inn and gefylde þæt scip oþ þa yfmestan þelu þæs bryrdes* (*intravit mare usque ad superiores tabulas implevit navem*).²⁷ It is likely that an Old English word compounded of *weall* and *wala* would have much the same meaning as one compounded of *weall* and *pel*; though no *weallpel* exists, the very similar *wahðyling* does, meaning "wainscoting."²⁸

The *N. E. D.* derives Modern English *wale* from O. E. *walu* and notes also the weak plural *walan*; it states that all the recorded applications of the word may be accounted for by the assumption of a primary sense "raised line or strip." Such a basic meaning would be applicable to the two rows of striated ornamentation about the edge of the bronze work, referred to in the Book of Kings and described as *waledra* and *uualana*;²⁹ to the metal strips over the top of a helmet, described as *wala*; and to the panelling of the wall of a Roman building, described as *weallwala*.

In two of these instances the idea of ornamentation is obvious and in the *Beowulf* one it is likely. All three mention *wīr*, a popular material for Old English ornaments. In the poetical passages the *wala* is wound or bound with *wīr*. In the gloss *wala* and *wīr* may be nearly synonymous terms; a word for "strip" and a word for "wire," "metal band" could well refer to the same object. By extension of meaning in Old English *wīr* comes to mean "ornament made of wire"; a similar extension of meaning for *wala*, "strip," would suggest "ornament consisting of strips," a fitting interpretation in the instances of the word here discussed.³⁰

²⁶ Documented in *N. E. D.* as early as 1330 approximately.

²⁷ Old English version of Gregory's *Dialogues*, ed. H. Hecht, p. 249, 1.

²⁸ *Tabulatorium: wahðyling*, Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 147, 31.

²⁹ It may be pertinent to mention here the meaning of a verb *wale* given in *E. D. D.*, "to make a bright margin round the edge."

³⁰ When this paper had been sent to the editors, Professor Malone suggested that I take into consideration an article by Stephen Herben, "A Note on the Helm in *Beowulf*," *Modern Language Notes*, LII, pp. 34-6. In this article Herben calls attention to features of helmets recently found at Valsgårde to which he would apply the words *fræawrāsnūm* at *Beowulf*, 1451 and *wala* at *Beowulf*, 1031. He is particularly concerned

III. A Ghost-word and a Dark Gloss.

Old English dictionaries give the word *oferwyrþe* and cite as authority for its documentation *Anglia*, XI, 171 where in 1889 was published the gloss *oferwyrþe* to *condignæ* from the *Synonyma* of Isidor in MS Harley 110, folio 29 verso. This is a peculiar gloss to *condignæ*, for which one would expect *efenwyrþe* as it is elsewhere rendered. While an Old English *oferwyrþe* perhaps existed, the gloss is no authority for it, for the gloss to *condignæ* on folio 29 verso of MS Harley 110 reads *efenwyrþe*.

In *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, I, 340, 1 is published the gloss *Uisucal crop ī breptā* to Leviticus 1, 16 from Paris MS Lat. 2685, folio 50 recto. *Uisucal* represents the Vulgate *vesiculam* and *crop* is Old English. To *breptā* Steinmeyer's footnote in *Die ahd. Gl.* is "verstehe ich nicht." In discussing the Old English glosses in this manuscript, Leydecker ventured the suggestion that *breptā* might be emended to something like *blatern*.³¹ It seems to need emendation; resolving the abbreviation into *breptam* and considering the scribal errors of metathesis and confusion of *m* and *nn*, one may resolve *breptā* into *bretpann*. As the scribe of this MS has miswritten Old English words and inserted High German spellings, *bretpann* suggests Old English *brædepanne*. This calls for the lemma *sartago*; compare *sartago*: *bredipannae*, *breitibannae*, *brediponne* in the Epinal, Erfurt, and Corpus glossaries respectively.³² The word *breptā* in the MS is followed by *rediculum* (= *reticulum*, Leviticus 3, 4); in two MSS from which Bible glosses are excerpted in *Die ahd. Gl.* the lemma from Leviticus 3, 4 is preceded by *sartago* from Leviticus 2, 5.³³ I suggest that *breptā* contains O. E. *brædepanne* to a missing lemma *sartago*.

HERBERT MERITT.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

with the fact that one helmet had a cheek- and neck-guard of mail, and states "... I take 'frea-wrasn' to mean splendid mail-protection and 'wala' to mean the camail as well, the former being perhaps an elliptic or poetic synonym for the latter." If *wala* refers to the camail, it seems difficult to interpret the statement at *Beowulf*, 1030 that the *wala* gave protection about the crown of the helmet on the outside. That *wala* and *fræawrāsnūm* might refer to the same object, however, seems quite possible; the latter may mean "splendid band" and refer, as I have suggested that *wala* does, to ornamented bands that cross the top of the helmet.

³¹ Leydecker, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³² H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, pp. 94-5.

³³ Cf. *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, I, 346, 19.

PINDAR, *PYTHIAN*, II, 72 ff.

γένοι' ὁλος ἐσσι μαθών.

καλός τοι πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰεὶ

καλός. ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθους εὖ πέπραγεν, ὅτι φρενῶν

ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, οὐδ' ἀπάταισι θν-

μὸν τέρπεται ἔνδοθεν, κτέ.

The first sentence has probably caused more ink to flow than any other in Pindar; let us begin with the later sentences. Why is Rhadamanthys brought in? Partly because of his name, which (as Bury¹ said, and as should have been plain to all) suggests "one who learns easily"; further, we are told by modern scholars, because he "is in bliss"² and as a judge does not allow himself to be deceived by flatterers in the Islands of the Blest.³ But if we did not know who Rhadamanthys was, should we dream that οὐδ' ἀπάταισι κτέ. describes the uprightness of a judge in the Fortunate Isles; or that εὖ πέπραγεν, which would suit a successful butcher, refers to exalted rank in Elysium itself? And the context is full of folklore: what has Paradise to do here, between a pet-name for a monkey and a folk-name for a fox (κερδῶ, v. 78)? Here also Pindar is quoting folklore: homely fables must have presented Rhadamanthys—because of his name—in contexts quaintly unlike those found in myth, just as later children sang that

Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Jews,
Sold his wife for a pair of shoes.

Stories no doubt related how Master Quickwits foiled certain smooth-tongued cheats and "won" (εὖ πέπραγεν) in the battle of brains—perhaps "lived happily ever after": τέρπεται is present tense (and εὖ πέπραγεν practically so) because that is what he "does" in the tale.

The καλός-sentence is charming and easy. Πίθων was a pet-name⁴ for πίθηκος, chosen no doubt as suggesting πιθών, "the

¹ P. xiv of his *Nemean Odes*.

² Sandys, who adds: "As a judge in the future life, Rhadamanthys . . . owed his felicity to his love of justice."

³ Boeckh, *ad loc.*

⁴ Phrynichus, *App. Soph.*, 59, 13: Πίθων: ὁ πίθηκος ὑποκοριστικῶς.

Docile," just as κερδῶ in v. 78 is a folk-name for the fox—"Trickster." The repeated καλός echoes the sport of children and recalls yet another pet-name, for a monkey was often called καλλίας.⁵ But what relation has this with the context? The pet has ingratiating ways—"beware of those who fawn for their own ends." Perhaps in the folk-tale Quickwits "scored off" such a monkey.

We have now to face γένοι' οἶος ἐσσι μαθών. There appear to be some nine conceivable ways of taking this.

(a) γένοιο goes with μαθών as a periphrasis meaning "learn."⁶ Hence: "learn what kind of man you are," whether that means γνῶθι σεαυτόν in general, or "listen to my description of you." This implies an intolerable bungle of style, the sense thus hardly won is miserable, and it has no apparent relevance to the context.

(b) ἐσσί goes with μαθών,⁷ giving "be the kind of man you have learnt that you are." Even if we can believe in such a construction, the sense is very poor: why not say, far more trenchantly, "show yourself the man you are"?

(c) μαθών stands separately, in place of a subordinate clause, with several implications:

1. "Be what Nature has made you, for you have learnt"—learnt, that is, the moral of Archilochus' fable about the Fox and the Monkey.⁸ This may seem attractive, in view of what follows. But is not μαθών then inconceivably curt? Do we not need a hint of the source, as in *Pyth.*, III, 80, *μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων*, where also the allusion is to a popular maxim?

⁵ Our earliest authority is Dinarchus, frag. 6, 2 (Baiter-Sauppe, II, p. 328), *apud* Suidas: Δεινάρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πυθέου: ἀλλ' οἶμαι ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς καλλίας ἐν τοῖς οἰκοῖς τρέφοντες. τουτέστι πιθήκους. Next is Herodas, III, 41: *κάθηθ' ὅπως τις καλλίης κάτω κύπτων*. Hesychius gives: Καλλίαρ, *πίθηκος παρὰ Δακίωσι*. Unfounded remarks will be found in *Anecd. Bekk.*, I, pp. 190, 20, and 275b; Helladius, *apud* Photius, 874.

⁶ Comparetti, *Philologus*, XXVIII (1869), p. 396; Coppola, *Introd. a Pindaro*, p. 147.

⁷ See Schroeder's long and complicated Excursus (pp. 119-124) to his Commentary on the Pythians. He accepts (p. 123) Erdmann's idea (*De Pindari usu syntactico*, p. 81) that ἐσσι μαθών = *ἐμαθες καὶ μανθάνεις*. But his examples do not prove his case, which Farnell rightly rejects. In the apparatus to his text of Pindar, Schroeder offers another theory: see below.

⁸ Huschke, *Commentarium de Archilochi Fabula de Vulpe et Simia*. I have not seen this, but learnt of its contentions from Boeckh, p. 250. A scholiast has the same idea, but more vaguely: *δ οἱ παῖδες ἐλώθασιν λέγειν*.

2. "Show thyself who thou art, for I have taught it thee."⁹ If Hiero has not shown his nature already, how can Pindar know it, so as to proclaim it?

3. "You have a good disposition, given by the gods; now recognize it and exercise it": *μαθών* alludes to the experience and reflection of the whole life and of every day.¹⁰ But how can he recognize what nature the gods have given him unless it has already been exercised?

4. Pindar being here *disciplinae potius quam insitae virtutis praeco*, we are to explain the whole thus: *γένοι' οἷος ἐσσι' οὐ τυχών, ἀλλὰ μαθών, οὐ παῖς ὢν, ἀλλὰ Παδάμανθός τις καὶ ἐν βουλαῖς πρέσβυς* (65), *οὐ νήπιος, ἀλλ' ἀγαθός*. Hiero must remember what is due to his fortune, training, and age.¹¹ Admirable, as so expounded! But it is not Pindar who says all this, and, though we often need to elaborate his brevities, the cork *μαθών* would appear to support an unusually large mass of *σκενὰ ἐτέρα* wallowing beneath the surface.

(d) Boeckh would read

*γένοι', οἷος ἐσσι' μαθών,
καλός τις· πίθων παρὰ παισὶν αἰεὶ, κτέ.*

τις here is intolerable: *καλός τις* would mean, not "vir probus" as he asserts, but "a fine fellow," if not "rather a handsome man." And what becomes of *οἷος ἐσσι' μαθών*? In his translation Boeckh writes: "Sis, qualis sis intelligens, scitus vir." That is disastrously ambiguous: both the Greek and the Latin could well mean "realize how oafish you are, and become elegant."

(e) Bergk would alter the punctuation:

*γένοι' οἷος ἐσσι'· μαθών
καλός τοι, κτέ.*

⁹ A scholiast and Gildersleeve. Fennell appears to agree with them (or perhaps with Farnell: see next note): "Be true to thyself, having learnt what manner of man thou art." Sandys gives practically the same as Fennell, including the cacophony. Wilamowitz, *Hieron und Pindaros*, pp. 1316 f., follows this "I have taught you" explanation. He quotes Sophocles, *Trach.*, 1064, which unfortunately includes nothing corresponding to *μαθών*.

¹⁰ Fraccaroli, p. 369. Farnell agrees: "Having learned (by long life-experience) what thy true nature is, manifest it in thy actions."

¹¹ Schroeder, p. 190 of his text, in which he prints the vulgate, save for a comma after *γένοι'*.

That is extremely neat. It eliminates the obscure usage of *μαθών*: "When a monkey has learnt (his tricks) ¹² he is a darling. . . ." Nor does *γένου' οἷος ἐσσί* now cause trouble—"Show yourself in your true light." But unfortunately this use of *μαθών*, though sound in itself, clashes badly with *Ῥαδάμανθους*: the Quick Learner is contrasted with the children who delight in the monkey which . . . learns.

(f) All the explanations hitherto propounded are, then, unsatisfactory. We shall put things right if for *μαθών* we read *μάθων*—of course precisely the same in Pindar's day. *μάθων* will be a *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον*, but that is hardly an objection in such a passage as this, where we have had an exactly similar form, *πίθων*, staring us in the face all this time. It is a playful folk-name, ¹³ meaning "The Learned Man," "Sir Clerk." So did Alexander of Pherae dub his spear *Τύχων*, "Hit-the-Mark." ¹⁴ Bacchylides' Sixth Ode celebrates Lachon of Ceos, and opens with a pun (*λάχε*), as if *Δάχων* were *ὁ λαχών*. There is another good parallel in Babrius, XVI, 6, where a baffled wolf is described in our texts as *λύκος χανών ὄντως*. *ὄντως* is impossibly flat, even for Babrius, unless it refers to something already known, more or less permanent. Therefore read *χάνων*. "The wolf in very truth opening his jaws" is absurd; "the wolf a Gaper indeed" makes excellent sense: he realized his nickname to the full.

The connexion of thought now becomes clear and is enlivened by another touch of popular language. "Show yourself the Learned Clerk that you are. In children's eyes, we know, the Docile Pet is pretty, ever pretty. But Doctor Quickwits—yourself, do you see?—prosper because he takes no delight in beguiling talk: he cannot be wheedled as can the children."

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

GILBERT NORWOOD.

¹² Bergk quotes Aelian, *Hist. An.*, V, 26: *ὀρχεῖται γοῦν ἐὰν μάθῃ καὶ αὐλεῖται ἐὰν διδάξῃς*.

¹³ Once assume that *μάθων* is familiar to Pindar's contemporaries, and we get rid of the difficulty noted above, that *μαθών* unsupported cannot carry all the meaning that Schroeder wishes. The suggestion that Pindar here calls Hiero a *μάθων* is not invalidated by the doctrine, too often repeated, that he habitually sneers at learning. There are but two of these gibes (*Ol.*, II, 86 ff. and *Nem.*, III, 42 f.), uttered in annoyance with Bacchylides and others.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 29, 8: *τὴν δὲ λόγῃν ἧ Πολύφρονα τὸν θεῖον ἀπέκτεινε καθιερώσας καὶ καταστέψας ἔθυνεν ὥσπερ θεῶ καὶ Τύχωνα προσηγόρευε*.

CLEOMEDES AND THE MERIDIAN OF LYSIMACHIA.

The elementary astronomical treatise of Cleomedes *κυκλικὴ θεωρία* (usually quoted as *De motu circulari corporum caelestium*)¹ has its main importance in the fact that it contains extensive reports about the measurements of the earth and the determination of the size and distance of the moon and sun made by Posidonius and Eratosthenes. Very little is known about the time of Cleomedes. His knowledge of Posidonius puts him later than *ca.* 100 B. C. On the other hand he is obviously entirely uninfluenced by Ptolemy, which gives 150 A. D. as his lower limit. Hultsch sets him "about in the middle of the first century B. C.,"² but Rehm gives good reasons for the other end of the interval mentioned.³ He continues "Noch weniger als über die Entstehungszeit erfahren wir aus dem Werke über des Verfassers Heimat oder Aufenthaltsort." In the following I wish to call attention to two places in Cleomedes' work which may make Lysimachia on the Hellespont very probable as the place of the author's residence.⁴

The first reference is the beginning of book I, chap. 6, where Cleomedes makes the statement⁵ that αἱ δὲ αὐξήσεις τῶν ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν οὐ τὸ ἴσον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας προστιθέασι καὶ ὑφαιρούσιν, "the increase of the length of the days does not amount to the same fraction of a day which should be added or subtracted" but ὅποτε ἀρχὴν τοῦ αὔξεσθαι ἡ ἡμέρα λαμβάνει τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ μηνὶ δωδέκατον αὔξεσθαι τῆς ὅλης ὑπεροχῆς ἢ ὑπερέχει ἡ μεγίστη τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἡμέραν, κτλ., "when the day begins to become longer, then the increase is $\frac{1}{12}$ of the difference between the longest and the shortest day in the first month, $\frac{1}{6}$ in the next, $\frac{1}{4}$ in the third and fourth, $\frac{1}{6}$ in the fifth, and $\frac{1}{12}$ in the sixth month." And he

¹ Edited by H. Ziegler (Leipzig, Teubner, 1891).

² Fr. Hultsch, "Posidonius über die Grösse und Entfernung der Sonne," *Abhandlungen d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., N. F. I, No. 5 (1897), p. 37.

³ *R.-E.*, XI, col. 681.

⁴ That Lysimachia, in spite of its destruction in about 144 B. C. (*R.-E.*, XIII, col. 2556), still existed at least in the time of Ptolemy is shown by its being mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography*, III, 11, 13 (Λυσιμαχία τὸ νῦν Ἐξαμίλιον) and VIII, 11, 7.

⁵ P. 50, 15 ff. (Ziegler).

proceeds: "Ὡστε εἰ ὥραις ἕξ ὑπερέχει ἡ μεγίστη τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἡμέραν, κτλ., "If the difference between the longest and the shortest day amounts to 6 hours, then those increments will be $\frac{1}{2}$ hour, 1 hour, and 3 hours, respectively" and he concludes καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρωθήσονται αἱ ἕξ ὥραι καθ' ὧς ὑπερέχει ἡ μεγίστη τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἡμέραν, "and these together make up the six hours by which the longest day is longer than the shortest." The statement that the longest day (let its length be denoted by D) surpasses the shortest (d) by 6 hours is apparently taken by Cleomedes for granted, just as we say that the shortest day is the 21st of December without feeling it necessary to add "for the inhabitants of the zone between the equator and $66\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ north latitude." The difference $D-d=6^h$ is obviously characteristic for the latitude familiar to Cleomedes and his readers. But it is very simple to determine its latitude from the numbers given. According to common ancient tradition, the lengths of the longest and the shortest day must be complementary to each other or $D+d=24^h$. This gives $D=15^h$, $d=9^h$ or $D:d=5:3$, a relation which is well known as characteristic for the latitude of the Hellespont.⁶

With this fact in mind a second place in Cleomedes' treatise becomes very significant. Looking at the list of place names occurring in his book,⁷ one will remark that there appear with a few exceptions only the old names which were already fundamental for the mathematical geography of Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, and Posidonius, such as Syene and Alexandria in Egypt,

⁶ Cf. e.g. Hipparchus, *In Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena Comm.*, I, 3, 7, ed. Manitius (Leipzig, Teubner, 1894), p. 26, 16 ff.: ὅπου δὲ ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα λόγον ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἐλαχίστην, ὃν ἔχει τὰ ε' πρὸς τὰ γ', ἐκεῖ ἡ μὲν μεγίστη ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ὥρων ιε' . . . δῆλον τοίνυν ὅτι οὐ δυνατόν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα (τόποις) τὸν προειρημένον εἶναι λόγον . . . ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον τόποις, "But at a place where the longest day has the proportion of 5 to 3 to the shortest, there the longest day is 15 hours. . . . Hence it is obvious that this proportion . . . is impossible for Greece, but rather fits the region of the Hellespont."

Cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, VI, 216: *Quinto (circulo) continentur segmento . . . Hellespontus . . . Magnitudo diei summa horarum aequinoctialium XV*".

Cleomedes himself says (II, 1 [Ziegler, p. 160, 19 ff.]) that the shortest day κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον amounts to 9 hours when he gives a list of the different latitudes. The same is still found in Ptolemy, *Almagest*, II, 8 (Heiberg, I, p. 138).

⁷ Ziegler, pp. 230 ff., *index nominum*.

Rhodes, Massilia, etc. (Rome is mentioned only incidentally as having a shortest day of "less than nine hours").⁸ In sharp contrast to this, one city is mentioned in detail, namely Lysimachia on the Hellespont: The head of the dragon comes to the zenith for the inhabitants of Lysimachia; Lysimachia lies on the same meridian as Syene, and the distance from Lysimachia to Syene is 20,000 stadia.

I think this particular interest in the geographical coördinates of Lysimachia agrees best with two other facts which, isolated, could not be taken as sufficient arguments; combined with the preceding remarks, however, they may support the assumption that Cleomedes lived in Lysimachia on the Hellespont. The first is the remark that the only solar eclipse quoted is the famous eclipse of Aug. 15, 310 B. C., total at the Hellespont but only partial at Alexandria.⁹ This is again an element of greatest importance for the determination of the geographical coördinates of the Hellespont (as such used already by Hipparchus).¹⁰ The second is the mention of the custom of giving torches to the adorers of Artemis.¹¹ The torch as a symbol of Artemis is in itself well enough known, but again Lysimachia is doubtless especially connected with this custom because there exist coins from this city showing Artemis and the torch.¹²

If we are right in assuming that all the above mentioned facts are to be explained simply as examples chosen by Cleomedes as familiar to his compatriots of Lysimachia, an hypothesis concerning the history of ancient mathematical geography can be definitely abandoned. From the above mentioned remark that Lysimachia on the Hellespont and Syene in Egypt belong to the same meridian, Berger drew the conclusion that we face here the traces of an older fundamental division of the *Oikumene*, later replaced by the meridian of Rhodes.¹³ Devoted to the

⁸ II, 1 (Ziegler, p. 160, 20).

⁹ II, 3 (Ziegler, p. 174 and again p. 178).

¹⁰ This date is not the usually accepted one, which is Nov. 20, 129 B. C. The date given above was established by Schoch; cf. the report of A. Pogo, *Isis*, XV (1931), p. 164. The discussion is based on the report of Pappus' Commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, V, ed. Rome (*Studi e testi*, LIV, Rome, 1931), pp. 67 f.

¹¹ II, 5 (Ziegler, p. 202, 3).

¹² A list of such cities is given in *R.-E.*, II, col. 1435.

¹³ H. Berger, *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1880), p. 174.

axiom that no ancient author of a book still extant may have an idea of his own, Berger tries to find the original source of Cleomedes' remark. Now, his estimate of 20,000 stadia as the distance between Lysimachia and Syene is so gross an exaggeration that only a period before Eratosthenes seems to be possible. On the other hand Lysimachia was founded in 309 B. C., so that one century only remains for the assumed source. Now, Dicaearchus belongs to this period, and, since practically nothing about his system is known, he is the ideal source of Cleomedes' statement.

We do not need to discuss the weak points of these arguments in detail, because it has been done in the excellent book of W. A. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps*,¹⁴ who closes his chapter on Dicaearchus with the words "Our conclusion, then, is that Dicaearchus remains for us largely unknown. . . ." What I should like to add is only that it seems to be highly improbable that an author such as Cleomedes, doubtless largely dependent on the classical treatises of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Posidonius, quite inconsistently used an obsolete meridian-line which was replaced as early as the next generation by the meridian Syene—Alexandria—Rhodes. It seems to me in the light of the preceding remarks much more likely that Cleomedes intended simply to illustrate his discussion of the earth-measurement by introducing Lysimachia as a fundamental point here too. Since no one before was interested in the distance Lysimachia—Syene, he may have added some itineraries available to him, which resulted in arriving at a sum much too large. But he may have regarded this result of his own calculation as a valuable contribution to the discussion of the earth's magnitude, a question on which "there exist many different opinions among the physicists," as he remarks in the beginning of his report on the theories of Posidonius and Eratosthenes, which he quotes only a little disdainfully as being "better than the others."¹⁵ Hence by misfortune only, I think, his Lysimachian patriotism may have inaugurated the Dicaearchian axis of the *Oikumene*, discovered in the 19th century A. D.

O. NEUGEBAUER.

BROWN UNIVERSITY.

¹⁴ American Geographical Soc., Research series XX (New York, 1937).

¹⁵ I, 10 (Ziegler, p. 90).

A NOTE ON THE MEGARIAN HISTORIAN DIEUCHIDAS.

Müller¹ lists three persons who wrote histories of Megara (Μεγαρικά): Dieuchidas, Praxion,² and Hereas.³ This paper is concerned principally with Dieuchidas.⁴

Our information about Dieuchidas was formerly limited to a few scattered fragments and references⁵ until Wilamowitz published his *Homerische Untersuchungen* in 1884. Advancing an ingenious argument, he contended that Dieuchidas must have lived sometime in the fourth century B. C.⁶ Previous to the appearance of this work, Dieuchidas had been classed among those writers *incertae aetatis*. Wilamowitz' conclusion was justified by the discovery twelve years later of an inscription bearing

¹ *F. H. G.*, IV, p. 680.

² Praxion is an enigmatic figure. The notice in Harpocration on Σκίπρος cites the second book of his Μεγαρικά. This is the only fragment in which he is called Praxion. Müller, *F. H. G.*, IV, p. 483, on the advice of Westermann, altered the Praxilas of Schol. Theocr. V, 83b to Praxion, which change may or may not be acceptable. Some of the Delphic inscriptions discussed in this note reveal that Praxion was the name of the father of Dieuchidas. This, coupled with the fact that a reference to Σκίπρος, who synoecized Salamis, would not be out of place in the second book of Dieuchidas, makes very plausible the explanation that Harpocration had before him a quotation from Διευχίδας ὁ Πραξιῶνος. In some way the word Διευχίδας was dropped, and Πραξιῶνος was altered to the nominative case. Thus a new historic personality was created.

³ Not much is known about Hereas. Cf. Jacoby, *R.-E.*, s. v.

⁴ Cf. *F. H. G.*, IV, pp. 388-91; E. Schwartz, *R.-E.*, V, cols. 480-1; Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*², 241 C, line 141, n. 79; 250 D, n. 4; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* (Berlin, 1922), III, 1, p. 399, n. 2.

⁵ His very name is subject to confusion. We find Dieuchidas, Dieuty-chidas, and other variations. Cf. the fragments.

⁶ Pp. 240-1. Wilamowitz' argument seems conclusive. Clement, *Strom.*, VI, 26, 8, says that Dieuchidas took the beginning of his *Δευκαλιωνεα* from Hellanicus. As we know approximately the date of Hellanicus, we have thus a *terminus post quem*. The possible source for this passage in Clement is Aristobulus, the contemporary of Aristarchus. If this theory is not accepted, still Ruhnken's conclusion that the source was a work of about 300 B. C. must not be denied. This means that Dieuchidas lived before that time and that accordingly he belongs to the fourth century B. C.

the name of Dieuchidas of Megara.⁷ Keil⁸ expressed doubt that this Dieuchidas was the historian of the same name, as Bourguet had suggested in his original publication of the inscription. Schwartz⁹ and Dittenberger,¹⁰ however, agreed with Bourguet that the two are identical; there are not sufficient grounds for discrediting this identification.

At the present time, however, we know much more about Dieuchidas. Since the publication of the first inscription, there have been found several more which mention Dieuchidas of Megara.¹¹ Four of these refer to him as the son of Praxion.¹² These inscriptions are lists of the Delphic *νεωποιοί* and cover the period from 338 B. C. to 329 B. C. They form the earliest contemporary records that we have concerning Dieuchidas.

Our knowledge of the functions of the *νεωποιοί*, as well as other information pertaining to their duties, is derived almost wholly from epigraphical evidence.¹³ Unfortunately we do not know the qualifications for eligibility or the minimum age requirement. They probably held office for life.¹⁴ If we assume that one had to be at least thirty years of age to be eligible for the office, Dieuchidas could not have been born later than 369 B. C. The upper limit for his birth year cannot be determined with such precision. We know from epigraphical evidence that he was still alive in 329 B. C. If he was seventy years old at that time, he must have been born about 400 B. C. Under ordinary circumstances, that date would represent the upper possible limit of his birth year, with *ca.* 370 B. C. as the *terminus ante quem*.

It would be most reasonable to assume, inasmuch as Dieuchidas' service as a *νεωποιοί* fell well into the second half of the fourth century, that his activity as an historian must be likewise assigned to approximately the same period. He would ac-

⁷ Bourguet, *B. C. H.*, XX (1896), p. 233, n. 1.

⁸ *Hermes*, XXXII (1897), p. 414.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Fouilles de Delphes* (Paris, 1932), III, fasc. 5: 20, 34; 48 I, 21; 49, II, 46; 50 II, 27; 58, 31; 60 A, 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, 49 II, 46; 50 II, 27; 58, 31; 60 A, 2.

¹³ On the political significance of the *νεωποιοί* of this period, cf. P. Cloché, *B. C. H.*, XL (1916), pp. 78-142.

¹⁴ Cf. Schulthess, *R.-E.*, XVI, cols. 2437-8.

cordingly be classed as a writer of the second, and not the first, part of the century. What is his relation to Ephorus?

Suidas¹⁵ notes that Ephorus was born in the ninety-third Olympiad (408-404 B. C.) under the anarchy at Athens, although this date may not be reliable.¹⁶ He must have lived at least until 335 B. C.¹⁷ In addition to the epigraphical evidence as to the date of Dieuchidas, a correct interpretation of the fragments will show that Dieuchidas wrote after Ephorus had published at least a part of his work and was dependent upon him in one instance. We know from Clement that Dieuchidas was not very original. Clement¹⁸ asserts that Dieuchidas borrowed the introduction of his work from Hellanicus. On the other hand, we may assume that Ephorus was a writer who possessed a great amount of talent and ingenuity, being one of the first to compile a universal history.

Plutarch quotes Dieuchidas¹⁹ in regard to a question pertaining to the Spartan royal genealogy, stating that Dieuchidas was among those writers who made Lycurgus the sixth from Procles and the eleventh from Heracles. As this is not the place to enter upon a discussion of the complications of the Spartan king lists, suffice it to state that this account does not agree with the only earlier extant list, that given by Herodotus.²⁰ Sometime between Herodotus' utilization of the original Hecataean genealogies²¹ and the publication of the work of Ephorus and Dieuchidas, a new recension of the king lists was made. The point in hand is that this new version is found not only in Dieuchidas but also in Ephorus.²² There are thus two writers of the fourth century who both used the same recension of the Spartan king lists. Which borrowed from the other, or did they both use the same source?

The Spartan king lists, because of their very nature, must have belonged to the earlier part of Ephorus' work, probably to book

¹⁵ *S. v.*, "Εφύππος = *F. G. H.*, 70, T. 1.

¹⁶ Cf. E. Schwartz, *R.-B.*, VI, col. 1.

¹⁷ Cf. *F. G. H.*, 70, F. 217.

¹⁸ *Strom.*, VI, 26, 8.

¹⁹ *Lycur.*, I.

²⁰ VIII, 131.

²¹ Cf. E. Meyer, *Forsch.*, I, pp. 153-88.

²² *F. G. H.*, 70, F. 149.

six.²³ In view of the notorious lack of speed with which Ephorus wrote,²⁴ book six was probably written at a relatively early period of his life. Jacoby, writing in 1902,²⁵ placed Dieuchidas at the beginning of the fourth century and thought that it was he who first introduced this innovation. Would not the unknown writer of Megara have been far more likely to borrow from the universal history of his famous predecessor for his own particular purposes? Then, too, one would hardly expect to find in a local patriotic pamphlet, composed by a man who was cited as being strikingly unoriginal, any new revision of an accepted genealogical table, especially when it cannot have been very germane to his main subject.

That Callisthenes had utilized the work of Ephorus was shown by Schwartz,²⁶ and that accordingly Ephorus' work was published before 334 B. C. The situation of Dieuchidas would seem to be somewhat analogous to that of Callisthenes. In assuming that Dieuchidas' activity as a writer coincided with his service as a *νεωπολιός* and that Dieuchidas borrowed from Ephorus, we would be pushing back the date of composition of Ephorus' work no farther than Schwartz did in the case of Callisthenes. On the other hand, if Ephorus published his work at intervals, as seems most likely, the sixth book *may* have been written many years before 338 B. C. In that case we cannot positively assert that Dieuchidas wrote his *Μεγαρικά* after 338 B. C.

From this examination of the fragments an attempt has been made to show that Dieuchidas probably borrowed from Ephorus and was younger than he was, a conclusion to which the epigraphical discoveries lend corroborating evidence. The recovery of this series of inscriptions at Delphi since Jacoby published his work most probably eliminates any such possibility of Dieuchidas' seniority in age and priority in writing as is implied in Jacoby's theory, and necessitates a reinterpretation of the fragments to that effect.

DONALD W. PRAKKEN.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

²³ Cf. *F. G. H.*, 70, F. 173-9, and Jacoby's comments in *F. G. H.*, 2 C, pp. 84-7.

²⁴ Cf. *F. G. H.*, 70, T. 28.

²⁵ *Apollodorus Chronik* (Berlin, 1902), p. 115.

²⁶ *Hermes*, XXXV (1900), pp. 106-30.



THE SLAVES AT THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

Pausanias' statement *τάφος δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν καὶ δούλοις· ἐμαχέσαντο γὰρ καὶ δοῦλοι τότε πρῶτον* (I, 32, 3) has been a source of speculation. "One would like to know," says Munro, "who were these 'slaves,' deemed worthy of burial with the free men of Plataea."¹ Herodotus is silent as to the presence of *δοῦλοι* at Marathon, but since he ignores so many details of the battle we need not consider his silence as contradicting the evidence of Pausanias.² From other statements of Pausanias it is inferred that the slaves were those of the Athenians. In VII, 15, 7 Pausanias states that Diaeus in 146 B. C. set the slaves free (*δούλους τε ἐς ἐλευθερίαν ἤφει*), following the example set by Miltiades and the Athenians before the battle of Marathon. Further corroboration of this fact is to be found in X, 20, 2. From the statements of Pausanias the following facts stand out: (1) the tomb of the slaves was separate from that of the Athenians, whose names were inscribed on stelae according to tribes;³ (2) slaves were used by the Athenians at Marathon for the first time; (3) the slaves were enfranchised before the battle.

The use of slaves by Athenians in warfare at this early date is extraordinary. Because of the fact that in the early period of Greek history "armies were closed to men unable to equip themselves for fighting at their own expense"⁴ the use of slaves in any capacity other than that of noncombatants is limited to extreme emergencies. R. L. Sargent has made a survey of the evidence on the use of slaves by Athens in land warfare and reaches the following conclusion: "The Athenians considered using slaves as a fighting element in the land warfare only in

¹ *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1926), IV, p. 248.

² Niese, "Über Wehrverfassung, Dienstpflicht und Heerwesen Griechenlands," *Historische Zeitschrift*, XCVIII (1906-7), p. 498.

³ Cf. Pausanias, I, 29, 7; J. H. Oliver, "The Monument with the Marathon Epigrams," *Hesperia*, V (1936), pp. 225-34.

⁴ W. S. Ferguson, "Athenian War Finance," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LVI (1930-32), p. 347.

notable emergencies, and seem to have been willing to emancipate them before such military service."⁵

When these facts are applied to the statements of Pausanias a question arises. If the slaves were in the battle *quâ* slaves they were used as noncombatants. It seems as if they must actually have fought in order to get killed, for the Persians were in no condition to plunder the Greek camp and slay such slaves as might have served in menial capacities. But since they were emancipated before the battle (VII, 15, 7) and some died in battle they must have fought, not as a separate regiment (their inexperience would rule this out), but within the ranks of the tribal regiments. Now if they were emancipated and fought within the tribal ranks why were they not buried with the Athenian dead and their names inscribed on the stelae according to tribal order (I, 32, 3)?

It is clear from Pausanias, X, 20, 2 that the Athenians marched to Marathon not only with slaves but also *ὁὖν ἡλικία τε τῇ ἀχρεΐῳ*. Surely when a class, *ἡλικία τῇ ἀχρεΐῳ*, is used in battle the Athenians did not overlook the able-bodied slaves in a time of national crisis. There is a hint in Pausanias' statement of some legislative enactment, for he speaks of Diaeus as imitating *τὸ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Ἀθηναίων βούλευμα* (VII, 15, 7). It probably refers to a motion introduced by Miltiades for the freeing of the slaves and may have dealt with State indemnity for the masters of the slaves, for Plato speaks of the practice of indemnifying masters when the state freed slaves as a reward for service.⁶ Furthermore, the motion may have dealt with the nature of the enfranchisement. Were these emancipated slaves to be enrolled in the tribes and thus become citizens or would they be in the class of metics?

Prior to the discovery of silver at Laurium which gave employment to many slaves it is estimated⁷ that the number of slaves was not large, and they were chiefly used in agriculture and household service. In view of the smallness of the number of slaves at this time the Athenians may have chosen to follow the precedent of Cleisthenes who enrolled freed slaves into the tribes

⁵ R. L. Sargent, "The Use of Slaves by the Athenians in Warfare," *O. P.*, XXII (1927), p. 212.

⁶ *Laws* 914 A.

⁷ A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 25-6.

after the expulsion of Pisistratus,⁸ a precedent which was followed by Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian war.⁹ This would require a formal enrolment into phratries. The time for such an initiation was during the celebration of the Apaturia which occurred in the month of Παναοψιών, a month later than Βοηδρομιών,¹⁰ the month in which the battle took place. The formal ceremony of enrolling them κατὰ φυλάς could not have been accomplished at the time. The emancipated slaves would thus be *de facto* but not *de iure* citizens at the time of the battle. This would account for the fact that those who died in the battle could not have been buried with formally enrolled citizens κατὰ φυλάς. Much as the Athenians should have wanted to honor the slaves they could not bury them with the Athenian dead without violating the religious and political tribal custom and procedure. Therefore they buried the fallen slaves with the dead of their Plataean allies.

This fact would account for their burial apart from the Athenian dead, whether the decree before the battle determined their status as *de iure* but not *de facto* citizens or as enfranchised slaves without citizenship¹¹ or even if the decree left the question of their political status to be settled after the battle. Under no circumstances could the slaves have been buried κατὰ φυλάς, regardless of the nature of their enfranchisement.¹²

TRINITY COLLEGE,
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS.

MENANDER'S *EPITREPONTES*, 722-25 KÖRTE
(646-49 JENSEN).

Smicrines arrives at the home of his son-in-law and urgently demands to be let in. Onesimus comes from within and opens a conversation with the visitor:

720 ON. Τίς ἐσθ' ὁ κόπτων τὴν θύραν; *Ω, Σμικρίνης
 ὁ χαλεπός, ἐπὶ τὴν προῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα

⁸ Aristotle, *Politics* 1275 b 37.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Moralia* 349F, 861E.

⁹ Diodorus, XIII, 97, 1.

¹¹ Cf. Demosthenes, *Pro Phorm.*, 6.

¹² I am indebted to Prof. C. L. Sherman for a discussion of some phases of the problem in this note.

- 722 ἦκων. (Σμ.) Ἐγωγε, τρισκατάρατε, καὶ μάλα
 ὀρθῶς· λογιστικοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ σφόδρα
 φρονούντος ἢ σπουδῆς, τό θ' ἄρπασμ' Ἡράκλεις
 725 θαυμαστὸν οἶον, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων.

This is the text as the papyrus has it. All editions, however, from Lefèvre's *editio princeps* to A. Körte's in 1938, make Onesimus cut in again in line 722 with καὶ μάλα, etc., so that the justification of the old gentleman's impending action is assigned to the slave and turned to irony. The change in distribution having once been introduced, it is apparently not easy to forget the supposed mockery. But to me it seems smoother, simpler, and more effective to have the brave Smicrines, who has just indulged in an orgy of self-assertion (704-17), vindicate his intention himself and extol his good qualities in person. And, as Mr. P. W. Harsh aptly points out, it is also more consistent and amusing if Onesimus, instead of stooping to cheap ironical abuse, from the beginning assumes the attitude of benign, mild-spoken superiority which he is to show a moment later.

These reasons are purely subjective, but there are others to support them. Editors, after having assigned to Onesimus line 723, are none too sure where to end his speech. Most of them leave to Smicrines only the four words πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων and assume that Smicrines is trying to exclaim "For God's sake let me in at last" when the slave interrupts him by pointing out that "For God's sake" is not appropriate. Others, however, feel that the phrase πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων, when isolated, does not carry enough meaning and therefore also give to Smicrines the preceding words τὸ ἄρπασμα, etc. But then they have to change τό θ' ἄρπασμα into τὸ δ' ἄρπασμα. The conjecture hardly commends itself. Any attempt to break up the speech shows that it should better be left undivided, precisely as the papyrus has it.¹ Smicrines says, on the one hand, that he is right, and very much so; on the other hand, he cries out that his son-in-law is wrong, and very much so. The two halves are aptly connected by τε, and Smicrines fittingly concludes his speech by asking gods and daemons to bear witness both to his own virtue and to Charisius' wickedness.

¹ The papyrus has in 724 a single point after σπουδῆ which indicates a slighter incision within a continuous speech. In 725 there is no mark of punctuation or change of speaker.

Upon the lines quoted above follows the charming diatribe in which Onesimus lectures the old gentleman for his arrogant belief that the gods will side with his righteous cause. If, however, we assign to Smicrines merely the unconnected exclamation *πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων*, the whole sermon is suspended by a rather thin thread.² Nor will it suffice to add to Smicrines' part the sentence *τὸ δ' ἄρπασμα*, etc. Of the two statements: "Smicrines is right," and "Charisius is wrong," the former rather than the latter is to be attacked by Onesimus' philosophical arguments. Is it not necessary that Smicrines in person should have committed the self-glorification for which he is presently to be blamed and soon to be put to shame? Will it do if the slave, without asking for the old gentleman's permission or assent, puts certain words into his mouth and then severely scolds him for them?

For the sake of the delightful diatribe and its connection with the rest of the scene more than anything else it seems worth while to determine who is the speaker of lines 722-25.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

HERMANN FRÄNKEL.

TWO NOTES ON PETRONIUS.

2, 5. *ne poetas (quidem) ad testimonium citem*:¹ "not to cite the poets as evidence." Encolpius is delivering a speech in the portico of Agamemnon's school, and in his complaint he speaks longingly of the days of Sophocles and Euripides when students were not yet cramped by set speeches and of the times of Pindar and the lyric poets when no cloistered teacher had as yet crushed the natural turn of his students. Then, in the transition from the poets to the prose writers, he says: *ne poetas quidem ad testimonium citem* (Buecheler brackets *quidem*). This is the text of the MSS except Scaliger's *apographon* and the edition of Sambucus (1565). But Encolpius has just mentioned the poets, so the statement is untrue unless Encolpius is indulging in a *praeteritio*;² otherwise we should expect some such word as *tantum* or *solum* in place of *quidem*. Scaliger and Sambucus read *ne poetas solum ad testimonium citem* "not to cite the poets

² By way of contrast cf. the well-balanced two couplets in Sophocles, *Ajax*, 587-90.

¹ The text is that of Buecheler, revised by Heraeus (Berlin, 1922).

alone as evidence." *Solum* should be read because (a) the poets have actually been cited and (b) because Agamemnon, in his rebuttal of Encolpius' strictures in chap. 5, follows the sequence given by Encolpius in 2, 3-5, first the poets, then the prose writers. The presence of *solum* is necessary to reconcile the two passages.

If one chooses to retain *quidem* it may be taken with the whole clause in the sense ² "and not even to cite the poets as evidence," that is, "and let alone the evidence of the poets (whom I have just mentioned). . . ."

2, 7. *semelque corruptā regulā eloquentiā stetit et obmutuit*: "once the standard had been destroyed, (true) eloquence stood stock still." In the speech of Encolpius which introduces the *Satyricon* as we possess it, the youthful orator complains that the unnatural wordiness of the orators of the Asiatic School had settled like a pestilential breath upon the young men of the day. He continues: *semelque corruptā regulā eloquentia stetit et obmutuit*. The MS reading is *eloquentiae regula*. Buecheler, however, emends to *eloquentia* and places *regula* before it, thus forming an ablative absolute *corrupta regula*, with the nominative *eloquentia* immediately before its verb. Josef Feix in *Wortstellung und Satzbau in Petrons Roman* (p. 47) accepts Buecheler's *eloquentia* but retains the order of the two words as they are found in the MS on the ground that the subject of the main verb appears within the ablative absolute elsewhere in the *Satyricon*. The line, according to Feix, would read: *semelque corruptā eloquentia regulā stetit et obmutuit*, where the ablative absolute is retained in *corrupta regula*, and *eloquentia*, in spite of its being within the ablative absolute, is still the subject of the two verbs. He cites examples of the same word order in *Satyricon* 27, 6: *exoneratā ille vesicā*; 49, 9: *receptā cocus tūnicā*; 99, 2: *profusis ego lacrimis*.

Feix has thus taken the first step in restoring the text by preserving the word-order of the MS while at the same time holding to Buecheler's emendation *eloquentia*. The complete restoration of the text involves the solution of two further problems: (a) can *eloquentiae*, like *eloquentia*, occupy the middle position in Petronius, and (b) can a meaning be extracted from the text of the MS?

² This interpretation of *quidem* was suggested by Professor Cherniss.

That *eloquentiae* may occupy the middle position has been proved by Feix (*op. cit.*, p. 26) whose investigations show that 47% of all attributive genitives appear either before their nouns or in the middle position.³

The solution of the second problem makes it necessary to quote the entire sentence in which the words under discussion appear: *nuper ventosa istaec et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit animosque iuvenum ad magna surgentes veluti pestilenti quodam sidere afflavit, semelque corrupta eloquentiae regula stetit et obmutuit.* If *loquacitas* be taken as subject of *stetit* and *obmutuit* the meaning would be as follows: "It was only recently that your windy, unnatural wordiness migrated to Athens from Asia, and, like a pestilential breath from some star, settled upon the souls of ambitious, rising young men, and, once the standard of eloquence had been destroyed, stood stock still" i. e. "it got nowhere" "its influence was deadening." The structure of the sentence demands this interpretation, and, since it renders good sense, I should adopt it.

Before the appearance of Buecheler's edition of the *Satyricon* with his emendation of the text, some editors considered *regula* the subject of *stetit* and *obmutuit* on the ground that if *loquacitas* were the subject there would be a contradiction: the "wordiness" of the Asiatic School, which was very much alive, would, at the same time, "stand stock still." But the contradiction is not a real one, since *stetit et obmutuit* may mean "got nowhere" "had a deadening influence." At least one seventeenth century scholar, Jungermann, expressed his belief that *loquacitas* was the subject of *stetit* and *obmutuit*. Jungermann's interpretation first appeared in a note on this passage in the edition of the *Satyricon* published by Georgius Erhardus (a pseudonym of Melchior Goldastus) at Frankfurt in 1610.

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

ELI E. BURRISS.

NOTE ON THE PRIESTS OF ASKLEPIOS.

Phormion son of Hedylos of Eleusis, named as priest of Asklepios in *I. G.*, II², 4453, has been included in various chronological tables of the priests in Athens as published by

³ Cf. Seneca Rhetor, *Controversiae*, 1, 1: *eloquentiae regula*.

Sundwall, Ferguson, Dinsmoor, and Pritchett and Meritt.¹ The inscription was found in the Peiraeus, and Kutsch² and earlier editors³ noted that the priest was from the Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐν Πειραιεῖ; Phormion should never have been admitted to the lists of priests from the Ἀσκληπιεῖον τὸ ἐν ἄστει. Rejecting his name, of course, affects in no way the priestly cycle at the close of the second century.

Similarly, Prott-Ziehen, Kutsch, Kirchner, and others⁴ have pointed out that Euthydemos of Eleusis, priest in the middle of the fourth century,⁵ was priest of the Asklepieion in the Peiraeus, and, more recently, this observation has been repeated by Schlaifer.⁶ Euthydemos, too, should be removed from the roll of city priests.

Students of the priestly cycles of Asklepios have also overlooked the observations of Kutsch, in his excellent monograph on the healing heroes of Attika,⁷ concerning the priest Demon son of Demomeles of Paiania.⁸ The Delphic oracle⁹ enjoined the people of Athens to consecrate the house of Demon and his adjoining garden to Asklepios and to make Demon priest of the sanctuary. The words of the oracle were inscribed on stone, and on the same monument (*I. G.*, II², 4969) Demon recorded the dedication of his property and the fact that the people of

¹ Sundwall, *Epigraphische Beiträge*, p. 79; Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*², p. 172; Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 31 and *Athenian Archon List*, p. 108; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 78, 84.

² *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen*, p. 116.

³ Also Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*³, pp. 441-442.

⁴ Prott-Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae*, II, no. 18; Kutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116; Kirchner, in commentary on *I. G.*, II², 47.

⁵ Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 455-456; Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

⁶ *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LI (1940), pp. 243 and 245. Schlaifer's bibliography shows that he must have known the observation of his predecessors; it is incorrect for him to say, "Euthydemus has always been placed in the cycles of priests of the Asclepieum in the city."

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 114.

⁸ Except Schlaifer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 241-243, though his solution of the problem is in error.

⁹ Cf. Parke, *A History of the Delphic Oracle*, p. 352.

Athens had made him priest *κατὰ τὴν μαν[τείαν]*.¹⁰ Demon, therefore, was not a priest of the Asklepieion *ἐν ᾧσται*, as many have supposed,¹¹ nor was he priest of the Asklepieion *ἐν Παιπατεί*, as Schlaifer now suggests.¹² He was merely priest of the newly created sanctuary of Asklepios.¹³ Judeich (*op. cit.*, p. 460) has noted the possibility of identifying this with the *συνουσία ἡ Δήμωνος* mentioned by Aischines (I, 125) and has suggested a possible site for the sanctuary in the deme Kolonos.

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

¹⁰ Though there is no evidence from the stone, it seems probable that in this instance Demon was made priest for life. Schlaifer, *loc. cit.*, p. 243, n. 1, mentions a possibility that Demon himself founded a sanctuary. This is based on a misunderstanding of the text of the inscription, which makes it clear that the sanctuary was established by the demos.

¹¹ Kirchner, *Rh. Mus.*, LXI (1906), pp. 347-350; *I. G.*, II², part IV, p. 9; Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 455-457; Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 and 80.

¹² *Loc. cit.*, p. 243.

¹³ See Kutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36. Cf. Martha, *Les sacerdoces athéniens*, p. 31.

REVIEWS.

FRITZ HEICHELHEIM. *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*. Vol. I, Text; Vol. II, Notes and Index. Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1938. Pp. 1239. 49 fl.

In this work the author synthesizes the vast amount of widely scattered material dealing with ancient economic history and seeks to present a comprehensive view of its evolution from the primitive society of palaeolithic man to the complex organization of imperial Rome. While a summary can hardly do justice to this elaborate undertaking, the main features may be briefly sketched.

Probably half a million years have elapsed since man became differentiated from the ape and began the slow and painful path of human evolution. The male was hunter or fisherman; the female gathered herbs, seeds, or fruits. The woman became the gardener and slowly learned the art of agriculture. Even though she became more important economically in the family, she was physically weaker and was seldom able to dominate the social order so that it became matriarchal. When the hunter learned to domesticate wild animals and become the owner of flocks and herds, the foundations of patriarchal society were laid. Palaeolithic man made slow progress in industry but had probably learned to exchange food, pelts, weapons, and ornaments in primitive barter. Amber, shells, and paints for adornment wandered far from their place of origin, but whether they were carried by migrants or by traders cannot be determined.

In the neolithic age agriculture and grazing emerge as fully developed forms. The concept of capital now appears and man could exchange his surplus commodities for profit. Although there was no metallic currency, certain objects such as salt, shells, ornaments, and the like were recognized as having exchange value and served as units of account. Society became differentiated into groups: freemen owning land or stock, landless freemen, and slaves. Stock-owners were generally nomadic as they moved in search of pasture. Farmers living by agriculture or those who combined it with grazing generally lived in village communities with permanent homes. Since larger families could now be raised with greater security and since they were usually an economic asset, there was a rapid increase of population. This in turn either compelled migration in search of new land or aggravated the development of a landless class. Although house-economy was universal, industry and handicrafts developed to a certain extent among the landless freemen and slaves who peddled their wares from door to door. These artisans were low in the social scale and could never acquire wealth or independence. Foreign trade was still primitive and was carried on through silent barter, robber trade where a conventional recompense was made for goods taken, exchange of gifts, or peddling. Through war and piracy great quantities of property and goods changed hands, and trade was indirectly stimulated through these agencies.

Copper came into use in the East about 5000 B.C. though it took fully two thousand years before the western Mediterranean acquired the new technique. In the Mesopotamian and Nile valleys the village community of the neolithic age gave way to urban life. Capital was no longer limited to a few objects but included "res fungibiles" such as gold, silver, and copper, grain and other food-stuffs. The concept of interest now appears and is to be regarded as a common factor in the growth of city-states. The kings or priest-kings of the Old Orient controlled these cities to an unusual degree. They owned the land and cattle which were leased to the people on payment of rent. Only a few favorites or members of the nobility enjoyed complete ownership. A large landless class congregated in the cities in the service of the nobility, priests, or rulers. Commerce was fostered by the state, and trade routes as well as local markets were under the protection of the sovereign power. Banking developed and the germs of modern credit, deposit, exchange, and accommodation can be discerned. Extensive irrigation projects and elaborate fortifications required skilled engineers and a considerable specialization in various forms of industrial life. These costly works could be carried out only by forced labor and the Old Orient must be regarded as a planned economy with the state in control of production, wages, and prices, as well as of imports and exports. In this social order the gap between the aristocracy and the people steadily widened. While the masses were protected somewhat by the sovereign and were never allowed to sink into actual serfdom, they were constantly exposed to exploitation by the expanding bureaucratic administration and fell an easy prey to the invader.

In the second millenium the discovery of iron led to a social and economic revolution. The forest and the prairie yielded to the farmer with far greater ease, and production was increased by the invention of the plow. Shafts could be sunk through rock impenetrable to softer metals, and by deep mining new and valuable deposits of ores were exploited. Stone could easily be worked, and new fields in architecture and sculpture were opened. With new weapons and new means of defense warfare was revolutionized, although the introduction of hoplite tactics did not follow until many centuries had elapsed. As in the case of copper, the technique of iron was first acquired in the East and was spread by the Indo-Hittite through Mesopotamia to India and Europe. The new race brought with it a new culture and in general destroyed that of its predecessors, though in some cases it assimilated features of the old. They were led by kings or princes and were primarily free peasants who settled on the land which they held in fee simple. Where agriculture was the main interest, trade and commerce were held in little esteem and house-economy was the rule. The smith, however, was supposed to have some magic power and, since his products were necessarily in demand both for peace and war, his occupation gained more respect. For the most part industry and commerce were left to aliens or to landless freemen or to slaves. The invader introduced new capital forms: cattle, grain, gold and silver vessels, or other metals in various conventional forms. At first the concept of interest was unknown, but it came into the

Greek world between Hesiod and Solon and spread rapidly. This concept was followed by the creation of city-states and the colonial movement. These colonies had no connection with the mother state, and none of them was commercial in origin. Foreign trade was no concern of the state and was conducted chiefly by aliens. The word for merchant, *emporos*, indicated that he was a traveller. As such he carried his goods as a free agent acting on his own responsibility with no protection from the state beyond its geographical bounds. The local merchant, *kapelos*, was no longer a roving peddler but had his booth in the local market. Smiths and potters evidently had shops for the manufacture of their wares, but these were small and specialization was limited. Other artisans went from house to house and made their wares on the spot from material furnished by their employer. The first coined money of gold or electrum in large denominations was of little use in trade. Few specimens have been found far from their place of emission, and it is clear that they were not used for foreign trade. Later the introduction of silver and bronze in small denominations gave a tremendous impetus to trade of every kind. In a peasant culture, ownership of land not only gave respectability, but land was also the safest and best investment. There was an inevitable tendency for ownership to be concentrated in the hands of a few and for the dispossessed to degenerate into a state of serfdom. This process was arrested at Athens by the *seisachtheia* of Solon which definitely broke the power of the wealthy families and established the political ascendancy of the small farmer, a class which showed remarkably little interest in economic matters of any kind. Nothing in the legislation of Solon can be construed as favoring industry or commerce. These pursuits were left to metics or *catoeci* who, except for a small tax, were entirely free of state regulation.

In the classic city-state (*ca.* 560-330 B. C.) the peasant aristocracy still dominated the state. Trade and commerce were regulated only in so far as exigencies of war or famine might demand. Commercial treaties were rare and the state never protected its citizens when engaged in trade outside its bounds. A few state monopolies existed, but in general the management of the budget was haphazard. For example, Athens maintained several boards of treasurers, apparently wholly unrelated, until late in the fourth century. Although small farms continued to be the rule and only a few large estates are known, there was a great increase of the landless class. At Athens, in the fifth century, these citizens were cared for mostly from imperial revenues. With the loss of empire and tribute the burden had to be met by increased taxation on the agricultural and industrial class. Trade and industry became more highly specialized. Some factories for mass production existed but these were never large and the owners had relatively little capital. In the absence of state regulation and with healthy competition, technical skill developed to a point rarely exceeded in history. There is, however, a noticeable decline on the Greek mainland. This decline may be due to excessive taxation on industry and to the reduction of the margin of security hitherto enjoyed by the industrial class.

The Alexandrian age (*ca.* 330-44 B. C.) was an era of great imperialistic expansion. The third century was the high point of

Hellenism, politically and economically. The decline which followed was due partly to internal causes, partly to the impact of Rome. Foreign and local trade increased by the opening of the East and was facilitated by greater uniformity in coinage, by greater ease of communication, and by the development of roads, docks, and harbors. The metics and catoeci were no longer aliens but were admitted to full citizenship and the old political dominance of the farmer declined. There was no improvement, however, in the economic status of the industrialist. Slavery increased enormously and the margin of safety for free labor steadily declined. Specialization in industry and in commerce still prevailed and was intensified. Factory production remained at about the same level as before. One of the most significant developments is the growth of great capitalistic firms with agents in distant countries. The capitalist was often the owner of great estates, as was Apollonius in Egypt. In this period the latifundia appear in Italy. The small farmer was eliminated as a political and economic factor. While wealth tended to concentrate in the hands of a few, there were as yet no enormous private fortunes and capital still found its most secure investment in real property. Some elements of the planned economy of the Old Orient which had persisted in the East, were taken over by successors of Alexander, and in Egypt the Ptolemies evolved an elaborate bureaucracy for its administration.

In the early Roman empire the entire Mediterranean was for the first time under the domination of a single power. With peace, security, uniformity of coinage, and little interference from the state commerce flourished. There was an extensive trade in luxuries from the East for the wealthy class. According to Heichelheim India and China demanded Roman gold in exchange for their wares and the Empire was drained of its supply of precious metals. With the debasement of silver coins in the third century trade declined and there was a return to barter. Gradually the provinces became self-sufficient and returned to more primitive economic forms. The government was forced to exercise greater control over commerce and industry in order to provide for the court, the army, and Rome itself. With the vast increase of crown lands the state could also exercise control over a large section of the agricultural population. Only in Greece, Macedon, and Asia Minor the classic economic patterns were preserved, and here were laid the foundations of the prosperity of the Byzantine Empire.

Christian ideology brought a different spiritual atmosphere in the late Roman empire when the national culture came close to barbarian levels. In the west free peasantry tended to disappear and serfdom was widespread. In the east this process was arrested and the peasants were restored to the land with their freedom. The industrial guilds were closely regulated by the state and membership became hereditary and compulsory. Foreign trade still continued in luxuries, but imports and exports were more or less controlled by the state. Local trade shows a decline in intensity, partly due to the increase of state factories, partly to the decline of urban life as the villas spread and became autarchic. The increased bureaucracy required for the administration of the complex political organization devised by Diocletian and the vast army necessary for

the defense of the empire were so costly that the state was compelled to regulate in minute detail all phases of the economic life of its citizens.

No attempt is made to deal with the vast amount of factual material with which this volume is enriched. Most important are the analyses of coin hoards and their significance in tracing commercial relations. Of equal value is the discussion of the technical terminologies used in industry, commerce, and banking, and the development of their usage. One may also find the variations in the ratios of gold, silver, and bronze throughout the period. There is a tendency to repeat, and the volume of the work could be reduced without great harm by the elimination of detail. The second volume is devoted to notes and bibliography. Unfortunately the notes are numbered by chapters, and without captions or page headings it is difficult to find the note to any particular passage in the text.

In all social phenomena it is difficult to distinguish cause and effect, and many factors enter into the process of human evolution. Whether the concept of capital is the primary cause in the rapid development of the neolithic age may be questioned. As man gained greater control over his environment and gained greater security for himself and for his family by his mastery of the arts of grazing and agriculture, the concept of capital was secondary and a result rather than a cause. One cannot deny, however, that the concept of capital contributed enormously to the spirit of enterprise and thus helped indirectly to speed up the evolution of economic and political phenomena. It is otherwise with the concept of interest. If the Greek mainland knew nothing of it before Hesiod, the concept cannot be a causal factor in the origin of the city-state or of the colonial movement, both of which phenomena appear before Hesiod.

Although the thesis is not directly formulated, Heichelheim implies that economic development reaches its highest peak with a minimum of state control, and that planned economy is not only dangerous to its own state but also reaches out beyond its own confines to affect the world at large. In the modern world the need of regulation by the state can hardly be questioned, and the chief issue seems to be the extent of such control. In the ancient world modern analogies fail to hold, since conditions varied greatly. In the Mesopotamian and Nile valleys a considerable measure of regulation was necessary to maintain the elaborate irrigation system which served the nation as a whole. Industry and commerce were relatively unimportant and those who engaged in them constituted a landless class which in turn was supported primarily by the peasant farmer. Probably it made little difference in the ancient world whether industry and commerce were regulated or not. It was, however, a matter of fundamental importance when the regulation of agriculture led to the development of serfdom or peonage with a consequent decline in productivity. Whenever this developed, the economy of the nation was involved.

While little evidence happens to be preserved to indicate that the classic city-state was interested in trade and commerce, it is an extreme position to deny such interest. When an expanding population could not find new land at home or in colonies, it was inevitable that a landless class would develop whose members must

starve or work or exist on charity. When Solon required every citizen to learn a trade and invited artisans to settle in Athens, he envisaged a situation where Attica might have to depend on imported supplies of food which could be provided only by exports of industrial products. The Megarian decrees, the use of blockade by Athens against members of her empire, her control of coinage, and other measures indicate that economic factors were not always disregarded. One might point out how often these factors are hidden in modern international rivalries as a warning in the interpretation of ancient historians.

In the Alexandrian age capitalism took an ugly form in the vast increase of slavery especially in the Roman world. Not only were large numbers of peasant farmers dispossessed but the growth of a landless class was aggravated. Where the estate of Apollonius in Egypt was operated by free tenants, the *latifundia* of Italy were manned by slave labor. These factors probably had greater significance for Mediterranean civilization than the planned economy of Ptolemaic Egypt.

No mention is made of the effect of tribute on Rome or on the provinces or of the causes of inflation which was especially manifest in the third century. While the rapid debasement of the currency in that period must have had its effect on commerce, the Egyptian papyri give no indication of a return to barter. The deductions concerning the outflow of precious metals based on the varying ratios of gold and silver seem questionable. In chap. ix the ratios are quoted as follows; from Augustus to *ca.* 250, 1:8/9; at 300, 1:10; 312, 1:13.5; 323, 1:18. According to Heichelheim these ratios show that three-fourths of the gold had been drained from the Empire at the beginning of the fourth century. This had gone to the Orient where it had been demanded in place of commodities. The standard for gold and silver coinage finally adopted by Augustus represents an official ratio of 1:12.5. This may also represent the price on the open market, but unfortunately there is no evidence on this point. Nero reduced the weight of the aureus and added some alloy to the silver denarius. Analysis of three denarii from his reign shows that the alloy varied from 6 to 10%. Mattingly estimates that the ratio of gold to silver was about 1:11.73, but, if the alloy of silver is taken into account at an average of 7%, the Augustan ratio was continued by Nero. In the reign of Trajan we know from an Egyptian papyrus that there was an open market for gold in Alexandria where the price fluctuated daily. While the prefect had the power to stabilize prices he was evidently reluctant to use it. From this evidence we may infer that the official ratio established for currency by Augustus had nothing to do with the market prices of gold or silver under Trajan. Even if Augustus valued the aureus at twenty-five denarii, the gold coin was never used as a unit of account, and probably it passed as bullion, especially after the reign of Nero, and commanded whatever premium gold could command in the open market. If Heichelheim is correct in claiming that gold had dropped to a ratio of 1:10 by 300 A. D. it was cheaper than it had ever been under Roman rule, and therefore more abundant. Under such conditions it is difficult to explain the drain of gold to the East before 300. No explanation is offered of

the sudden advance in price in 323, but it is impossible that gold had disappeared within a quarter of a century. I am inclined not only to question the theory of a drain of precious metals to the east, but also to suspect the ratios established by Heichelheim.

In a work of this scope difference of opinion on many points is inevitable. No one, however, can examine this study without being impressed by the amount of labor involved in gathering and digesting the widely scattered material dealing with so many phases of ancient economic history. This is the first attempt to present a synthesis of this material, and the reviewer is glad to pay tribute to the energy and scholarship which Dr. Heichelheim has displayed. Doubtless many of the theses here presented will be revised and refined in the progress of scholarship, but here is a sound substructure and an invaluable collection of material which no scholar can afford to neglect.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

HENRI JEANMAIRE. *La Sibylle et le retour de l'âge d'or*. Paris, Leroux, 1939. Pp. xi + 146. 30 fr.

Much has been written about Vergil's fourth Messianic eclogue, addressed to Marc Antony's friend Pollio, the most famous literary work ever inspired by the idea of the Ages of the World. It was the model for future greetings of a new ruler as a Messiah restoring the Golden Age (Calpurnius, *Eclogue*, I, 33 ff., etc.). There has been much discussion about the prophecy of a golden age, and there are many rival theories about the identity of the child who will usher in the age of world peace in an empire unified under one absolute ruler: *iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto*. The question is whether there is meant a son of Octavian and Scribonia, the son Alexander Helios born to Cleopatra and Antony in whom East and West met, or even a foretelling of the coming of Jesus Christ. That there can be doubt is a fine illustration of the lack of any great cleavage between ancient and modern culture. My former master, Marx (*Neue Jahrbücher*, I [1898], pp. 105-128, not mentioned by Jeanmaire), it seems to me, proved that Vergil was writing the traditional type of congratulatory poem on the birth of a son and weaving it into the topic of the *saecula* or *metalla* along the lines laid down by the rhetoricians and writers on the cyclic theories of the Ages. Vergil follows literary traditions but is the first to suggest the return of the Virgin Astraea. The foundation of Vergil's thought was a blending of oriental ideas with the teachings of Plato, the Pythagoreans, the Stoics, and others who had moulded the doctrine of the Ages. There is much which agrees with Old Testament conceptions of Paradise, of a time and land where, according to the *Oracula Sibyllina* (III, 743 ff.), "streams will flow with sweet white milk and cities will be full of goods and the fields will be fat . . . nor will war nor drought be upon the earth . . . but a great peace will fall upon all the lands . . . and the wolves and sheep

will graze together," etc.¹ Jeanmaire (p. 115) associates with the themes of Abundance and Universal Peace two others in the Vergilian development which occur in the Sibylline collection, namely innocence in the animal kingdom (influenced by Isaiah) and the disappearance of agricultural labor. Jewish teaching may have penetrated into Vergil's thought through the Septuagint and the *Oracula Sibyllina*. At the time when the present collection was compiled (cf. Geffcken's edition [Berlin, 1912]) the earlier collection of the second century B. C. had disappeared in the burning of the Capitolium in 83 B. C. but after Sulla's day there surely were reports of the Sibyl's adaptation of the Stoic-Orphic identification of the Four Ages with the four seasons of the *magnus annus*, divided into ten great months, each a *saeculum*.

Jeanmaire has already published an important book on *Le Messianisme de Virgile* (Paris, 1930), but in the present monograph he discusses at greater length the Egyptian parallels and the idea of the end of the world, its renewal in a new Golden Age, *ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas*. Jeanmaire believes in a Jewish² sibyllist as author of the third book of the oracles, writing later than the book of Daniel, but even if this is true there seems to be much material from pagan and Greek sources. Since the *Carmen Sibyllinum* of the year 41 B. C. mentioned by Vergil is not preserved, all ideas of it must be conjectural, but Jeanmaire's suggestions do throw much light on the ideas from which Vergil may have drawn. The Virgo (*iam redit et Virgo*) who returns with the renewal of Saturn's reign is more than the abstract idea of Justice as seen in Hesiod. She is not merely the zodiacal constellation as Carcopino³ believed. She is a multiform mythical and religious personality, derived from Hellenistic mysticism and the theology of Graeco-Egyptian cults. She is a constellation but also a *parthenos* or *Dike*, as in Pythagorean allegory, who governs men and women of the Golden Age, *πόρνια λαών*, *Regina Caeli*. She plays an intermediary rôle between the terrestrial universe and the first source or cause, bringing the promise of a new age. She is identified with the Egyptian Isis. It is to a new Isis that the Sibyl in Vergil refers, and she is none other than Cleopatra who met Antony, the new Dionysus, toward the end of 41 B. C. Apuleius, Plutarch, a papyrus of Oxyrhynchus, a hymn of Cyrene are cited to show the importance of Isis as *Regina Caeli* or the daughter of the aeons, *saeculorum progenies initialis*. In the Jewish literature of Alexandrian times and in Philo Isis is also Justice and Sophia, the wisdom of Ecclesiastes and of Proverbs VIII. The coming of Isis to earth where she brought the rule of Justice coincided with the Golden Age when the gods lived among men, and the Greek poets represented the event as the return of the constellation Virgo. The idea of the union of Isis and Dionysus was based on the politics of Julius Caesar and on Egyptian diplomacy, the union of orient and occident. The religious politics of Antony and Cleopatra are seen in the Dionysiac manifestations

¹ Cf. Lovejoy-Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, p. 86.

² Lanchester, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia*, s. v. "Sibylline Oracles," also believed that the point of view was that of an Egyptian Jew.

³ *Virgile et le mystère de la IV^e églogue*, 1930.

organized for Antony on his arrival at Ephesus where he was hailed as a god and in the meeting at Tarsus of Antony with Cleopatra reclining on her barge of purple sails with children dressed as young loves about her under a canopy of gold, "Venus come to revel with Bacehus for the good of Asia." There are politics also in the affairs between Antony and Cleopatra at Alexandria. Tarn believes that coins show that Antony was not called the New Dionysus till after his marriage with Octavia; but Jeanmaire points out that Plutarch tells us that Antony was so addressed on his arrival at Ephesus a year earlier, some weeks before meeting at Tarsus Cleopatra as Isis, the wife of Osiris-Dionysus. This idea is not so new as Jeanmaire perhaps believes. Even in Beatrice Chanler's popular but well-documented novel on *Cleopatra's Daughter* (1934), which makes use of Jeanmaire's articles and books and Tarn's important article, "Alexander Helios and the Golden Age,"⁴ much used also by Jeanmaire, the story is prettily told how on December 25th, the birthday of the Sun-God, Cleopatra, with crowds swarming along the columned avenues, gave birth to divine twins, Cleopatra Selene and Alexander Helios. "No children in any cradle ever faced such a magnificent destiny as that planned by Cleopatra for hers. Ushered into the world with all the accoutrements of prophecy, they were born to restore the age of bliss, 'a golden age.'" A statue of Cleopatra had been enshrined in the form of a copy of a Greek Venus Genetrix of Alcamenes in Julius Caesar's temple at Rome. This *matrix mundi* and Bacehus were worthy to have a divine child, and Alexandria and the whole world would turn to Cleopatra's child as the long-awaited Saviour. But twins, not a single child, were born and Vergil refers to a single child so that I cannot feel that it is certain that Vergil is referring to Antony and Cleopatra.

The idea of universal reconciliation (*Homonoia*) to be accomplished by a newborn child goes back to Alexander the Great in the fourth century B. C., to Iambulus in the third century, to Aristicus in the second to be revived by Cleopatra; but Vergil may have had no one definite child in mind. It has not yet been proved that the fourth eclogue is an "écho à un oracle qui nous montre le thème apocalyptique au service des desseins du triumvir dans une première phase de sa politique, alors qu'elle s'appuie encore sur Alexandrie et obéit à l'impulsion de la reine." There is not space to discuss Jeanmaire's interesting account of "oracles et propagande Égyptienne," where there is much material on the abandonment of heaven by the stars as foreshadowing the end of the world, on the oracle of the new Taurus, on the crowning of the Sun, on the cycles of liturgical time, on the idea of the "femme des derniers temps" and the feminine rule which would coincide with the critical age of the world, an idea credited to the Jewish Sibyl. Even if this is a Jewish idea, it is not of Biblical origin and not in the Jewish Apocalypse. She is surely different from the queen of the heavens whose return to earth will restore justice and peace. Vergil may have been influenced by some Jewish ideas but his eclogue is not an orientalizing poem and his Sibyl is of Cumae, rather than Alexandria. As Jeanmaire himself says (p. 142): "la IV^e Églogue

⁴ *J. R. S.*, XXII (1932), pp. 135-160.

n'implique naturellement pas qu'il ait été un adepte isiaque, non plus qu'un agent du mouvement politique et religieux auquel on croit pouvoir rattacher une prophétie de ce genre. Quelles qu'en aient été l'occasion et les intentions précises, la IV^e Églogue n'est pas une prophétie, mais fait allusion, par un jeu poétique, à une prophétie."

This book is an important and scholarly contribution to a much-mooted matter and well worth reading. Anyone interested in the problem must study it, and it should have a general appeal to students of the classics and of religion. Jeanmaire knows his bibliography well, even Tarn, but he does not mention the volume by Mayor, Fowler, and Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (London, 1907), Franz Boll, *Sulla quarta ecloga di Virgilio* (Bologna, 1923), B. Stumpo, *Il fanciullo miracoloso dell'ecloga iv di Virgilio* (1938), or Heidel's article, "Vergil's Messianic Expectations," in *A. J. P.*, XLV (1924), pp. 205-232. Heidel believes that the attempt, especially of Norden, to refer to Egypt the entire tradition of the Aeon and the divine child is a failure.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

L. Annaei Flori quae exstant. HENRICA MALCOVATI recensuit. Romae, Typis Regiae Officinae Polygraphicae, 1938. Pp. xxxii + 253. L. 40.

This is the tenth of the sumptuous volumes in the series of Greek and Latin texts edited at the command of Benito Mussolini. In it Signora Malcovati, already well known as a textual critic from her editions of Cornelius Nepos, of the fragments of the writings of Augustus, and of the fragments of the Roman Orators in the Paravia series, gives us a new and finally complete edition of Florus. The announcement of this work was made and the groundwork for it laid in three articles in *Athenaeum*¹ in which she discussed the history of Florus' reputation, described the MSS, gave the results of her collations, and reviewed numerous passages critically.

That a new edition of Florus was needed no one will doubt, and that this one makes a distinct advance over Roszbach's Teubner text of 1895 is also beyond question. That I am convinced of its superiority will be indicated by the fact that, although the work of collection for a critical *Index Verborum* to Florus, upon which I have been collaborating, has been all but finished with Roszbach's text as a basis, it has seemed advisable to make the corrections necessary to use this text instead. Its points of excellence are numerous and evident. It is, in the first place, complete; that is to say, it includes not only the so-called *Epitome*, but also the dialogue *Vergilius orator an poeta*, two fragments of letters to Hadrian, and the poetic fragments from the Anthology and Spartianus. It has been pretty gener-

¹ XV (1937), pp. 69-94 and pp. 289-307; XVI (1938), pp. 46-64.

ally recognized that Florus the writer of the *Epitome*, Florus the rhetorician, and Florus the poet were all one and the same, so that it was very much to be desired that all the fragments finally be brought together.

Secondly this edition is based upon a much more adequate investigation of the MS material. It was one of the shortcomings of Rossbach's edition that it took little cognizance, as a glance at the *apparatus criticus* will show, of MSS of the *C* family other than *N* and *L*. Signora Malcovati has subjected *B*, *N*, and *L* to a complete recollection and found various oversights and inaccuracies in the work of Rossbach and previous editors in reporting readings. These three MSS along with four of the 14th and 15th centuries, which had not been used before, are made the basis of this edition. Six others, those listed by Rossbach with the exception of *Harleianus* 2620, she has tested on various passages and used to some extent. Eleven other MSS have been used similarly, and twenty-four more have been examined but not used.² Of all these forty-four, however, only twenty-seven are listed and described in the introduction of this volume. Since the discovery of the Bamberg MS (E III 22) by Lachmann, editors from Jahn to Rossbach had given it a place of first importance in opposition to the *C* family because it seemed to show less the results of interpolation. In view, however, of the fact that the *C* tradition existed already in the 5th century—Orosius represents *C* just as Jordanes does *B*—and that *C* frequently preserves the better spelling and word order, a restoration of the balance in favor of the *C* tradition such as that put into practice in the present edition must be considered wholly salutary.

In the third place Signora Malcovati has missed no opportunity to profit by the work which has been done on Florus since 1895. In her Bibliography (pp. xxvii f.) I miss only two items: W. A. Baehrens, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Syntax, Philologus*, Suppl. XII (1912), pp. 235-556; and H. Bornecque, *Les Clausules Métriques Latines* (Lille, 1907). The studies in Silver Latinity, particularly S. Lilliedahl's *Florusstudien*,³ have made Rossbach's text, if not obsolete, at least inadequate in this respect. Signora Malcovati has done a welcome service in reforming the orthography of the text—chiefly in accordance with the testimony of *N*—so that it is more nearly in keeping with the well-known archaizing preferences of the second century. In the use of the clausula she has steered a very judicious course in avoiding the enthusiastic excesses of Bornecque and Baehrens.

A few remarks may be made, however, in qualification of this praise. It may be regretted, without seeming ungrateful for service done, that Signora Malcovati has not, while she had the materials in hand, done something more substantial toward finally establishing the MS tradition for Florus. If the laborious task of sifting had been completed one could feel more confidence about the justifi-

² *Athenaeum*, XV (1937), pp. 85-94. It is indicated (p. 94) that there is also a considerable number of MSS in addition to these.

³ *Florusstudien, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des rhetorischen Stils der silbernen Latinität* (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F. Avd. 1, XXIV [1928], no. 7).

cation with which so many MSS have been only partially utilized. It is easily understandable that the four MSS of Rome, Ravenna, and Pavia were readily available for collation, but when one considers that these are of the 14th and 15th centuries, whereas others in Munich, Heidelberg, Paris, and London are of the 11th and 12th centuries, it seems that we could have waited for this edition until the testimony of these other witnesses could be weighed and added.

It might have been well to include mention some place, perhaps as a *Testimonium*, of the verses from the *Palatine Anthology*, XI, 128 addressed to Φλώρος, since the person there addressed has been identified with some probability as our Florus.⁴

I should have preferred that no title at all be given for the so-called *Epitome*, since none of those represented by MS authority can have been given by Florus, and since each of the two traditions bears a different inscription. The retention of the two book division is, of course, unquestionably right.

The text itself is, on the whole, conservative and differs from Rossbach's chiefly in defending and returning to the tradition and in abandoning conjecture. Four of Rossbach's obels (1, 20, 2; 2, 13, 83; 2, 21, 3; 2, 30, 1) are removed and one retained (1, 38, 14). At 2, 9, 3 (*primum levi et modico tumultu maiore quam bello*), if Forster's change of *maiore* to *maior* was to be rejected *metri causa*, this passage too should have been obelized. At 1, 38, 20 the indication of a lacuna is removed, but the others (1, 37, 1; 2, 4, 1; 2, 14, 4; 2, 32, 4) are still admitted. The emendation *Aefula* for *Faesulae* (1, 5, 8) should be attributed to Nibby and not to Hirschfeld.⁵

The division of the text of the dialogue *Vergilius orator an poeta* into chapters and sections for convenience in reference is highly commendable. There is nothing new about the poetic fragments as edited here, but their inclusion is most convenient. In the Bibliography (p. xxvii) I miss E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, IV (Leipzig, 1882), and (p. xxix) L. Mueller, *Claudii Rutilii Namatiani de reditu suo libri II. Accedunt Hadriani, Flori . . . reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1870). The attribution of the *Pervigilium Veneris* to Florus has never found much favor and is dismissed by Signora Malcovati with a few words.⁶ It might, however, have been well to mention E. K. Rand's recent attempt to rehabilitate this attribution, especially since the same article⁷ contains some interesting comment on the fragments.

Several slight errors and omissions might be noted. On p. xvi, line 10 for *Aldinius* read *Aldinus*. Among the *sigla* on p. xxxi should be included B¹—*manus altera*. On p. 114 the section number 14 should be moved down one line. The printing of the volume seems to be practically faultless. The only slip I have noted is a wrong syllabification at the end of line 12, p. 161, rece-pta.

LLOYD W. DALY.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA.

⁴ C. Morelli, "Floro e il certame Capitolino," *Atene e Roma*, XIX (1916), pp. 97-106.

⁵ Cf. A. Kunze, *Ph. W.*, XXXII (1912), p. 1136.

⁶ *Athenaeum*, XV (1937), p. 84, n. 1.

⁷ "Sur le *Pervigilium Veneris*," *Revue des Études Latines*, XII (1934), pp. 83-95.

Euripides, *Electra*. Edited with introduction and commentary by J. D. DENNISTON. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939. Pp. xliv + 225. \$2.75.

This is the third volume in the new Oxford series of commentaries to individual plays of Euripides. In accordance with the plan adopted for the whole series Gilbert Murray's text has been reprinted. One wonders how seriously Mr. Denniston wants to be taken when he says in the Preface that by this device "the editor is spared the labour of making up his mind on every single point where the reading is disputed." He has certainly taken ample advantage of the opportunities offered by the commentary for discussing questions of textual criticism. On the whole, the distinguishing feature of this volume seems to me to be the editor's competence and good sense in matters of language, metre, and text. His handling of "philosophical" passages and Euripides' adaptation of current ideas is stimulating but not equally satisfactory everywhere. The weakest aspect is the appreciation of Euripides' art and psychology. This is a pity since the possibility of comparing Euripides' version of the subject with Aeschylus' and Sophocles' would have offered an excellent chance to point out the peculiarities of his approach. The motives from which Orestes acts and the problem whether or not Clytemnestra was justified in killing Agamemnon are discussed on pp. xiv-xvii but unfortunately Mr. Denniston refers simultaneously to passages in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides instead of carefully distinguishing their views and drawing attention to characteristic differences in their outlook. He observes, however, that Sophocles "seemingly ignores the moral issue," an omission which he considers "strange" and "extraordinary" (pp. xxiv, xxv). I cannot find it so and should like to know where Sophocles is more interested in the moral issue as such than in the characters' reactions to it. Another question is the importance of the "moral issue" for Euripides. It is, of course, debated at length in the rhetorical contest between Electra and her mother (1011-1099), but are such *ἀγῶνες* in Euripides really revealing for the basic conception of his tragedies? Might it not be suggested that Euripides is less interested in the Aeschylean problem of Justice than in the fact and the effects of Electra's unhappiness, her *δυστυχία*, which to him is a matter of material and economic circumstances (that her husband is *πέρνυς* should not be disputed away) rather than of grief, depression, and emotional suffering.

Among the points of agreement between Aeschylus and Euripides (p. xiii) I miss the fact that unlike Sophocles both bring the recognition to a head before starting the scheme of vengeance. The details, however, of both recognition and scheme have been remolded by Euripides. Yet there are numerous passages which show that Euripides had Aeschylus constantly in mind, and I wish that Mr. Denniston had gone beyond isolated observations and had discussed the subject of the relationship between the two poets more fully. Had he done so, the explicit criticism of Aeschylus in 508-545 might have puzzled him less. He rightly remarks that Euripides criticizes the signs on which Aeschylus based his recognition in a spirit of "realism" but says nothing at all about the interest of Euripides

and his contemporaries in "probability" (τὸ εἰκός, cf. now J. H. Finley, *Harv. Stud.*, XLIX [1938], pp. 30 ff.) or about the typical features of Euripides' recognition plots in this period of his work. Is it not a part of his technique to lead us again and again right to the verge of recognition and then to frustrate it (cf. *Iph. T.*, 492-569; *Hel.*, 541-596; *Ion*, 247-368)? And do not at least *Iph. T.*, *Hel.*, *Ion*, and the fragments of the *Antiope* and *Hypsipyle* suggest that he has been at great pains to make his recognitions surprising, a matter of suspense, and materially as well as psychologically convincing (cf. *Hermes*, LXIX [1934], pp. 390-419)?

On the criticism of noble birth in 367-390 Mr. Denniston has some enlightening comments. Surely, this is one of Euripides' favorite topics, but in this passage he discusses along with it another problem, namely that of a *χαρακτήρ* or criterion for a person's worth and moral quality. This too is obviously a question which worried Euripides and, probably, his contemporaries; cf. *Med.*, 516 ff.; *Her.*, 655 ff. (cf. Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch*, p. 119). For the meaning of *χαρακτήρ* A. Körte's article might have been cited (*Hermes*, LXIII [1928], p. 552). For *κανὼν* in 52: γνώμης πονηροῖς κανόσιν ἀναμετρούμενος, a curious line which does not receive sufficient attention, see H. Oppel's *Kanon* (Munich, 1937).

While too little psychology is applied to the characters of the play, too much is not infrequently applied to individual lines, particularly in the stychomythia where the poet must make his characters say enough to fill a line. Thus comments like "spoken with scorn," "cynicism," and the like (see p. xxvii on 260, Comment. to 254, 355, 576, etc.) read more into the lines than is actually in them.

The question of construction and punctuation in 306-311 is settled, it seems to me, by the contrast between αὐτὴ μὲν and αὐτὴ δέ (307, 309). Thus, a new sentence begins in 310, and there is no harsh asyndeton here. ἀνέορτος ἱερῶν κτλ. indicates that Electra does not participate in the normal activities of παρθένου (as we have already seen, 175 ff.). Nor is she in touch with γυναῖκες: 311.

On the whole, however, as I have already said, the linguistic and grammatical aspects of the commentary are the best of the whole work. The parallels provided are appropriate and helpful. The material available in other commentaries has been sifted with excellent judgment, and many new observations have been added. Some of these have almost grown into excursions, as e.g. those on postposition of prepositions (to 574), the meaning of γνώμη (426), breaks in stychomythia (651/2), demonstrative ὁ (977). The Metrical Appendix not only provides useful analyses but is equally valuable where it states problems. Mr. Denniston is too honest and sensible to pretend to certainty where it is beyond our means to attain it. I wish to emphasize the merits of the work as strongly as possible lest I should seem to have fallen into the error (not unusual among reviewers) of discussing at length what is open to criticism and being ungenerous to what is truly good and valuable.

FRIEDRICH SOLMSEN.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

GAETANO DE SANCTIS. *Storia dei Greci dalle origini alla fine del secolo V.* Two volumes. Florence, "La nuova Italia," 1939. Pp. xviii + 595; xvi + 580. Lire 82.

In these days, when among the lesser breed of historians an assumption of "scientific" detachment is sometimes but a cloak to hide a lack of historical imagination and of literary art, it is refreshing to find the distinguished author of this book stating that any reconstruction of the past must necessarily be conditioned by the experience of the writer, and adding: "to pretend to attain an absolute objectivity which makes history, as it were, external to our spirit, is nothing but a misleading and dangerous illusion" (I, p. vi). No living scholar has done more to reinterpret the history of Greece and Rome than Professor De Sanctis. That he is one of the outstanding authorities in his field results from the rare combination of deep knowledge and historical insight tempered by an acute but constructive critical faculty that we find in all his writings and not least in this new work from his pen. It covers the period from the pre-Hellenic civilizations of the Mediterranean down to the end of the fifth century B. C. The treatment is exceptionally well balanced. Political, economic, and cultural achievements of each stage in the historical development of Greek lands are skilfully interwoven. Moreover, the chapters on literature are fuller and more critical than is usual in general histories of Greece. Thus, for instance, the chapter on two fifth-century representatives of an older order, Pindar and Aeschylus, or those on Herodotus and on Thucydides, are quite masterly, even though not every reader may assent to every one of the author's judgments. Select bibliographies are appended to every chapter. This feature of the book is particularly valuable because one can there find references to recent books and articles not listed in the earlier volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

In a work of this length, which touches on so many topics that are still, and are perhaps likely to remain, controversial, every reader will encounter interpretations from which he dissents, or will wish that some item which receives only brief mention had been more fully treated. The opening chapters of the book are most vulnerable to criticism. The use of Aryan and Aryo-European as racial terms is not happy, and it is very questionable whether the author is justified in maintaining that all the leading characteristics of the historic Greeks derive from the northern invaders and in thus virtually eliminating any serious contribution by the earlier inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean area. When we pass to the chapter on the Homeric poems (I, pp. 183 ff.), we find that the clock has been put back a hundred years. *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are divided up into different lays in the best style of nineteenth-century German criticism and the characteristics of their authors are even outlined. The careful perusal of this chapter has left at least one reader an unrepentant unitarian! Theognis, we are told (I, p. 361), had as intense a horror for the "plebeians" of Megara as have the Anglo-Saxons for colored persons, and for the same reason, racialism. This may pass as a *bon mot*; as a historical analogy it is not to be taken seriously. Professor De Sanctis estimates the size of the

Persian army in 480 as not above 100,000 men. He gives no reasons for adopting this figure, and one is surprised to find Sir Frederick Maurice's important article (*J. H. S.*, L [1930], pp. 210 ff.) ignored. He also, though he lists Cary's article in the bibliography, seems to adhere to the story (II, p. 124) that the Athenians lost 200 plus 50 war-galleys in the Egyptian expedition. Nor does he appear to accept Knud Fabricius' very cogent reasoning (*Klio*, Beiheft XV) regarding the size of ancient Syracuse (cf. II, pp. 149 and 314). Yet, while he does not question Thucydides' narrative in these two cases, he rejects outright (II, p. 311), and hardly with sufficient reason, the historian's version of the military plans of Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus when they reached Rhegium in the summer of 415. As a rule Professor De Sanctis makes full use of archaeological and epigraphic material. It is therefore surprising that he says so little about the Artemision at Ephesus, in view of Hogarth's thorough excavation and the long history of this site as a cult centre. Some reference was to be expected to I. G., I², 76, the Athenian decree regulating the offering of first-fruits at Eleusis, and also to the various fragments of the decree enforcing uniformity of money, weights, and measures among Athens' allies and subjects. Finally, in discussing the Sophists, the author, by confining himself in the case of Protagoras to the *homo mensura* doctrine and to Plato's dialogue, does less than justice to the importance and subsequent influence of Protagoras in the field of education and of political and legal theory.

The reviewer would end, as he began, by welcoming this new and remarkable *History of Greece* and would express the hope that its author may in time publish another volume embracing the fourth century.

M. L. W. LAISONER.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

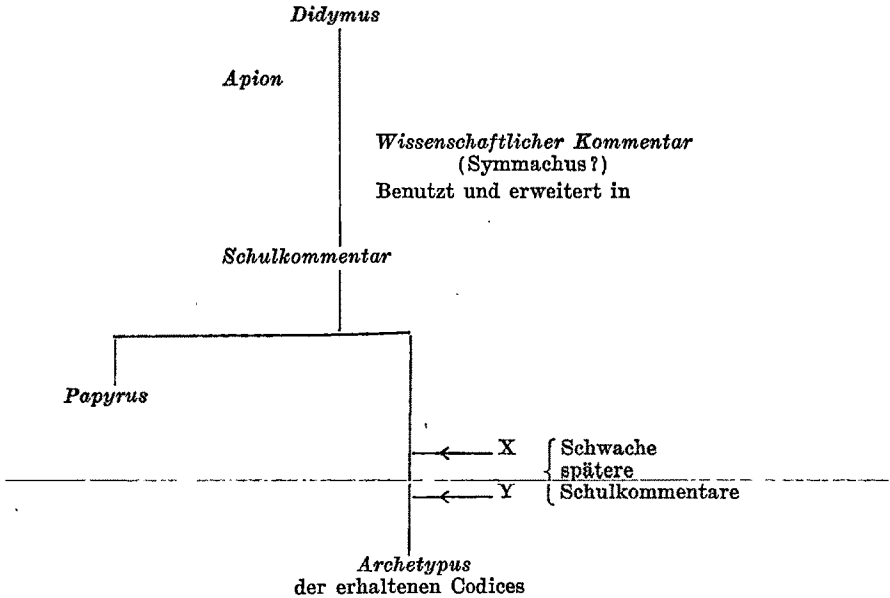
G. ZUNTZ. Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri. Bruxelles, 1939.

Pp. 130. (Extrait de *Byzantion*, t. XIII [1938], pp. 631-690, et t. XIV [1939], pp. 545-613.)

As a doctoral dissertation this is a typical product. It is learned, exhaustive, fully documented, and well indexed. But as a publication in a philological journal it is much too long.

The central thesis is very simple. It is that the variorum edition of Aristophanes, the archetype from which are descended the extant manuscripts, was not as White contended (*Scholion on the Aves*, p. lxiv) a codex of the fourth or fifth century, but rather a codex of the latter part of the ninth century, or the early part of the tenth. The arguments presented in support of this thesis fill sixty pages! A dozen would have sufficed. The theory is not new, and so nothing is to be gained by giving a "minigram" of these pages. The specialist may wish to read them; the layman will find Aristophanes himself more profitable. There is nothing here that contributes one jot to the understanding or appreciation of the poet. It is purely a palaeographical study.

The argument rests fundamentally upon negative evidence. Such a book as White postulates "gibt es aber aus dieser Zeit bisher nicht; ja, White's Annahme widerspricht vielmehr allen Schlüssen, die das bisher bekannte paläographische Material zulässt. Ein solches Buch kann m. E. im 4. Jahrhundert, und noch lange danach, nicht existiert haben" (p. 63; *Byz.*, XIV, p. 547). The "paläographische Material" is presented and discussed in the first two parts of the dissertation (pp. 1-60; *Byz.*, XIII, pp. 631-690), where are subjected to microscopic examination some ten small papyrus fragments containing tiny bits of scholia on various plays of Aristophanes and dating from the fourth to the sixth (seventh?) centuries. All of these fragments have been published elsewhere, except the first two, recto and verso of Pap. Berol. 13929, of the first half of the fourth century. Of these the verso has portions of scholia on *Eq.*, 574-580. More interesting is the recto which contains minute bits of *Eq.*, 545, 546 and mutilated scholia on lines 546-551, written partly in the margin, partly in the same column as the text. Dr. Zuntz' restoration of these notes is sufficiently satisfactory. From their study he constructs the following stemma (p. 27; *Byz.*, XIII, p. 657):



This stemma, slight variations and intermediate steps being omitted, gives in brief a conspectus of Dr. Zuntz' reconstruction of "die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Aristophanes—Text und Scholien—bis zur Niederschrift des Archetypus unserer Handschriften," which he states (p. 1) is "das Ziel der vorliegenden Abhandlung."

JAMES T. ALLEN.

GIACOMO DEVOTO. *Storia della lingua di Roma*. Bologna, Licinio Capelli, 1940. Pp. 429. L. 55. (Istituto di Studi Romani: *Storia di Roma*, XXIII.)

A book with this title invites comparisons, which, it is said, are odious. How much is there to be said about the history of Latin that has not been said before, by Meillet and others? Of what Devoto says, not all is new, very little in fact, though all of it is well said. Of what is new, not all is true. His readers will be the judges. On the last page of the text (p. 368) they will learn that Latin, in its most modern dress, has taken to coining words like *ortoflorofrutti-cultura* as well as to substituting *autista*, which, I presume, is not Latin, for *chauffeur*, which has the misfortune to be French. And this, doubtless, is true. In his first chapter, they will learn (pp. 2-4) that there was once "la nazione indoeuropea" big with "le future nazioni indoeuropee." Is this true? They will also learn (p. 5) that the "regione originaria" whence the "nuclei indoeuropei destinati a costituire il latino" moved into Italy was in Thuringia. Is this true? They will even learn (p. 5) that "i due punti estremi Turingia e Roma sono stati congiunti da una linea." Is this true? They will learn (p. 6) to distinguish those items of the Indo-European vocabulary which fortify "l'ipotesi di uno ordinamento statale per classi, essenzialmente aristocratico," and those which give "un indizio di una rivoluzione che . . . potrebbe essere chiamata 'democratica e laica'." They will learn (p. 63) that there were "due nazionalità" which entered Italy separately, the second being Osco-Umbrian, which was distinct from Latin, and which came later and was superimposed upon the Latin (cf. pp. 3, 59). If this is true, then the map at p. 16 is not.

Between the extreme limits of the first pages, from which these items have been quoted, and the final pages, which really have more to say of Latin since the end of the empire, Latin in the middle ages, and Latin in modern times (including Peano's *Latino sine flexione* as a device for interlingual communication) than it would be fair to leave the single item which was quoted at the beginning to show, there stand some eight chapters in which the formation and use of the Latin language, from archaic to Christian times, are set forth in great detail, often with the help of running commentaries on selected texts, and illustrated by interesting maps (in the eighth of which Britain is duly left blank).¹ Whether it is true or not that Europe began to go wrong when it gave up Latin, we have Devoto's testimony that the Istituto di Studi Romani is concerned to foster Latin once more and publishes a *Bollettino per lo studio e l'uso del latino*.

Since the question of Patavinity has been touched yet again in recent months, and is touched by Devoto by implication, it is to be observed, first, that inasmuch as Quintilian quotes the charge against Livy twice, an argument (*C. P.*, XXXV [1940], pp. 56-60) which fails to mention one of the two places, with its telling context, in

¹ As if Latin had no influence upon Welsh. Latin did not replace Germanic; but we are not left uninformed of the influence of Latin on the Germanic frontier (pp. 279-80).

Quintilian, must be pronounced unconvincing; and, second, that Marouzeau and H. J. Rose, as well as I, hold that Patavinity actually consisted in a non-standard pronunciation of Latin on Livy's part. Syme's remark can only mean that he has not read Quintilian.

Devoto's work, like Meillet's *Esquisse*, may do much to popularize modern knowledge of the history of Latin through the ages. His book will be valuable markedly in his native land, where every mother's son imbibes some Latin at it were from the air that he breathes.²

J. WHATMOUGH.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Inscriptiones Italiae. Acadamae Italicae consociatae ediderunt.
Vol. XIII, Fasti et Elogia, Fasc. III, Elogia, curavit ATILIUS
DEGRASSI. Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1937. Pp. 86.

The honorary inscriptions which modern scholars group under the term *elogia* have not been collected since the publication of the revised edition of *C. I. L.*, I, 1 in 1893. Many new fragments were discovered in the excavation of the Forum of Augustus in 1925 and succeeding years. Since Paribeni's publication (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1933, pp. 455 ff.) included only a portion of the inscriptions found, some of the smaller fragments are now made known for the first time. Two of these (3 and 5) apparently preserve the names of Proca and Alba, two of the Alban kings whose statues are now known to have stood in the north exedra. Degrassi conjectures that the statues of these kings and of the less known ancestors of the Julii stood on inscribed bases in the upper niches; the tablets with lists of achievements which were placed below the statues in the lower niches seem to have been lacking in the upper niches. The statue base which Paribeni assigned to the Alban king Latinus Silvius (1) is attributed by Degrassi to Aeneas. One fragment which Paribeni did not identify (8) is here assigned to the young Marcellus. In the restoration of the *elogium* of Julius Caesar's father (7) Degrassi accepts Frank's suggestion (*A. J. P.*, LVIII [1937], pp. 90 ff.) that the elder Julius founded a colony of Marian soldiers on the island of Cercina in the Lesser Syrtis.

The *elogia* of illustrious men and *triumphatores* in the south exedra have received no important additions from the recent excavations. There are three new fragments of the tablet of Appius Claudius Caecus, the text of which is fully known from the copy found at Arretium. The unusual combination of letters preserved on No. 56, ABE followed by a rounded letter, may, as Professor R. G. Kent has suggested to me, belong to the name Labeo. Is this perhaps a record of Q. Fabius Labeo who celebrated a *triumphus navalis* after his victory over Antiochus' fleet in 188? The inscriptions previously

² P. 43, n. 1, for II read XI. P. 44, for *Tudelasca* read *Tulelasca*. P. 49, for Δουχέριος read Δουκέριος. P. 392, for Holzweinig read Holzweissig. At p. 295 the suffix -itta is more likely to have been Etruscan (-iθa) than Germanic. At p. 72 the astonishing madness of Nacinovich ought not even to have been mentioned.

known are all republished with excellent discussions. One cannot accept Degrassi's suggestion (p. 65) that the position of Marius' augurate between his quaestorship and his military tribunate indicates that he was elected to the priesthood early in his career. Marius was made augur by the Lex Domitia of 104, and his election took place while he was in Cappadocia (Cicero, *ad Brut.*, I, 5, 3), after his sixth consulship. In the absence of any definitive publication of the excavations of the Forum of Augustus, one welcomes the details supplied by Degrassi. Apparently the records available to him often did not provide adequate data as to the places where the inscriptions were found.

The *elogia* of Arretium, Pompeii, and Lavinium and other honorary inscriptions of Rome and Italy are included in the volume. Among the latter are the inscriptions of C. Sempronius Tuditanus (*C. I. L.*, I², 652) and M. Vinicius (Dessau, 8965) and also the *columna rostrata* of Duilius which Degrassi, unlike the editors of *C. I. L.*, I, classifies as an *elogium*. He accepts Frank's suggestion that the original of that monument was of tufa, but he finds it impossible to date the reconstruction.

Degrassi's painstaking examination of the stones that have long been known has not resulted in new readings of importance. The epigraphists of *C. I. L.*, I did their work well. The triumphal lists and the calendars which are to make up the first two fascicles of this volume will, because of the large amount of material which has come to light in recent years, give more scope for an epigraphist who works according to the sound methods established by Mommsen. One might express the hope that in the later publications both photographs and drawings should, wherever possible, be given. In this fascicle the smaller fragments are represented only by drawings.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

Papers of the British School at Rome, Vol. XIV, New Series, Vol. I.
London, Macmillan, 1938. Pp. 168; 19 plates.

In this volume, which is a return to a smaller format, the Director of the British School in Rome and the editor of the series, Mr. C. A. R. Radford, announces as a new policy that the *Papers* will henceforth deal with historical as well as archaeological material. Two of the six papers are purely historical. Mr. J. P. V. D. Balsdon examines carefully the history of the extortion court from 123 to 70 B. C. and in conclusion maintains the validity of Mommsen's views against Carcopino's. Balsdon argues convincingly that Mommsen was right in identifying the law preserved on the Naples tablet with the Lex Acilia, of 123 or 122 B. C. The other historical paper is Ronald Syme's "Caesar, the Senate, and Italy," a preliminary study for the author's important book, *The Roman Revolution*, which appeared in 1939. Syme's thesis is that Caesar, in making additions to the senate, followed in general the precedents of Sulla and the succeeding generation, with one innovation of his own—the admission of men like Asinius Pollio, representatives of Italians whose ances-

tors had been enemies of Rome in the Social War. The paper is illuminating because of Syme's remarkable familiarity with the sources and the freshness of his interpretation of familiar material. He possesses the rare gift of presenting prosopographical material in an interesting manner.

F. H. Wilson continues from a previous volume his "Studies in the Social and Economic History of Ostia." Here he deals with the decline of Ostia, which began in the second century after Christ, and the gradual emergence of an independent Portus. He discusses the development of the Augustales into "a vast money making machine," presumably intended to provide municipal funds for Ostia in a period of decay. The decline is attested in the third century by the standstill in building activity. At Portus, on the other hand, as the author shows by his examination of the types of bricks used, there was a good deal of repair and rebuilding in the late second and early third century. This work is associated by Wilson with the reorganization of the *annona*.

K. T. M. Atkinson publishes a full inventory with illustrations of two tomb groups from Selinus. They contain buccero, early Corinthian, black glaze, and "common" pottery. Atkinson dates them very soon after the foundation of the colony at Selinus (about 630 B. C.), and argues that Payne's date, about 615, for the earliest Corinthian pottery from Selinus is somewhat late. The contents of the tombs show the poverty of the early colonists and their associations with Rhodes. The date established for the common pottery in these tombs is of some importance for similar pottery in tombs of Etruria and Latium.

The results of M. E. Hirst's paper on "The Pons Sublicius and the Insula Tiberina" are rather inconclusive. The title is misleading, for the author does not believe that the pile bridge led to the island.

The longest article in the volume is Evelyn Jamison's thorough study of the history, the architecture, and the iconography of the very interesting twelfth century church at Matrice. The paper is admirably illustrated and contains in an appendix a series of documents on the early history of the church.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

PAUL FRIEDLÄNDER. - Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza: des Prokopios von Gaza *Ἐκφράσις Εἰκόνας*. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939. Pp. vii + 120; 12 Plates. (*Studi e Testi*, 89.)

Procopius of Gaza, who lived *ca.* 470—*ca.* 530 A. D., here describes two pictures depicting scenes from the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus. The text, preserved only in a Vatican MS, was first published by Mai (1839), then by Boissonade (1846). Friedländer's text, based upon a careful study of the MS, is a noteworthy improvement and is not likely to be superseded. Friedländer, a recognized master of the subject, is also the first to give the contents of the *ekphrasis* detailed study and to attempt a reconstruction of the pictures. He provides a

paraphrase, a succinct commentary, and a collection of monuments which provide parallels to the scenes and figures which Procopius describes. Twelve plates contain the reconstructions and illustrations of the more important parallels. The literary technique of the description is fully discussed, and observations are offered on the place which the pictures occupy in the ancient artistic tradition of the legend. Work remains to be done here (as Friedländer recognizes) by students of the history of ancient painting; the material has been prepared for them in masterly fashion.

There is every indication that the pictures actually existed at Gaza and that they were new when Procopius described them. One scene—Theseus sleeping, with the love-smitten Phaedra seated at his feet—was set against an architectural background which is of particular interest because it contained "pictures within the picture," scenes of Theseus with the Minotaur and of Hippolytus hunting a lion. The other picture, a landscape, showed Hippolytus hunting, accompanied by Daphne, and the slaying of Phaedra's nurse by one of Hippolytus' servants. Here again there are four "pictures within the picture," scenes from the third book of the *Iliad*, and finally a representation of Timotheus, who presented the pictures to the city of Gaza.

A minor correction may be offered here. In his discussion of the evidence for Procopius' date, the author states (p. 95) that there is evidence for earthquakes at Antioch in A. D. 494, 500, 525, 526, and 528. These dates are cited from a geologist's catalogue of earthquakes in Syria, a list, in which no sources are cited, which is based uncritically on other lists which are in turn compiled largely from secondary sources. One discovers eventually that the evidence for quakes in 494 and 500 consists of records in Marcellinus Comes and Theodorus Lector of catastrophes in Syria and in the eastern Mediterranean region, in which Antioch is not mentioned. The city may have suffered in these disasters, but there is no direct evidence that it did, and the belief that Antioch was affected is purely an inference. The best source for such information remains C. O. Müller's *Antiquitates Antiochenae*.

Students of the history of literature and of the history of art alike will be indebted to the distinguished author for a notable contribution which follows worthily after an earlier book (*Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius*, 1912) which will always remain the point of departure for any study of the ancient *ekphrasis*.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

GLANVILLE DOWNEY.

ANDRÉ PIGANIOL. *Histoire de Rome*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1939. Pp. li + 576. (*Clio*, Introduction aux études historiques, 3.)

This volume is one of a series of "manuels de l'enseignement supérieur" and is obviously to be used only by those who take the subject seriously. It covers Roman history from the beginning to 476 A. D. The text, which occupies about half the book, is of course

very much condensed. It repays careful reading, however, because it was written with care and ingenuity. It gives a clear conspectus of important events and movements. It also gives the author's opinion on a great many points which are now or used to be debated, so that the student can be warned where there are differences of opinion.

The bibliography, which occupies the other half of the book, is likewise an ingenious piece of work. Forty-one pages of general bibliography follow the introduction, then sections of text, such as "Les origines italiennes," "Les origines de Rome," are followed by their bibliography, neatly analyzed into subsections. One useful subsection is "État des questions," in which current or recent debate is referred to. Several stemmata are given. In a number of these sections of bibliography will be found Piganiol's own version of some such complicated matter as the chronology of the beginning of the Second Macedonian War. The book deserves to be praised as a solid and useful companion to the student, beginning or advanced, of Roman history.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

NEW MICROFILM SERVICE AT LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Library of Congress in coöperation with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta and other Indian institutions can now service specific orders for microfilm copies of manuscripts in the libraries of India as listed in the existing printed catalogues. The charges for the service cannot be definitely determined but will be within the range of the usual inexpensive cost of the existing services.

Inquiries and requests should be addressed to Indic Studies, Library of Congress.

The development of this service was facilitated by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies for the purchase of a camera, etc. Much of the trouble formerly encountered in the securing of inexpensive copies of original manuscripts or rare printed materials from India is now eliminated. This microfilm service is solely for cultural purposes.

The Library of Congress is building a bibliofilm library of manuscript texts in the languages of India. About 8,000 pages of materials in Indian libraries are now on file at the Library. Exact information as to its contents can be had upon inquiry.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the *JOURNAL*, but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Bonner (Campbell), editor. *The Homily on the Passion of Melito Bishop of Sardis and Some Fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel*. London, *Christophers*; Philadelphia, *Univ. of Pennsylvania Press*, 1940. Pp. ix + 202; 2 plates. \$5. (*Studies and Documents* ed. by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, XII.)

Cawley (Robert Ralston). *Unpathed Waters. Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers in Elizabethan Literature.* Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. x + 285. \$3.75.

Chapman (Percy Addison). *The Spirit of Molière. An Interpretation.* Edited by Jean-Albert Bédé, with an introduction by Christian Gauss. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*; London, *Humphrey Milford*, 1940. Pp. xxi + 250. \$3.50.

DeWitt (Norman J.). *Urbanization and the Franchise in Roman Gaul.* Lancaster, Pa., 1940. Pp. v + 72. (Diss.)

Ewing (S. Blaine). *Burtonian Melancholy in the Plays of John Ford.* Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. x + 122. \$1.50. (*Princeton Studies in English*, XIX.)

von Fritz (Kurt). *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy. An Analysis of the Sources.* New York, *Columbia Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. xi + 113. \$2.

Goodenough (Erwin R.). *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus.* New Haven, *Yale Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. xii + 223. \$2.75.

Jones (A. H. M.). *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian.* Oxford, *Clarendon Press*, 1940. Pp. x + 393. \$7.

Knudsen (Trygve) and Sommerfelt (Alf). *Norsk Riksmåls-Ordbok, Hefte 26 (Bind II, hefte 7).* W. Nygaard, H. Aschehoug & Co., no date. Kr. 1.00.

Lutz (Henry Ludwig F.). 'Verb Qualifiers in Egyptian. *Univ. of California Publ. in Semitic Philology*, X, 11 (1940), pp. 265-274.

Nitze (William A.). *Arthurian Romance and Modern Poetry and Music.* Chicago, *Univ. of Chicago Press*, 1940. Pp. xi + 101; 6 plates. \$1.

Owen (E. T.). *Drama in Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus.* Reprinted from the *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, X, 1 (1940), pp. 46-59.

Prentice (William Kelly). *The Ancient Greeks.* Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. xii + 254. \$3.

Rainolds (John). *Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae (circa 1572).* With an introduction and commentary by William Ringler and an English translation by Walter Allen, Jr. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. 93. \$1.50. (*Princeton Studies in English*, XX.)

Robinson (Laura). *Freedom of Speech in the Roman Republic.* Baltimore, 1940. Pp. xiii + 93. (Diss.)

Sisson (C. J.). *The Judicious Marriage of Mr Hooker and The Birth of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.* Cambridge, *University Press*; New York, *Macmillan*, 1940. Pp. xvi + 203. \$2.50.

Spinka (Matthew) and Downey (Glanville). *Chronicle of John Malalas, Books VIII-XVIII.* Translated from the Church Slavonic. Chicago, *Univ. of Chicago Press*, 1940. Pp. vi + 150. \$1.50.

Thompson (C. R.). *The Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St. Thomas More.* Ithaca, N. Y., 1940. Pp. 52.

Thompson (Homer). *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors. Hesperia, Suppl. IV. American School of Class. Stud. at Athens*, 1940. Pp. v + 160; frontispiece; 3 plates; 105 text figures. \$5.

Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, LXX (1939). Philadelphia, publ. by the Association through its editor, George Depue Hadzits, 1940. Pp. vii + 555 + cxi.

Westermann (William Linn), Keyes (Clinton Walker), and Liebesny (Herbert). *Zenon Papyri, II: Business Papers of the Third Century B. C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt.* Ed. with Introduction and Notes. New York, *Columbia Univ. Press*, 1940. Pp. x + 221; 7 plates. \$0. (*Columbia Papyri, Greek Series*, No. 4.)

Williams (Edwin Everitt). *Tragedy of Destiny. Oedipus Tyrannus, Macbeth, Athalie.* Cambridge, Mass., *Editions XVII Siècle*, 1940. Pp. 35. \$1.50.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LXII, 4

WHOLE No. 248

A STUDY OF GREEK SENTENCE CONSTRUCTION.

The purpose of this study is to attempt to determine how sentence construction changes during the long period from Homer to Dinarchus and what are the personal as distinct from the chronological characteristics of this or that author's sentences. The material analysed ¹ can be grouped as follows: Homer; the messenger speeches of tragedy; Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plato; the orators of the fourth century. To compare the sentences a notation ² was necessary which would reduce the passages to their essentials. The essentials of sentence con-

¹ 750 B. C. (?), Homer, *Z* 466-H 158; 490-480 B. C., Aeschylus, *Supplices*, 605 f.; 480-470 B. C., Aeschylus, *Persae*, 353 f.; 470-460 B. C., Aeschylus, *Septem*, 375 f. (speeches of the messenger only); 460-450 B. C., Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 636 f., *Prometheus Vinctus*, 243 f.; 450-440 B. C., Sophocles, *Ajax*, 748 f., *Antigone*, 1192 f.; 440-430 B. C., Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 899 f.; Euripides, *Medea*, 1136 f.; Herodotus, III, 14-26; 430-420 B. C., Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1237 f.; Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 1173 f., *Hecuba*, 518 f.; 420-410 B. C., Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 922 f., *Helen*, 1526 f.; 410-400 B. C., Thucydides, VI, 27-46; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1043 f.; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 331 f. (331 is the first sentence of the speech which begins at 343), *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1586 f.; 400-390 B. C. (?), *Rhesus*, 756 f.; Lysias, VI, 1-22, XIII, 1-62; Isocrates, XVI, 1-57; 350-330 B. C., Isocrates, XIII; Isaeus, V, 1-24; Lysias, X, 1-29; Lysias, XXII; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I, ii, 38-47; II, vii, 1-12; 380-370 B. C., Plato, *Republic*, 401b-404d, 614b-621d; Isaeus, VIII, 1-27; 370-360 B. C., Isocrates, IX, 1-30, 47-81; Demosthenes, XXVII, 1-57; 360-350 B. C., Isaeus, XI, 1-26; Demosthenes, IV, 1-19, 40-51; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, I, 1-32; Plato, *Laws*, 624a-631b; 350-340 B. C., Demosthenes, V; VII, 1-37; XI; Aeschines, II, 1-29; 340-330 B. C., Isocrates, XII, 1-53; Hyperides, I; 330-320 B. C., Lycurgus, *Leocrates*, 1-26; Aeschines, III, 1-28; Demosthenes, XVIII, 1-35; XVII; Hyperides, IV, 1-30, VI, 1-42; Dinarchus, I, 1-47.

² Described in detail in *Studies presented to M. K. Pope* (Manchester University Press), p. 381.

struction are I. *length of sentence*, reckoned in grammatical terms, i. e. omitting prepositions, articles, and all but connective particles, II. *expansion*: the expansion of a simple grammatical term, subject or object or noun used adverbially, by adjectives, participles introduced by the article, etc.,³ and the expansion of phrase, clause, or sentence by another like member connected with it by "and," III. *hypotactic organisation*: the system of clauses and appositions which depend upon the main sentence, IV. *paratactic organisation*: the arrangement of sentences, clauses, and phrases in pairs, triads, etc. in such a way that the first member of the group suggests that at least one other member is to follow, V. the combination of these two kinds of organisation into well-marked *sentence types*. If it can be proved that the variation of these essential features is not haphazard but shows some signs of regular chronological development and within that of personal preference (which may be sufficiently strong to serve as a criterion in distinguishing genuine from spurious), this study will have served its purpose.

I. LENGTH.

The length of the sentence tends to increase. In the fifth century there is a more or less regular rise from Aeschylus' *Supplices* (14) to a peak in Sophocles' *Electra* (27). The *Agamemnon*, *Prometheus*, *Ajax*, and *Antigone* have slightly longer sentences than Herodotus; the excess is probably due to the forward rhythm of verse. Later messenger speeches come under the influence of the periodic structure of contemporary prose; Sophocles' sentences increase from 17 terms in the *Antigone* to 27 in the *Electra*, and Euripides' from 21.5 in the *Medea* to 25.5 in the *Bacchae*. No fifth century passage exceeds 27, and, if the tendency of verse to exceed prose be remembered, it seems probable that the usual length of prose sentences in the late fifth century is about 22 terms. In the fourth century, although the general trend is upwards and there is a rise from

³ E. g., Demosthenes, IV, 17, "against these sudden expeditions of his from his own country against Pylae." A noun used adverbially, "expeditions," is expanded by adjective "these," adverb "sudden," noun used as adjective "of his," noun used adverbially "from country" (itself expanded by adjective "his own"), and noun used adverbially "against Pylae."

Length

Amplifications per 1000 terms.... 133

Linked sentences within 100

sentences 38

Total of links in 100 sentences.. 64

Clauses per 1000 terms..... 53

Appositions per 1000 terms..... 75

Percentage of sentences

with no complication..... 74

with one degree of complication

at least..... 26

with two degrees..... 6

with three degrees..... 1

with four degrees..... ..

higher

No. of pairs, etc. in 1000 terms.. 22

No., in 100 sentences, of

paired sentences..... 20

paired parts of clauses..... 3

paired phrases..... 9

Percentage of sentences

with one pair..... 26

with two pairs..... 5

with three pairs..... 1

with four pairs..... ..

with five pairs..... ..

with six pairs..... ..

with more pairs..... ..

Sentence types per 100 sentences

Single sentences, Simple..... 58

Complicated 17

Divided but simple..... 2

Divided but complicated..... 7

Double sentences, Simple..... 11

	Homer	Aschylus	Sophocles	Euripides	Herodotus	Thucydides	Xenophon	Plato	Lysias	Isocrates	Isaeus	Demosthenes	Aeschines	Hyperides	Lycurgus	Dinarchus
Amplifications per 1000 terms....	14.3	16	22	22.5	16	25.4	19	19	22.5	34	27	32	31	30	29	43
Linked sentences within 100	133	187	150	148	99	110	99	129	115	141	126	112	143	136	161	192
sentences	38	24	24	52	7	19	32	20	18	11	25	24	38	27	26	20
Total of links in 100 sentences..	64	63	71	96	29	83	79	67	76	137	98	156	194	140	178	304
Clauses per 1000 terms.....	53	63	83	59	91	97	95	83	128	98	117	118	94	106	86	89
Appositions per 1000 terms.....	75	62.5	92	84	71	55	85	62	55	34	53	52	49	52	48	60
Percentage of sentences																
with no complication.....	74	73	46	55	63	47	44	66	31	31.5	30	22	35	26	26	30
with one degree of complication																
at least.....	26	27	54	45	37	53	56	34	69	68.5	70	78	65	74	74	70
with two degrees.....	6	7.5	21	7	13	29	26	17	40.5	42	35	46	34	41	28	40
with three degrees.....	1	3.5	5	1	3	12	8	7	15.5	17.5	10	20	15	18	12	24
with four degrees.....	..	..	2	1	1	4	3	3	6	6	2	7	7	9	6	16
higher ..... ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	3	.5	1	2	3	5	..	6
No. of pairs, etc. in 1000 terms..	22	39	53	51	38	58	46	49	38	54.5	45.5	46	39	48	48	50
No., in 100 sentences, of																
paired sentences.....	20	30.5	54	72	25	43	22	24	37	67	59	62	34	62	26	68
paired parts of clauses.....	3	10	30	24	24	66	35	25	38	75	44	57	51	47	52	98
paired phrases.....	9	16.5	20	9	13	43	23	39	10	42	15	28	28	27	42	20
Percentage of sentences																
with one pair.....	26	43.5	64	75	45	60	46	43	58	80.5	70	73	61	72	74	70
with two pairs.....	5	11	27	24	15	39	17	20	16	45.5	31	40	28	37	22	50
with three pairs.....	1	2.5	11	6	2	24	10	12	6	24.5	11	19	11	20	8	28
with four pairs.....	..	..	2	..	..	11	4	6	2.5	13	4	10	5	5	6	16
with five pairs.....	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	3	.5	6.5	1	3	1	1	4	6
with six pairs.....	..	..	..	..	..	5	1	2	.5	4.5	1	1	1	1	2	6
with more pairs.....	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	.5	3	..	1	1	..	2	2
Sentence types per 100 sentences																
Single sentences, Simple.....	58	45.5	21	18	44	29	33	48	21	8.5	15	11	18	12	16	16
Complicated	17	13	15	9	11	13	26	13	24	13	17	19	25	16	12	14
Divided but simple.....	2	10	5	8	9	10	7	8	5	11	5	3	11	4	8	2
Divided but complicated.....	7	6.5	13	10	14	21	17	14	20	23.5	24	22	21	26	42	22
Double sentences, Simple.....	11	11	15	15	7	5	3	5	6	6.5	10	6	5	8	2	4

Lysias through Isaeus to Demosthenes, the variation between different authors is more marked. While the length of Demosthenes' sentences rises to 38 in the *Crown*, Aeschines, Hyperides, and Lycurgus average a little more or less than 30. Plato ⁴ and Xenophon write sentences which are little longer than those of Herodotus. The fashion for longer sentences may have been set by Isocrates since his earliest speeches average 33 and 37.5 and his last speech 46; he is followed by the writer of Demosthenes XI (47.5) and Dinarchus.

II. EXPANSION.

The expansion of a single grammatical term into a phrase of two or more words, which yet does not contain a clause or apposition, may be called amplification. The number of amplifications varies in different passages between 83 and 227 per thousand terms. No clear development can be observed but the high and low points are interesting. Homer's epic style with its standing epithets has far less amplification than the "magnificent style" of Aeschylus ⁵ and than a good many fourth century speeches. Herodotus and Thucydides are well below the level of the tragedians. The narrative passages of both Plato and Xenophon have more amplification than the dialogue (146 and 115 contrasted with 96 and 83). In the orators two lines can be traced: Lysias, Isaeus, Demosthenes, and Hyperides ⁶ have a low number, Isocrates has a high number, and Lycurgus and Dinarchus a very high number; Dinarchus indeed has more amplifications than Aeschylus.

The second form of expansion may be called "linking." The writer links sentence to sentence, clause to clause, or word to word by "and," without having given any hint at the beginning

⁴ The short answers bring the average in *Republic*, III down to 13.7, lower than Homer. In the *Myth of Er* the sentences average 25.

⁵ The figures for individual messenger speeches must not be regarded as a certain guide because they contain so few sentences: but note that Aeschylus shows a steady decrease from the *Suppliants* (227) to the *Prometheus* (172). Sophocles is steady except for two peaks, the *Antigone* (171) and the *Electra* (178)—due perhaps to the remainder of Aeschylean magnificence in the one and the deliberately heightened colouring of the Chariot Race in the other.

⁶ The two law court speeches have each 125; the average is raised by the more formal *Funeral Speech* which has 160.

that more was to come. The total number of links tends to increase as sentences grow longer. Again the dialogue passages of Plato and Xenophon, which have short sentences and few amplifications (in which linked phrases may occur), present a marked contrast with the narrative passages, which are both rather fuller and looser and therefore have more links than the carefully formed and nervous narrative of Herodotus. Lysias and Isaeus have a smaller total of links than the other orators, but the blown-out sentences of Dinarchus have far more than anyone else.

The figures for linked sentences (i. e. main sentences linked together within a larger sentence) do not correspond exactly with the total figures for links: they are more frequent in the simpler narratives of Homer, Euripides, Xenophon, and Plato than in the more stylised narratives of Herodotus and the other tragedians. Aeschines has a higher proportion than the other orators; his sentences move more carelessly than theirs.

III. HYPOTACTIC ORGANISATION.

The two main forms of subordination by which a sentence or phrase is made dependent on the main sentence are the clause and the apposition. The relation (substantival, adjectival, or adverbial) in which a clause stands to the main sentence is made clear either by the introducing conjunction or, in the case of some object clauses, by the use of infinitive or participle instead of main verb. In an apposition, whether an added nominal or participial phrase, or a sentence in parenthesis or connected by a particle,⁷ the relation is less clear and the hearer may be left to choose whether he will interpret the subsidiary facts as cause or condition of the chief event.

The number of clauses in a thousand grammatical terms rises, but not uniformly. The difference between Homer and the three early plays of Aeschylus is imperceptible. From the time of the *Agamemnon* (76) a higher number is common; the figures for the *Prometheus* (97), *Trachiniae* (106), *Oedipus Tyrannus* (85), *Philoctetes* (95), and *Oedipus Coloneus* (96) compare well with those of Herodotus and Thucydides. But, whereas the

⁷ Even sentences added by γάρ seem to me less clearly connected and subordinate than clauses introduced by ἐπεὶ or participles introduced by ὥς or ἄρα.

figure of 90 is not common in the fifth century passages, a figure below 90 is rare in the fourth century.⁸ Lysias, Isaeus, and Demosthenes have more than 100 clauses in all their speeches, and Lysias leads as befits his clarity.

The distribution of appositions differs from that of clauses; they are more common in the fifth century than in the fourth. In the fourth century Xenophon has more than other authors. The high number in the *Memorabilia* is partly due to vocatives and interpolated verbs of "saying." In the *Hellenica* Xenophon is writing in a narrative tradition which goes back to the messenger speeches of Sophocles and Euripides. The narrative of Homer and of the *Myth of Er* (74) have rather fewer appositions, and the carefully stylised narrative of Herodotus fewer still.

Hypotactic organisation means the combination of clauses and appositions into elaborate structures which depend on the main sentence. A simple instance is the sentence:⁹ "I think therefore that I am able to say this, although I do not prevent anyone else from making a statement": the object of "I think" is the clause "that I am able," and the object of "I am able" is the clause "to say this"; similarly the sentence ends with a clause dependent on a participle in apposition. This sentence may be said to reach the first degree of complication (clause dependent on clause or apposition), and the next section of the table shows what percentage of sentences in each author reaches one, two, or more degrees of complication.

The number of sentences which have no such complication (i. e. which contain at most simple clauses and appositions) rises slightly from Homer to the *Supplices* (86) and *Persae* (84), and then falls.¹⁰ Herodotus and the early plays of Sophocles are below the average of Aeschylus.¹¹ Euripides shows a steady decrease from 70% in the *Medea* to 35% in the *Bacchae*—a proportion which compares well with Sophocles' later plays and Thucydides. It is roughly true to say that in the early fifth

⁸ The exceptions are Xenophon, *Hellenica* (65) (the *Memorabilia* is much higher [124]) and Plato, *Myth of Er* (65).

⁹ Demosthenes, IV, 15.

¹⁰ The *Prometheus Vincetus* falls right out of the picture: in fact so low a percentage (38.5) does not occur again until Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (33).

¹¹ The *Trachiniae* (50) and the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (46.5) far below.

century the proportion sinks from 80% to 60%, and in the later fifth century from 60% to 40%. The figure in the fourth century is seldom above 40% ¹² and often below 30%. In Lysias, Isaeus, and Demosthenes the general tendency is towards greater complication, and the normal number of simple sentences decreases from about 40% to about 20%. There is something of a swing back towards a level of 30% in the later part of the century, as can be seen by looking at the figures for Aeschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus.

The total number of complicated sentences (in the next line of the table) is the complement of the total number of simple sentences, and need not be further discussed. Sentences which reach at least the second degree of complication are more common in the fourth century than in the fifth; ¹³ five passages ¹⁴ have more than 50% of their sentences rising to at least two degrees of complication. The number of fifth century sentences with higher degrees of complication is negligible.¹⁵ All the fourth century passages contain sentences which reach at least to the third degree except Plato, *Republic*, III, but the proportion varies from below 10% to over 29%.¹⁶ In the fifth century only Herodotus, Thucydides, and Sophocles (in the *O. C.*) have sentences which rise to the fourth degree of complication, and no sentences go higher. In the fourth century a few sentences go up to the sixth degree, but, although all the fourth century

¹² Xenophon has 48% of simple sentences in the *Hellenica* and 40% in the *Memorabilia*; Plato's dialogues are near enough to ordinary speech to have a far higher number, 82% and 58% in *Republic*, III and X and 57% in the *Laws*. The proportion in Isocrates is very low except in the *Evagoras* (45) where the simpler epistolary form may have had some influence on the style.

¹³ The *Prometheus* (31.5) and *Trachiniae* (25) stand out in the early part of the fifth century; Thucydides, *Philoctetes* (42), and *Oedipus Coloneus* (26) in the later part.

¹⁴ Isocrates XIII (62), Lysias XXII (54), Isocrates XII (56), Hyperides I (58), and Demosthenes XVIII (60).

¹⁵ Except in the *Agamemnon* (17) (due to the curious contorted sentences in the Herald's speech), the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (9), Thucydides, the Sophoclean *Electra* (13.5), and the *Oedipus Coloneus* (10).

¹⁶ Below ten in the *Hellenica*, *Myth of Er*, Isaeus V, Demosthenes XXVII, Isocrates IX, and Hyperides IV. The highest percentages (29 and over) belong to Isocrates XIII, XII, Hyperides I, Demosthenes XVIII and XI.

passages¹⁷ have some sentences which go at least to the fourth degree, in only a few passages¹⁸ do such sentences make up more than 10% of the whole. The general level of complication is higher in the later part of the fourth century, but there is great variation between individual passages.

IV. PARATACTIC ORGANISATION.

The grouping of sentences, clauses, or words in pairs or triads¹⁹ becomes more common from the later years of the fifth century onwards.²⁰ Until the *Medea* the number is usually lower than 40 pairs per thousand grammatical terms; from the *Medea* to the end of the century the number does not fall far below 50 and rises to nearly 60 in Sophocles' *Electra*, Euripides' *Bacchae*, and Thucydides. Something of the conscious grouping of contemporary orators has affected tragedy, and Thucydides has also felt their influence.

In the fourth century the boundary which divides the more from the less formal authors lies at about fifty pairs per thousand terms. Xenophon, Lysias, and Plato are below it;²¹ Isaeus shows a gradual increase up to it; Demosthenes reaches the boundary only in the *Crown*. These rises may be due to the influence of Isocrates whose large number of pairs are evidence of his training by Gorgias. Of the later orators Aeschines is well below the boundary; Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Dinarchus are on it.

¹⁷ Except-Isocrates XVI, Isaeus V, Plato, *Republic*, III.

¹⁸ They are Isocrates XIII (11%), Lysias XXII (10%), Demosthenes VII (12%), Isocrates XII (16%), Hyperides I (18%), Demosthenes XVIII (10%), XI (14%), Dinarchus (16%).

¹⁹ Grouping with *μὲν . . . δὲ, τε . . . καὶ, οὐκ . . . ἀλλὰ*, etc. I include also anaphora, asyndeton, rhetorical question and answer.

²⁰ The *Agamemnon* has more (56) than the other early tragedies, and the *Oedipus Tyrannus* soars above the whole series although the figure (88) is undoubtedly exaggerated because based on such a small number of terms.

²¹ Xenophon's *Hellenica* (33) is below the boundary (indeed, it is less formal than Herodotus), whereas the *Memorabilia* (62) has some of the tricks of Sophistic phrasing. The high proportion of pairs (55.5) in Lysias VI is an argument against its genuineness. Plato rises above the boundary only in the *Myth of Er*, and that is partly due to the amount of grouping necessitated by the subject.

Whether the pairs are pairs of sentences, clauses (or parts of clauses), or phrases depends on the taste of the author²² and has little or no chronological significance. But progress can be seen in the percentage of sentences containing several pairs. The number of sentences with at least one pair is strikingly higher from the time of the *Medea* onwards.²³ The number of sentences with at least two pairs also increases with the *Medea*, and increases again in the second half of the fourth century.²⁴ The percentage of sentences with at least three pairs is rather lower, but the high numbers and low numbers occur in the same authors and passages. Of the fifth century passages only the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and Thucydides have sentences with four pairs; but four pairs are common in the fourth century.²⁵ Only Isocrates, Thucydides, Demosthenes XI, and Dinarchus have more than four sentences which contain five pairs. Sentences containing six or seven pairs are naturally still rarer, and sentences containing more than seven pairs are confined to Thucydides, Isocrates XVI, IX and XII, Lysias X, Plato (*Republic*, III), Aeschines III, and Dinarchus. Thus Thucydides for us is the herald of this very distinctive feature of fourth century prose.

V. TYPES OF SENTENCE.

Sentences vary in type according as they are hypotactically or paratactically organised (or both or neither). The main lines of classification have been laid down by Aristotle.²⁶ First, there

²² The proportion of paired sentences is very high in Homer and Euripides and high in Aeschylus and Sophocles; low in Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Lycurgus. The proportion of paired phrases is very high in Plato and high in Lycurgus.

²³ Before that only the *Agamemnon* and *Prometheus* have a large percentage (60, 62); after that only Xenophon's *Hellenica* and Plato (dialogue passages) have a notably small proportion (36, 27, 40%).

²⁴ The notable peaks are the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (72%), Thucydides, and the *Oedipus Coloneus* (42%) in the fifth century, and in the fourth Isocrates (except *Evagoras*), Demosthenes XVIII (56%), the First speech of Hyperides (46%), and Dinarchus.

²⁵ The exceptions are Lysias VI and XXII. High numbers occur in Isocrates XIII, IX, XII, Demosthenes XI, XVIII, and Dinarchus.

²⁶ *Studies presented to M. K. Pope*, p. 387. Zehetmeier, *Periodenlehre*, restricts Aristotle's meaning too much when he explains his statement by rhythm alone.

are Simple sentences with at most simple clauses and appositions and Complicated sentences with at least one clause or apposition dependent on a clause or apposition; then these two main types are varied by the introduction of paired sentences, paired clauses, etc. The normal types of Simple sentences are simple single sentences (I. a. 1), simple single sentences with subdivision (I. b. 1), and simple double (paired) sentences (II. 1). Complicated sentences can be subdivided into single complicated sentences with no subdivision²⁷ (I. a. 2, etc.), divided and complicated sentences (I. b. 2, etc.), and double complicated sentences (II. 2, etc.). In addition there is a small class of triple and higher sentences, which may or may not be complicated or further subdivided (III, etc.).

a. *Simple sentences.*

The simple single sentence (I. a. 1) becomes gradually less common. The percentage varies between 60% and 40% from Homer to Herodotus.²⁸ After Herodotus the fifth century passages have a varying proportion with a maximum of 29% in Thucydides.²⁹ Thucydides may represent the normal writing of his time better than the tragedians, because the more stylised narrative of tragedy often chooses divided and double sentences rather than single sentences. In the fourth century the proportion of simple single sentences lies between 20% and 10%.³⁰ The other normal types of simple sentence (I. b. 1 and II. 1) are both rather more common in the fifth than in the fourth century.³¹

²⁷ A single paired phrase may be admitted.

²⁸ Only the *Prometheus Vincit* and the *Ajax* are well below 40%.

²⁹ Except for the *Helen* which has none, Euripides has a rather higher average than Sophocles.

³⁰ The exceptions are Xenophon, Lysias XIII, and Plato, which are above the normal, and Isocrates XVI, XII, and Demosthenes XVIII, which are below the normal.

³¹ The single divided sentence rises above 10% only in the *Supplices*, the *Agamemnon*, the *Hippolytus*, the *Helen*, the *Oedipus Coloneus*, Lysias VI, Plato, *Myth*, and Isocrates IX. The double simple sentence rises to over 20% in the *Ajax* and *Trachiniae* and over 10% in all the tragedies except the *Agamemnon*, *Medea*, *O.T.*, *Philoctetes*, and *Helen*. In the fourth century Lysias VI, Isaeus V, and Hyperides VI have more than 10%.

b. *Complicated sentences.*i. *Single complicated sentences.*

The single complicated sentence is unevenly distributed and no clear trend³² can be traced; the general level is somewhat over 10%. There are two chief types. In the more common (I. a. 2) a single simple clause or apposition is the basis for the further dependent clauses.³³ In the rarer kind (I. a. 4) two (or very occasionally more) simple clauses form the bases for further dependent clauses. This second kind does not occur in the passages from Homer, Euripides, and Demosthenes XI; it is on the whole more common in the fourth century than in the fifth.³⁴

In all authors except Lysias the majority of sentences with a single complication (I. a. 2) are not complicated beyond the first degree, though in Demosthenes and Isaeus only slightly less than half reach a higher degree. Aeschylus and Thucydides alone of fifth century authors have sentences of this type reaching the third degree of complication. Aeschines and Demosthenes VII and XI alone reach the fifth degree of complication. Sentences of this type with paired phrases are not common except in Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, Euripides, Xenophon, and Aeschines.

The sentences with two complications (I. a. 4) are a tiny group. In Lysias and Isaeus some of them reach the fourth degree of complication, in Demosthenes they reach the third. Hyperides has one with seven degrees of complication.

³² The notably high points are the *Prometheus Vinculus*, the three early plays of Sophocles, Xenophon, particularly the *Hellenica*, Lysias XXII, and lastly Demosthenes IV, V and Aeschines II.

³³ E. g. Herodotus, III, 24, 1, "After that they finally saw their tombs which are said to be made of glass in the following manner."

³⁴ In Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Isocrates (who always builds his more complicated sentences with pairs) less than a tenth of the total number of single complicated sentences; in Thucydides, Lysias (XIII has more than the rest), Plato (who uses this form only in the *Laws*), Lycurgus, Aeschines between 15% and 18% of the total; in Isaeus (who has most in the earliest speech), Demosthenes (who has a very high proportion in the *Crown*), Hyperides (who has most in IV), and Dinarchus between 20% and 26%. Lysias VI has the freak proportion of 44%. An example from Demosthenes is given above, note 9.

ii. *Single divided and complicated sentences.*

The divided and complicated single sentences increase in number through the period. No passage before Herodotus contains more than 10% of such sentences; Herodotus has 14% and Thucydides 21%.³⁵ In the fourth century the 20% level is common and in several passages 30% or even 40% of the sentences have this form.³⁶ There are four main groups. In the first (I. b. 2; 3) the division occurs in the main sentence or in a simple clause or apposition; one or both of the limbs of the division are complicated but there is no other complication of the main sentence. Thucydides (VI, 44, 3) provides a simple example: "they said they would side with *neither* BUT would do whatever was agreed on by the other Italiots." This group does not occur in Homer or Aeschylus, and in other authors accounts for varying numbers between a fifth (Aeschines) and three-fifths (Isaeus) of the divided complicated sentences.³⁷ In many passages the sentences of this type with one complicated limb (I. b. 2) and two complicated limbs (I. b. 3) are equal in number, but in Isocrates, Plato, and Hyperides the two complicated limbs are more common, and in Thucydides, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Aeschines the single complicated limb predominates. Neither is used for sentences of great complexity,³⁸ and the

³⁵ The *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Hippolytus* have approximately the same number as Herodotus. The *Helen*, and Sophocles' *Electra*, *Philoctetes*, and *Oedipus Coloneus* have numbers in the neighbourhood of 20%.

³⁶ Isocrates XII and IX, Lysias X, Isaeus XI, and Hyperides VI have over 30%, Demosthenes VII, Lycurgus, and Demosthenes XVII have over 40%. Less than 20% are found in Lysias XIII, Isaeus V, Plato, *Republic*, III and *Laws*, Aeschines II, and Hyperides I.

³⁷ Lysias VI, Thucydides, Dinarchus, Demosthenes (the number in XVIII is below average), Lysias, Xenophon (this type occurs only in the *Memorabilia*), and Isocrates have between 25% and 35% of their totals for the group belonging to this type. Plato, Demosthenes (VII, XVII, XI), Hyperides, and Sophocles (only in the later plays) have between 40% and 43%. Isaeus, Lycurgus, Herodotus, and Euripides have between 50% and 60%.

³⁸ Thucydides, however, and Demosthenes XI have one of the first type (I. b. 2) and Plato and Lycurgus have each one of the second type (I. b. 3) which reaches the fourth degree of complication; in Demosthenes VII one sentence has one limb which reaches the fifth degree of complication.

majority of these sentences have only one pair (or division) and are not further subdivided.³⁹

The second group is a small one and consists of sentences which have a single complication outside the division (I. b. 5).⁴⁰ Homer (H 117) gives an example: "If he is *both* fearless *and* if he is insatiate of toil, I say that he will gladly bend his knee, should he escape from fierce war and the bitterness of the foe." Not many sentences of this form have a high degree of complexity,⁴¹ and except in Thucydides multiplication of pairs does not occur until the fourth century, when two pairs at least are common.⁴²

The third group (I. b. 6) in which the bifurcation develops out of the complication is a much larger one, and in the majority of authors⁴³ accounts for more than 30% of the complicated divided sentences. It is illustrated by Plato (*Republic*, 614d): "as he himself came up, he said that he must be a messenger to men of things there, and that they ordered him *both* to hear *and* to see everything in that place." From the time of Sophocles

³⁹ Thucydides, Plato, and Isocrates are notable exceptions: Thucydides has two sentences with three pairs and one sentence with six. Plato has four sentences with two pairs, one with three, and two with four. Isocrates has six with two pairs, two with three pairs, and one with four pairs.

⁴⁰ This type does not occur in Herodotus and accounts for 7% or less of the complicated divided sentences in Isocrates, Sophocles, Demosthenes (VII, XVII, XI); 9% to 15% Aeschines, Dinarchus, Plato, Lysias VI, Isaeus, and Xenophon (*Hellenica* only); 19% to 23% in Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hyperides (most are in VI), and Lysias; 27% to 30% in Thucydides, Euripides, and Homer; 42% in Aeschylus.

⁴¹ One in the passage from the *Prometheus Vincit*, one in Thucydides, one in Lysias, one in Isocrates, two in Isaeus, two in Demosthenes, one in Hyperides, and two in Dinarchus reach the third degree of complication; one in Demosthenes reaches the fourth degree.

⁴² Lysias and Isaeus have each one sentence with three pairs; Plato has one with four and one with six; Lycurgus has one with five, and Dinarchus one with four pairs.

⁴³ Euripides has only 10% of this type (and they are only in the *Helen* and *Bacchae*); Isaeus, Lycurgus, and Plato between 16% and 22%; Hyperides (most are in VI), Thucydides, Sophocles (mostly in the early plays), Xenophon, Demosthenes (XXVII has less than the average), and Lysias between 25% and 33%; Demosthenes (VII, XVIII, XI), Herodotus, and Isocrates between 38% and 46%; Aeschines, Dinarchus, Aeschylus, Homer, and Lysias VI range from 52% to 63%.

there are many highly complicated sentences and many sentences with considerable further subdivision belonging to this group.⁴⁴

The fourth group (I. b. 6a) is again a small one; it consists of sentences which have an extra complication in addition to the complication which develops into a bifurcation.⁴⁵ Aeschylus, Herodotus, Euripides, and the author of *Lysias VI* have no examples; and only five authors, Sophocles, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Aeschines have as many as a fifth of their divided and complicated sentences moulded to this shape. Thucydides anticipates fourth century usage,⁴⁶ because his sentences reach the third and fourth degree of complication and two of the four have two extra pairs.

⁴⁴ Sophocles has two sentences which reach the third degree of complication and one which reaches the fourth, and three sentences containing two pairs and one containing three pairs. Herodotus has one sentence with three degrees of complication and one with four, but only one sentence with two pairs. Thucydides' sentences mostly reach only the second degree, but he has one with two pairs, one with three pairs, and one with six pairs. Lysias has one sentence with four degrees of complication, two with five degrees, and one with six degrees: a third of his sentences of this type have two pairs but none more. In Isocrates the majority of the sentences reach only the second degree of complication: four reach the third, one the fourth, and one the fifth; three sentences have three pairs, one has five pairs, and one has seven pairs. Isaeus has one sentence of the sixth degree of complication and one sentence with four pairs. Plato has three sentences with three degrees of complication, two with four, and one with six; three sentences with three pairs and one with five. Demosthenes' sentences show no great decrease in number from the first to the fifth degree of complication; only one reaches the sixth; the majority have two pairs, three have three pairs, and none more. Of the other orators Dinarchus is noteworthy in that his sentences range from one to nine degrees of complication and from one to eleven pairs.

⁴⁵ E. g. Thucydides, VI, 36, 4.

⁴⁶ One of Lysias' sentences reaches the sixth degree of complication and one has four pairs. Half of Isocrates' sentences are complicated to the third and fourth degree, and he has sentences of this type with three, four, seven, and even twelve pairs. Isaeus has no sentence with more than three degrees of complication or more than four pairs. One of Plato's sentences has four degrees of complication and one has seven pairs. The other orators with the exception of Lysias have sentences up to the fourth degree of complication; none has more than four pairs except a single sentence of Dinarchus which has six.

iii. *Double complicated sentences.*

The double complicated sentences also increase, though not so regularly. Less than a fifth of the sentences in the early plays of Sophocles and in Herodotus are of this type.⁴⁷ After the *Medea* 30% is common and under 20% very rare;⁴⁸ and in the fourth century some passages, such as Isocrates XIII, Demosthenes XI, XVIII, XXVII, have more than 40% of their sentences so formed.⁴⁹

The type can be subdivided into sentences which have or have not further bifurcation of sentences or clauses. In general the sentences with further subdivision are more common than those without. The exceptions are Herodotus, Lysias, and Lycurgus; in the other passages the proportions vary from Thucydides who has 6% only of undivided sentences to Euripides with 43%.⁵⁰

The undivided sentences⁵¹ sometimes have both sentences and sometimes only one complicated. The latter (II. 2) is the more usual in all authors. The type with both sentences complicated (II. 5) does not occur in the passages from Homer, Aeschylus, and Xenophon and only reaches considerable proportions in Euripides, Lysias, Isaeus, and Demosthenes.⁵²

The divided sentences fall under three headings: pairs of sentences with one sentence subdivided (II. 2a), pairs with the second sentence bifurcated and further bifurcated (II. 3), and pairs with both sentences bifurcated (II. 4). The first kind is the most common, the second comes next, and the third is the

⁴⁷ But *Agamemnon* and *Prometheus* have over 20%.

⁴⁸ Thucydides and Sophocles' *Electra* have less than 20%. The *Oedipus Tyrannus* has over 40% and the *Hecuba* and *Bacchae* over 30%.

⁴⁹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, Plato, Aeschines II, and Lycurgus have less than 20%. Isocrates XVI, IX, XII, Hyperides I, and Dinarchus have well above 30%.

⁵⁰ Sophocles, Xenophon, Isaeus, Plato, and Hyperides have between 30% and 35%; Isocrates, Aeschines, Homer, and Dinarchus between 20% and 26%; Aeschylus 39%; Demosthenes 40%.

⁵¹ They may, of course, admit small paired phrases.

⁵² None of these sentences reaches above the second degree of complication except one in Isocrates and three in Demosthenes. The type with one complicated sentence (II. 2) reaches the fourth degree of complication in Isocrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Lycurgus. Paired phrases are not common in either type: Demosthenes has one sentence of each with three paired phrases.

rarest. The first ⁵³ occurs in all passages and except in Thucydides, Xenophon, Lysias, and Hyperides accounts for more than half of the subdivided double sentences. The second ⁵⁴ does not occur in Homer, Herodotus, or Lycurgus; it is rare in Euripides and Plato, but common in Aeschylus, Thucydides, and Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. The third type ⁵⁵ does not occur in Aeschylus, Herodotus, Thucydides, or Lycurgus; only Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes have as many as a third of their divided double sentences with both sentences subdivided.

c. Triple and higher sentences.

Triple sentences are never common and in few passages reach more than 10% of the total number.⁵⁶ Sentences can be com-

⁵³ A considerable number of sentences of the first type (II. 2a.) have no complication at all and these occur in all authors except Lysias and Lycurgus: they make up over half the examples in Herodotus and Euripides, and about a quarter of those in Sophocles, Isocrates, Plato, and Aeschines. Except for a single sentence in Aeschylus, only Isocrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Hyperides, Aeschines, and Dinarchus have sentences of this type which go beyond the second degree of complication. Sentences with more than three pairs occur only in Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Plato.

⁵⁴ In these sentences, which have a divided and further subdivided second sentence (II. 3), there is also sometimes no complication; a third of Isocrates' total is of this type. More commonly, however, there is at least one degree of complication. Sophocles, Xenophon, and Isocrates have sentences with four degrees of complication; Dinarchus reaches the fifth degree, and Hyperides the sixth. Multiplication of pairs is to be expected; Thucydides, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and the author of Demosthenes XI all have sentences with six pairs; Thucydides has one sentence with ten pairs.

⁵⁵ In the third type (II. 4) both sentences are subdivided; sentences without complication are found in Euripides, Lysias, Plato (4 out of 5), Demosthenes, and Dinarchus. Only the fourth century authors go beyond the first degree of complication. Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, and Demosthenes all have sentences which reach the third degree of complication; Isocrates and Demosthenes go beyond to the fourth degree. The fourth century authors also have more than the necessary minimum of three pairs. Xenophon, Isaeus, and Demosthenes all have sentences of this type with six pairs; Lysias and Plato have sentences with nine pairs. Aeschines has one with eleven pairs and Isocrates one with twelve pairs.

⁵⁶ The *Medea* has over 20%: the *Electra* and *Bacchae* also have over 20%.

posed of yet more parallel members. Quadruple sentences occur in Sophocles and Isocrates, quintuple sentences in Isocrates and Hyperides. Isocrates has one set of six parallel sentences, and Plato batches of seven and eight. Many of these sets of sentences have no complication;⁵⁷ further subdivision is not uncommon but seldom exceeds two further sets of pairs (or higher groupings).⁵⁸

VI. AUTHORS.

It should now be possible to give some picture of the methods used by different authors in constructing sentences. Homer's sentence construction is already advanced. His sentences are little shorter than those of Herodotus. He has fewer amplifications than the tragedians (his epic style is not so distended as theirs); but in his simple narrative the number of linked sentences is very high. The number of his clauses is small but can be paralleled in the tragic passages; appositions are frequent, well above the fourth century level: they are able to express without explicit connection the simple Homeric thought relations. Only a quarter of Homer's sentences are complicated; only six sentences reach the second degree, and only one the third. Homer has fewer pairs than any other author and a very high proportion of them are in sentences. The dominant sentence type is I. a. 1.⁵⁹ Of the complicated types I. a. 2 is the commonest and after that the divided complicated group; four of these belong to type I. b. 6, and one reaches the third degree of complication and has two pairs. Homer is a simple author but in such sentences and in the isolated examples of I. b. 5, I. b. 6a, and II. 4 lie the possibilities of future development.

Aeschylus has many amplifications because his style is "mag-

⁵⁷ Euripides has one triplet with four degrees of complication, Iguina one with three degrees and one with five degrees; Demosthenes and Dinarchus also have sentences of this type with three degrees of complication.

⁵⁸ Thucydides has two triple sentences with three further pairs, and one with five; Isocrates, Hyperides, and Dinarchus have each one sentence with five further pairs, and Demosthenes one with four.

⁵⁹ Of the other simple types the double simple sentence (II. 1) is much more common and accounts for 11% of the total; to these should be added two simple sentences of the type with further subdivision (II. 2a).

nificent." He has not a large number of clauses (they increase in the later plays), nor does he use many appositions. Three-quarters of his sentences have no complication, but slightly more reach the second and third degree than in Homer. Except in the *Agamemnon* he has few pairs. Nearly half the total number of sentences belong to type I. a. 1.⁶⁰ The largest number of complicated sentences belong to type I. a. 2. The rest are divided between I. b. 5, I. b. 6, II. 2, II. 2a,⁶¹ II. 3, and III.⁶² Aeschylus' style becomes less padded and more highly organised as he proceeds. The *Prometheus Vincitus*⁶³ differs from the other plays, and its sentence construction would repay study on a larger scale.

Sophocles writes longer sentences than Aeschylus, particularly in his later plays, and has fewer amplifications. He has nearly as many clauses as Herodotus and more appositions than any other author. Less than half of his sentences have no complication and in number of sentences which reach the second, third, and fourth degree of complication he stands between Herodotus and Thucydides. The number of pairs is low in the three early plays, but alone of the tragedians he has sentences containing four pairs. Sentences of types I. b. 2, I. b. 3, and II. 5 appear for the first time. Simple single sentences (I. a. 1) make up a fifth of the whole.⁶⁴ Sophocles has twice as many complicated

⁶⁰ Simple divided sentences (I. b. 1) and simple double sentences (II. 1) make up almost another quarter; in addition one of type II. 2a, two of type II. 3, and four of his five triple sentences have no complication.

⁶¹ One reaches the third degree of complication.

⁶² The complicated sentences seldom have extra pairs: the exceptions are two of class I. a. 2, each with a pair of phrases, one of class II. 2a with an extra pair, and one triple sentence with two extra pairs.

⁶³ The two single complicated sentences with a pair of phrases are both in the *Prometheus*. This play also has a complicated divided sentence of class I. b. 5 which reaches the third degree of complication. In other ways also the *Prometheus* stands rather apart. It has many more clauses than the other plays and a much lower percentage of sentences without complication. It has also a higher percentage of linked sentences, clauses, and phrases. Simple single sentences are less numerous, complicated sentences far more numerous than in any other play: complicated double sentences very nearly reach the high number in the *Agamemnon*.

⁶⁴ Another fifth is made up of simple single divided sentences (I. b. 1) and double simple sentences (II. 1), which last are commonest in the

divided and double sentences as Aeschylus, and both are more common in the later plays than in the earlier. His favorite types are I. b. 6, II. 2, and II. 2a, which together make 20% of his sentences.⁶⁵ Sophocles does not reach great elaboration in complication or subdivision, but his clear and orderly sentences show a variety of structure which looks forward to writers like Lysias.

Euripides' sentences have the same length and the same number of amplifications, but he has more links and more than twice as many linked sentences. He has fewer appositions and far fewer clauses. Over half of his sentences have no complication, and only one sentence reaches the third and fourth degree of complication. Three-quarters of his pairs are in sentences; and fewer sentences contain three pairs than in Sophocles. Euripides has rather more simple divided sentences (I. b. 1) and rather fewer single simple sentences (I. a. 1).⁶⁶ He has fewer of type I. a. 2⁶⁷ and fewer complicated divided sentences, of which only two reach the second degree of complication.⁶⁸ He has more complicated double sentences, having considerably more of types II. 2 and II. 2a,⁶⁹ and more triple sentences, about half of them complicated. Euripides' writing is simple and his sentences more stereotyped than those of Sophocles. He eschews both much complication and many pairs. The *Rhesus*⁷⁰ mes-

early plays: the few remaining simple sentences belong to types II. 2a, III, and IV.

⁶⁵ Of the six examples of I. b. 6, two reach the third degree of complication and one the fourth; three contain two pairs and one contains three pairs. The four examples of II. 2 reach only the first degree and have no further pairs. One of the nine examples of II. 2a reaches the second degree of complication, and three have an extra pair. One of the three examples of II. 3 reaches the fourth degree of complication, and one has an extra pair.

⁶⁶ To 40% of I. a. 1, I. b. 1, II. 1 must be added another 15% composed of simple sentences of types II. 2a, II. 3, II. 4, and III.

⁶⁷ Only one of them reaches the second degree of complication; unlike Sophocles he has paired phrases in four of them.

⁶⁸ Type I. b. 6 provides only two examples, one of which contains an extra pair; types I. b. 2, 3, 5 are more common than in Sophocles.

⁶⁹ One-third of these have no complication of clauses or appositions; one-seventh reach the second degree of complication; one-eighth have extra pairs.

⁷⁰ The *Rhesus* differs from the average performances of all three tragedians. In length of sentences, number of pairs, and appositions

senger speech in some respects stands by itself, and it would be interesting to examine its sentence construction more fully.

Four prose authors may now be considered together: Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon (historian in the *Hellenica*, writer of dialogue in the *Memorabilia*), and Plato (writer of dialogue in *Republic*, III, and the *Laws*, writer of narrative in the *Myth of Er*).

Herodotus' sentences have the same length as Aeschylus'; he has fewer amplifications than the poets and fewer links than any other author. He has more clauses and fewer appositions than Sophocles. He has slightly more complicated sentences than Aeschylus; one reaches the fourth degree of complication. He has the same number of pairs as Aeschylus and a similar distribution of pairs in his sentences. The number of simple single sentences (I. a. 1) is the same as in Aeschylus.⁷¹ Eleven sentences belong to type I. a. 2, and two of them go to the second degree of complication. Divided complicated sentences are as numerous as in Sophocles; they belong to types I. b. 2,⁷² I. b. 3,⁷³ and I. b. 6.⁷⁴ Herodotus has few complicated double sentences, and uses only types II. 2, II. 5, and II. 2a;⁷⁵ his triple

the messenger speech agrees with both Sophocles and Euripides. The number of amplifications is lower than in any other play except the *Trachiniae*; but the number of linked sentences and the total number of links is far higher than in any other play. The number of clauses is higher than in any play of Euripides but below the Sophoclean average. The figures for sentences with and without complication agree most nearly with the *Bacchae*. All the pairs are in sentences, and no sentence has more than two pairs. The number of triads is nearer to Euripides than to Sophocles. The sentence types are very few; I. a. 1 and II. 1 account for about 40% of the whole; II. 2 and II. 2a make another 40%, the rest are III. No sentence has extra pairs.

⁷¹ Simple divided sentences (I. b. 1) and simple double sentences (II. 1) together make up 16% (three simple sentences of type II. 2a make up the total of 63%).

⁷² Three sentences, two of the second degree of complication and one with an extra pair.

⁷³ Five sentences, one of the third degree of complication and two with extra pairs.

⁷⁴ Six sentences, one of the fourth degree of complication and one with an extra pair.

⁷⁵ Only one sentence, which belongs to type II. 2a, reaches the second degree of complication; one sentence of type II. 2 and one of type II. 2a have an extra pair.

sentences are all complicated. Herodotus stands between Aeschylus and Sophocles, though his prose is leaner than their verse. He has not so many pairs as Sophocles in his later plays, nor are his sentence types so varied, but he is not a simple writer as Pherecydes and Hecataeus were simple.

Thucydides has been more influenced by the style of the sophists. His sentences are as long as those in contemporary tragedy. His is a fuller prose than Herodotus', with more amplifications and twice as many linked sentences. Clauses are more numerous and appositions less than in Herodotus. The number of complicated sentences is the same as Sophocles' average; but half as many again of Thucydides' sentences reach the second degree of complication or higher. He has more pairs than Sophocles and many more sentences with several pairs. Type I. a. 1 accounts for little more than a quarter of his sentences. Two of his single complicated sentences reach the third degree of complication. Unlike Sophocles and Euripides, he has more complicated divided than complicated double sentences; the total of both is the same as theirs. He uses type I. b. 3⁷⁶ less than I. b. 2, I. b. 5, I. b. 6, and I. b. 6a.⁷⁷ There is only one example of each of types II. 2 and II. 5; the other complicated double sentences are equally divided between II. 2a and II. 3.⁷⁸ Thucydides is more advanced than any of his predecessors partly because of his greater complication but still more because of his greater use of pairs and subdivision.

The two passages of Xenophon are written in different traditions, narrative and dialogue. His sentences are slightly longer than Herodotus'. The number of amplifications is rather greater in the *Hellenica* than in Thucydides; and lower in the *Memorabilia* than in any other passage. The number of linked sentences is very high in the *Hellenica* and very low in the *Memorabilia*; the total number of links is higher in the *Hellenica* than in any fifth

⁷⁶ Two examples, one containing six pairs.

⁷⁷ Sentences of types I. b. 2, I. b. 6, and I. b. 6a reach the fourth degree of complication and have two extra pairs. One sentence of I. b. 5 has five pairs, and one of I. b. 6 six pairs.

⁷⁸ Only three of the complicated double sentences reach the third degree of complication, but over half of the total have extra pairs. Sentences of type II. 3 have four, five, six, and even ten pairs. The triple sentences, of which three are complicated, have one, two, four, and six pairs or higher groupings.

century author and in the *Memorabilia* very low; the same contrast between dialogue and narrative can be observed in Plato. Clauses are few in the *Hellenica* and very frequent in the *Memorabilia*; appositions are as common in both as in the later tragedians. Both passages have more complicated sentences than Herodotus; the *Hellenica* agrees closely with Sophocles; the *Memorabilia* has fewer simple sentences and more of the higher complicated sentences than Thucydides. The *Hellenica* has fewer pairs than Herodotus, and the *Memorabilia* rather more than Thucydides; the distribution in both passages is more like Thucydides than Herodotus.⁷⁹ Simple single sentences (I. a. 1) are more numerous in both than in Thucydides.⁸⁰ Single complicated sentences (I. a. 2; I. a. 4) are more numerous than in any fifth century passage (and more numerous in the *Memorabilia* than in any other passage).⁸¹ The *Hellenica* has as many complicated divided sentences as Herodotus and the *Memorabilia* as many as Thucydides. The commonest type is I. b. 2 (*Memorabilia* only).⁸² There are two examples of I. b. 5 (both in the *Hellenica*)⁸³ and five examples of I. b. 6.⁸⁴ Type II. 3 is the commonest of the complicated double sentences (6 sentences).⁸⁵ The general impression left by Xenophon is that he is a simple writer, less lean and economical than Herodotus, who has been affected by the general fourth century movement towards greater complication and subdivision, particularly in the *Memorabilia*.

The three passages of Plato come from a comparatively early

⁷⁹ In the *Hellenica* six sentences have three pairs and two have four; in the *Memorabilia* five sentences have five pairs and two have six.

⁸⁰ Types I. b. 1 and II. 1 add 8% in the *Hellenica* and 11% in the *Memorabilia*; there is also one example of II. 2a and one of II. 3 without complication.

⁸¹ Half of these sentences reach the second degree of complication, and two in the *Memorabilia* reach the third.

⁸² About half the examples (three out of seven) reach the second degree of complication, and one sentence has five pairs.

⁸³ Both reach the second degree of complication and one has an extra pair.

⁸⁴ One reaches the fifth degree of complication; two have an extra pair.

⁸⁵ It provides the only examples of the third and fourth degree of complication in this class; one sentence has an extra pair, and one two extra pairs. The single example of II. 4 reaches only the first degree of complication but has three extra pairs.

part of the *Republic*, from the *Myth of Er*, and from the *Laws*. The average length of the sentences is the same as in Xenophon.⁸⁶ The average number of amplifications is high⁸⁷ and as in Xenophon the narrative passage has many more links and in particular many more linked sentences. Plato has fewer clauses than Herodotus,⁸⁸ but appositions are numerous in the *Myth of Er*. The number of simple sentences is high because of the very high proportion in *Republic*, III (74%); complicated sentences are distributed much as in Herodotus, except that Plato has more sentences which reach the third and fourth degree and some sentences which reach the fifth and sixth.⁸⁹ Pairs are slightly commoner than in Xenophon, but nearly half of them are paired phrases;⁹⁰ the distribution of them in sentences is not unlike Xenophon's. Simple single sentences (I. a. 1) make nearly half the total of Plato's sentences.⁹¹ Four-fifths of the single complicated sentences (I. a. 2; I. a. 4) reach only the first degree of complication.⁹² Plato has the same number of divided complicated sentences as Herodotus; type I. b. 6 predominates, otherwise the numbers are fairly even. This group contains twice as many highly complicated sentences⁹³ as the group of double complicated sentences, which is smaller in Plato than in any author since Aeschylus. His favorite types are II. 2⁹⁴ and

⁸⁶ But in detail the figures vary from 13.7 in *Republic*, III to 25 in *Myth of Er*.

⁸⁷ Although in *Republic*, III nearly as low as in the *Memorabilia*.

⁸⁸ The *Myth of Er* has the same low number as Xenophon's *Hellenica*.

⁸⁹ In the early passage of the *Republic* no sentence goes beyond the second degree of complication.

⁹⁰ The *Myth of Er* has more pairs per sentence than the dialogue passages.

⁹¹ Simple divided sentences (I. b. 1) and simple double sentences (II. 1) add 13%; the remaining 4% of simple sentences is made up by uncomplicated sentences of types II. 2a, II. 4, III, VII, VIII.

⁹² But one of type I. a. 2 reaches the fourth degree, and one of type I. a. 4 reaches the third degree; one of type I. a. 2 and two of type I. a. 4 have extra paired phrases.

⁹³ They belong to type I. b. 3 (to the fourth degree), type I. b. 6 (to the sixth degree), and type I. b. 6a (to the third degree). All the types have sentences with extra pairs, I. b. 2 and I. b. 6 with two extra, I. b. 3 with three, I. b. 5 with five, and I. b. 6a with six.

⁹⁴ Of which two reach the fourth degree of complication and one has an extra pair.

II. 2a.⁹⁵ In spite of the many simple single sentences which give the conversational tone to his dialogue Plato's other sentences show considerable complication and great variety of structure.

Lysias is the earliest of the orators, and the passages analysed belong to the first twenty years of the fourth century. His sentences are still fairly short; they have far fewer amplifications⁹⁶ than Isocrates and fewer linked sentences and links in general than the other orators. He has more clauses than any other author and most in his latest speech; appositions are normal for the orators. The number of simple sentences is lower than in any of the authors so far examined; the series of figures for degrees of complication agrees with Isocrates; but Lysias has more sentences of the fifth and higher degrees. He has, however, fewer pairs than any author since Herodotus. The percentage of simple single sentences (I. a. 1) is high compared with the other orators.⁹⁷ Nearly a quarter of his sentences belong to the single complicated group (I. a. 2; I. a. 4).⁹⁸ Complicated divided sentences⁹⁹ are rather less numerous, and complicated double sentences¹⁰⁰ much less numerous than in Isocrates. Lysias writes a leaner prose than the other orators, and because of his large number of clauses and complications may be said to be the clearest and most highly organised. The passage analysed

⁹⁵ Of which two reach the fourth degree and five have one extra pair and one has four extra pairs. One sentence of type II. 4 has five extra pairs and one has eight.

⁹⁶ The earliest speech has most.

⁹⁷ There are few sentences of types I. b. 1 and II. 1.

⁹⁸ A sixth of the total number have two complications (I. a. 4); ten sentences of the total of forty-seven reach the third and fourth degree of complication; four contain pairs of phrases.

⁹⁹ Of the total number of forty, fourteen belong to type I. b. 6, ten to type I. b. 5, seven to type I. b. 3, six to type I. b. 2, and three to type I. b. 6a. In all the types except I. b. 2 there are sentences reaching the third degree of complication, and sentences of types I. b. 6 and I. b. 6a reach the sixth degree. In all the types except I. b. 2 there are sentences with extra pairs; one sentence of type I. b. 6a has three extra pairs.

¹⁰⁰ Twenty-one sentences belong to type II. 2; only two reach the third degree of complication. Nine sentences belong to type II. 5, six to type II. 2a, five to type II. 3, and two to type II. 4; one of type II. 3 and one of type II. 4 reach the third degree of complication. Six sentences in all have extra pairs.

in the sixth speech differs so markedly from Lysias' average performance that the figures confirm the attribution to another author.¹⁰¹

The passages from Isocrates cover a period from 397 B. C. to 342 B. C. and come from a law court speech, a hortatory epistle, and an early and a late display speech. The sentences are longer than in any author except Dinarchus.¹⁰² The number of amplifications approaches that in the tragedians,¹⁰³ and there are more links than in any earlier author but a very small number of linked sentences. Isocrates has considerably fewer clauses than Lysias, Isaeus, and Demosthenes, and fewer appositions than any other writer. The figures for complicated sentences agree with Lysias except that Isocrates falls off in the higher reaches.¹⁰⁴ He has slightly fewer pairs than Thucydides, but the number of sentences with seven or more pairs is equalled only by Dinarchus.¹⁰⁵ The distribution of sentences among the different types disagrees completely with that of Lysias. Very few are simple single sentences (I. a. 1).¹⁰⁶ Single complicated sentences (I. a. 2; I. a. 4) are roughly half as common as in Lysias¹⁰⁷ but divided complicated sentences are rather more common.¹⁰⁸ There

¹⁰¹ The sixth speech of Lysias is ascribed to another writer. The passage analysed differs from the average figures in the following respects; more amplifications (127), fewer clauses (110), more pairs (555), more simple sentences (42.5), more pairs of phrases (27.5), no sentence with more than three pairs, fewer single simple sentences (15), more single divided and simple double sentences (12.5 and 18.5), fewer double complicated sentences (10); a large proportion of type I. a. 4, but no sentences of types I. b. 2, I. b. 6a, II. 2a, II. 3, II. 4, or III.

¹⁰² XII has even longer sentences than Dinarchus.

¹⁰³ The more practical XVI has noticeably fewer.

¹⁰⁴ The two display speeches are more complicated.

¹⁰⁵ XII is in this more highly developed than the other speeches.

¹⁰⁶ Simple divided (I. b. 1) and simple double sentences (II. 1) account for 17.5%; the remaining 5.5% of simple sentences is made up by uncomplicated sentences of types II. 2a, II. 3, III, IV, V, VI.

¹⁰⁷ Of thirty-one only two reach the third, and one the fourth degree of complication; one (type I. a. 4) has an extra pair.

¹⁰⁸ Type I. b. 6 is again the most common (eighteen of a total of fifty-one), then I. b. 6a (twelve), I. b. 3 (ten), I. b. 5 (six), I. b. 2 (five). No sentence of type I. b. 2 exceeds the first degree of complication; the only sentences reaching the fourth degree belong to types I. b. 6 and I. b. 6a; one sentence of type I. b. 6 reaches the fifth degree of complication. The total number of sentences of this class containing extra

are more double complicated sentences than in any previous author and nearly half belong to type II. 2a.¹⁰⁹ Isocrates is a more florid writer than Lysias and elaborates his sentences by the paratactic construction of pairs rather than by the subordination of clauses and appositions. In particular he has further developed the structure and use of the double complicated sentence.

Isaeus writes shorter sentences and has fewer amplifications and links. The number of clauses steadily increases through his speeches, but the average of clauses and appositions is rather lower than in Lysias, and there are fewer sentences of the second and higher degrees of complication. In number of pairs Isaeus considerably exceeds Lysias and they increase through his speeches. Simple single sentences (I. a. 1) stand between Lysias and Isocrates.¹¹⁰ Single complicated sentences (I. a. 2; I. a. 4) also decrease, but the average is higher than in Isocrates.¹¹¹ Divided complicated sentences increase; the average is the same as in Isocrates, but the sentences are much more evenly divided between the types.¹¹² Double complicated sentences are much

pairs is thirty-one, about twice as many in proportion as in Lysias; three sentences of type I. b. 6 and I. b. 6a have seven pairs; one of type I. b. 6a has twelve.

¹⁰⁹ Of the total number of seventy-eight, type II. 2a accounts for thirty-four, type II. 2 for seventeen, type II. 3 for fifteen, type II. 4 for ten, type II. 5 for two. Twelve sentences of types II. 2a and II. 3 have no complication; nineteen sentences of all types reach at least the third degree of complication, eight (of all types except II. 5) reach the fourth. Eleven sentences of type II. 2a, ten sentences of type II. 3, seven sentences of type II. 4 have extra pairs; two sentences of type II. 4 have six extra pairs, one sentence has nine.

¹¹⁰ Divided simple sentences are rare and double simple sentences slightly more common; the numbers for these three types decrease steadily through the speeches; the remaining uncomplicated sentences are of types II. 2a and III.

¹¹¹ Six of the twenty-six have two complications (type I. a. 4); two reach the third degree of complication and one the fourth; two have extra pairs.

¹¹² I. b. 2 and I. b. 3 have nine each, I. b. 5 and I. b. 6a have seven each; only five belong to the usually commoner type I. b. 6. No sentences pass the third degree of complication except one of I. b. 6 which rises to the sixth degree. Rather less than half the sentences have extra pairs; four have two extra pairs, and two (types I. b. 6 and 6a) have three extra pairs.

less frequent than in Isocrates.¹¹³ Isaeus stands between Lysias and Isocrates: fuller than the one, sparer than the other; less highly organised than the one, less carefully subdivided than the other. His favorite sentence types are I. a. 2 and II. 2a.

Demosthenes' sentences are but slightly shorter than those of Isocrates.¹¹⁴ Amplifications average a little less than Lysias,¹¹⁵ but linked sentences are as common as in Isaeus, and the total number of links is higher than in Isocrates. The number of clauses and appositions agrees very closely with Isaeus. Demosthenes has fewer uncomplicated sentences than any other author and they decrease through the speeches; he has more sentences that reach at least the second degree than any other author, and more up to the third degree than any author except Dinarchus; above that his figures agree with Lysias. The number of pairs corresponds with Isaeus, but Demosthenes has fewer sentences with more than four pairs than Isocrates.¹¹⁶ Demosthenes has fewer single simple sentences (I. a. 1) than any other author.¹¹⁷ He has rather more complicated single sentences¹¹⁸ (I. a. 2; I. a. 4) than Isaeus but rather fewer divided complicated sentences;¹¹⁹ only Dinarchus has more complicated double sen-

¹¹³ The numbers for the different types correspond closely with those for Isocrates except that Isaeus has more of type II. 5, and less of type II. 3 and II. 4. The only sentences which reach the third degree of complication are one of type II. 3 and three of type II. 4. Only five of the forty sentences have extra pairs (types II. 2a, II. 3, and II. 4). One of type II. 4 contains six pairs altogether.

¹¹⁴ The *Crown* has longer sentences than the others.

¹¹⁵ XXVII is ahead and close to Isaeus.

¹¹⁶ The passage from his earliest speech has no sentence with more than four pairs.

¹¹⁷ He has very few simple divided sentences (I. b. 1); they decrease through the speeches whereas the small number of double simple sentences (II. 1) increases slightly. The other uncomplicated sentences belong to types II. 2a, II. 4, and III.

¹¹⁸ Nine out of forty-seven belong to type I. a. 4; two of each type have extra pairs, three of type I. a. 2 reach the fourth degree of complication.

¹¹⁹ Of the total of fifty-three type I. b. 6 accounts for twenty, type I. b. 5 for ten, I. b. 2 for nine, and I. b. 6a for eight. Twenty sentences in all reach the third degree of complication; five (belonging to types I. b. 5, I. b. 6, I. b. 6a) reach the fourth degree; three sentences, all belonging to type I. b. 6, go higher. Twenty-three of these sentences in all have extra pairs; six (of types I. b. 2, I. b. 6, and I. b. 6a) have two extra pairs; two of type I. b. 6a have three extra pairs.

tences.¹²⁰ Demosthenes is a more concentrated writer than Isaeus; his sentences show a very high degree of organisation both by subordinate clauses and by subdivision; he has more complicated sentences than any other writer. The three "spurious" speeches of which passages were analysed differ notably from the genuine speeches: the seventh and seventeenth have affinities with each other, the eleventh stands alone.¹²¹

Aeschines' sentences are again slightly shorter. He has as many amplifications as Isocrates¹²² and more linked sentences than any other orator; ¹²³ his total number of links is also very high. He has even fewer clauses than Isocrates but nearly as many appositions as Demosthenes. He has more simple sentences than any of the orators. The number of pairs ¹²⁴ agrees with Lysias, but Aeschines has one sentence with eleven pairs. He has more simple single sentences (I. a. 1) than Demosthenes; ¹²⁵ only Xenophon and Lysias have as high a percentage of complicated single sentences (I. a. 2; I. a. 4).¹²⁶ The figure

¹²⁰ Demosthenes' eighty-seven sentences of this class are divided as follows: type II. 2a, twenty-five; type II. 2, twenty-two; type II. 4, seventeen; type II. 5, thirteen; type II. 3, ten. As in Lysias, a comparatively small number (fifteen) reaches the third degree of complication, and a very small number reaches the fourth degree (one of type II. 2, one of type II. 2a, and one of type II. 4). Twenty-four sentences have extra pairs; one sentence of II. 3 and one of type II. 4 have six pairs in all.

¹²¹ Three passages from speeches, generally assumed to be wrongly ascribed to Demosthenes, show the following variations from the average figures in Demosthenes himself: VII:—more clauses, much fewer uncomplicated sentences, fewer paired sentences, no sentence with more than five pairs, smaller total of links, twice as many divided complicated sentences, fewer double complicated sentences. XVII:—more clauses, fewer uncomplicated sentences, fewer higher complicated sentences, fewer paired sentences, no sentence with more than four pairs, smaller total of links, twice as many divided complicated sentences, fewer double complicated sentences. XI:—sentences much longer, fewer clauses, no sentence with more than four degrees of complication, many more pairs per thousand terms and hundred sentences, more sentences containing many pairs, more links, nearly twice as many double complicated sentences.

¹²² The number in the *Otesiphon* is particularly high.

¹²³ The *False Embassy* nearly reaches the figure of Xenophon's *Hellenica*.

¹²⁴ The figures for pairs are higher in the *Otesiphon* than in the *False Embassy*.

¹²⁵ The numbers for simple divided sentences (I. b. 1) and simple double sentences (II. 1) correspond closely with those in Isocrates.

¹²⁶ Four of the total of twenty-six belong to type I. a. 4; five reach

for divided complicated sentences falls between Lysias and Demosthenes,¹²⁷ but Aeschines has fewer complicated double sentences than any orator except Lycurgus.¹²⁸ He is a more informal writer than the other orators; he has many amplifications and links but fewer clauses and pairs; his favorite sentence types are I. a. 2, I. b. 6, and II. 2a.

Hyperides' sentences are not quite so long and have fewer amplifications.¹²⁹ He has fewer clauses¹³⁰ than Demosthenes and as many appositions. A quarter of his sentences have no complication; the figures for complicated sentences agree in general with those for Demosthenes, but Hyperides has more sentences (particularly in I) which reach the fourth degree and higher. He has slightly more pairs than Demosthenes; a large number of them are in sentences. The figures for sentences with four or more pairs agree with Isaeus.¹³¹ The division of sentences among the main groups is very like the distribution in Demosthenes, except that Hyperides has rather fewer complicated single sentences¹³² and complicated double sentences¹³³

the third degree of complication and over (one rises to the fourth, and one to the fifth); four have pairs of phrases.

¹²⁷ The total of twenty-two sentences is distributed as follows: type I. b. 6, eleven; type I. b. 6a, five; type I. b. 2, four; type I. b. 5, two. The only sentences of the third degree of complication and over belong to types I. b. 6 (two rising to the fourth degree and one to the fifth) and I. b. 6a (one rising to the third degree and two to the fourth). All the types have sentences with extra pairs: one sentence of type I. b. 6 has three extra pairs, two of type I. b. 6a have two extra pairs.

¹²⁸ Ten of the nineteen sentences are of type II. 2a; the rest are evenly distributed over the other types. Two sentences of type II. 2a and one of type II. 3 reach the third degree of complication; one of type II. 2a reaches the fifth degree of complication. Sentences of all the types have extra pairs; one of type II. 4 has eleven pairs.

¹²⁹ His sentences are brought up by the funeral speech.

¹³⁰ I has more than the other speech.

¹³¹ IV alone has sentences with more than four pairs.

¹³² Five of Hyperides' twenty single complicated sentences have two complications (I. a. 4). Very few pass the second degree of complication; one of type I. a. 2 reaches the fourth degree, and one of type I. a. 4 the seventh; one of each type has a pair of phrases.

¹³³ Of the forty double complicated sentences eleven belong to type II. 2, eleven to type II. 2a, ten to type II. 3, five to type II. 4, and three to type II. 5. One of type II. 2 and two of type II. 3 reach the fourth degree of complication, one of type II. 2a and one of type II. 3 reach

and rather more divided complicated sentences.¹³⁴ As a whole, Hyperides' sentence construction is not unlike that of Demosthenes, but his style is rather fuller and slightly less highly organised.

Lycurgus presents a different picture. He has more amplifications than Isocrates and only slightly fewer links than Aeschines. He has fewer clauses than any of the orators and fewer appositions than all except Isocrates; and no orator has so small a number of sentences reaching to the second degree of complication and beyond. He has the same number of pairs as Hyperides but more sentences containing four and more pairs. His sentence construction is less varied than that of the other orators.¹³⁵ Divided and complicated sentences are far more numerous than in any other orator,¹³⁶ but there are as few double complicated sentences as in Aeschines.¹³⁷ Lycurgus is a florid writer with many amplifications and links; he has not the courage to organise his sentences as highly as Demosthenes or to subdivide them as skilfully as Isocrates.

Dinarchus writes longer sentences, has more amplifications, and has over a hundred more "links" than any other author. He has slightly more clauses than Lycurgus and more appositions than any fourth century author except Plato. He has more

the fifth degree, one of type II. 3 reaches the seventh. Eight sentences in all have extra pairs.

¹³⁴ The divided complicated sentences show the following figures: I. b. 3, eight; I. b. 6, seven; I. b. 6a, seven; I. b. 2, five; I. b. 5, four. No sentence of I. b. 2 reaches the third degree of complication; one sentence of type I. b. 6a reaches the fourth degree; one of I. b. 6 and one of I. b. 6a reach the fifth degree. All types except I. b. 5 have extra pairs.

¹³⁵ He has no examples of II. 3 and II. 4, and only one of I. a. 4, II. 5, and III. His uncomplicated sentences are all of types I. a. 1, I. b. 1, and II. 1; he has rather more of I. b. 1 than most orators.

¹³⁶ They are distributed as follows: I. b. 2, seven; I. b. 5, five; I. b. 3, four; I. b. 6, three; I. b. 6a, two. None of the sentences of types I. b. 2 and I. b. 5 exceed the first degree of complication; only one sentence (I. b. 5) has extra pairs and it has four. Three sentences reach the third degree of complication (I. b. 6; I. b. 6a) and one reaches the fourth (I. b. 3); one sentence (I. b. 6a) has three extra pairs and one sentence (I. b. 6) has six extra pairs.

¹³⁷ They belong to types II. 2 (five), II. 2a (three), and II. 5 (one). One sentence of type II. 2 reaches the fourth degree and one has an extra pair; two sentences of type II. 2a have extra pairs.

sentences of the third and higher degrees of complication than any other author. He has rather fewer pairs than Isocrates but more sentences containing a large number of pairs. He has the same number of simple single sentences (I. a. 1) as Lysurgus.¹³⁸ The figures for complicated divided sentences and complicated double sentences agree almost exactly with the figures for Demosthenes. Dinarchus has five sentences of type I. b. 6 and one or two of each of the other types of complicated divided sentence.¹³⁹ Eight of his nineteen double complicated sentences belong to type II. 2a.¹⁴⁰ Dinarchus is a flabby writer who puffs out his sentences with amplifications and links and tries to be more complicated than Demosthenes and more minutely subdivided than Isocrates.

It is therefore possible both to see a general development in sentence construction and to observe the particular tastes of particular authors. In general, sentences grow longer, clauses and pairs become more frequent, while appositions decrease; sentences are more elaborately organised both hypotactically and paratactically, and therefore the higher sentence types become more popular. Inside this general development Thucydides appears as a bold experimenter ahead of his time, and Plato and Xenophon have many features which are more common in the fifth century than the fourth; the orators divide themselves into two groups: the first leads from Lysias through Isaeus to Demosthenes and the second from Isocrates to Lysurgus and Dinarchus.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY, ENGLAND.

¹³⁸ He has a very small number of simple divided sentences (I. b. 1) and simple double sentences (II. 1); there are also uncomplicated sentences of types II. 2a, II. 4, and III. None of his complicated single sentences (I. a. 2; I. a. 4) has an extra pair, and only one reaches the second degree of complication.

¹³⁹ Two sentences of type I. b. 5 reach the third degree of complication, one of I. b. 6a the fourth, and sentences of I. b. 6 reach the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh. Only two sentences of this class have no extra pairs; one (I. b. 5) has three extra pairs, one (I. b. 6a) has five, and one (I. b. 6) has eleven.

¹⁴⁰ Four belong to type II. 2, three each to types II. 3 and II. 4, one to type II. 5. All the types have sentences which reach the second degree of complication; sentences of type II. 2a reach the third and fourth; one sentence of type II. 3 reaches the fifth. Four sentences of types II. 2a, II. 3, and II. 4 have extra pairs.

ARISTOTLE'S *POLITICS*, IV, xii, 11-13

(TEXT AND INTERPRETATION).

In discussing the appointment of state officials Aristotle asserts¹ that the variations in method are found in three *ὅροι*, the different combinations of which will inevitably embrace all the modes of appointment. These *ὅροι* (or "terms") are (1) *τίνες οἱ καθιστάντες* (hereafter for the sake of simplicity called the "electorate"), (2) *ἐκ τίνων* (those eligible for office), and (3) *τίνα τρόπον* (the manner of choosing). Each of these *ὅροι* presents three variants (*διαφοραί*): (1) the "electorate" may include all the citizens, or a limited group, or a combination (*συνδυασμός*), i. e., for some appointments all, for some a limited group; (2) similarly with those eligible for office; (3) and the manner of choosing may be by election, or the casting of lots, or partly one and partly the other. These statements provide for the following scheme of twenty-seven modes.

TABLE I.

Electorate (1st <i>ὅρος</i>)	Eligible for Office (2nd <i>ὅρος</i>)	Manner of Choosing (3rd <i>ὅρος</i>)
A. All	1. All	(a) By Election (b) By Lot (c) By Election + Lot (3rd <i>συνδυασμός</i>)
	2. Some	(a) Election (b) Lot (c) Election + Lot (3rd <i>συνδυασμός</i>)
	3. All + Some (2nd <i>συνδυασμός</i>)	(a) Election (b) Lot (c) Election + Lot (3rd <i>συνδυασμός</i>)

¹ *Politics*, IV, xii, 10 f. (1300a 10-22): *εἰσὶ δ' αἱ διαφοραὶ ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ὧν συντιθεμένων ἀναγκαῖον πάντας εἰληφθῆαι τοὺς τρόπους. ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἐν μὲν τίνες οἱ καθιστάντες τὰς ἀρχάς, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τίνων, λοιπὸν δὲ τίνα τρόπον. ἐκάστου δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων διαφοραὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν· ἡ γὰρ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καθιστᾶσιν ἢ τινές, καὶ ἡ ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οἷον ἡ τιμῆματι ἢ γένει ἢ ἀρετῇ ἢ τιμῇ τοιούτῳ ἄλλῳ . . . καὶ ταῦτα ἡ αἰρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ· πάλιν ταῦτα συνδυάζόμενα, λέγω δὲ τὰς μὲν τινές τὰς δὲ πάντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ.*

Electorate (1st ὅρος)	Eligible for Office (2nd ὅρος)	Manner of Choosing (3rd ὅρος)
B. Some	1. All	(a) Election
		(b) Lot
		(c) Election + Lot (3rd συνδυασμός)
	2. Some	(a) Election
		(b) Lot
		(c) Election + Lot (3rd συνδυασμός)
	3. All + Some (2nd συνδυασμός)	(a) Election
		(b) Lot
		(c) Election + Lot (3rd συνδυασμός)
C. All + Some (1st συνδυασμός)	1. All	(a) Election
		(b) Lot
		(c) Election + Lot (3rd συνδυασμός)
	2. Some	(a) Election
		(b) Lot
		(c) Election + Lot (3rd συνδυασμός)
	3. All + Some (2nd συνδυασμός)	(a) Election
		(b) Lot
		(c) Election + Lot (3rd συνδυασμός)

Later it will appear, I think, that Aristotle had all twenty-seven in mind, but in § 11 he makes two statements envisaging only limited areas of the whole field, and of these two areas one is included within the other.

(a) τούτων [*sc.* τῶν τριῶν ὁρῶν] δ' ἐκάστης ἔσονται τῆς διαφορᾶς τέτταρις τρόποι, ² i. e., there are four modes of each variant of these three ὅροι. Newman suggests a reasonable interpretation of this, based on the assumption that here as a few lines below at the end of § 11 (χωρὶς τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν) Aristotle takes into account each time only the συνδυασμός that belongs to the ὅρος that is being varied. We get then the following table showing τέτταρες τρόποι ἐκάστης διαφορᾶς τῶν τριῶν ὁρῶν.

² Here and throughout I am indebted to the text and *apparatus criticus* given by Immisch in the Teubner edition.

TABLE II.

A. τέτταρες τρόποι ἐκάστης διαφορᾶς τοῦ πρώτου ὅρου

(1) τέτταρες τρόποι τῆς πρώτης διαφορᾶς τοῦ πρώτου ὅρου

A 1a (all	all	election)
A 1b ("	"	lot)
A 2a ("	some	election)
A 2b ("	"	lot)

(2) τῆς δευτέρας διαφορᾶς

B 1a (some	all	election)
B 1b ("	"	lot)
B 2a ("	some	election)
B 2b ("	"	lot)

(3) τῆς τρίτης διαφορᾶς

C 1a (all + some	all	election)
C 1b ("	"	lot)
C 2a ("	some	election)
C 2b ("	"	lot)

B. τοῦ δευτέρου ὅρου

(1) τῆς πρώτης διαφορᾶς

A 1a (all	all	election)
A 1b ("	"	lot)
B 1a (some	"	election)
B 1b ("	"	lot)

(2) τῆς δευτέρας διαφορᾶς

A 2a (all	some	election)
A 2b ("	"	lot)
B 2a (some	"	election)
B 2b ("	"	lot)

(3) τῆς τρίτης διαφορᾶς

A 3a (all	all + some	election)
A 3b ("	"	lot)
B 3a (some	"	election)
B 3b ("	"	lot)

C. τοῦ τρίτου ὅρου

(1) τῆς πρώτης διαφορᾶς

A 1a (all	all	election)
A 2a ("	some	election)
B 1a (some	all	election)
B 2a ("	some	election)

(2) τῆς δευτέρας διαφορᾶς

A 1b (all	all	lot)
A 2b ("	some	lot)
B 1b (some	all	lot)
B 2b ("	some	lot)

(3) τῆς τρίτης διαφορᾶς

A 1c (all	all	election + lot
A 2c ("	some	"
B 1c (some	all	"
B 2c ("	some	"

Each variant of each "term" in the above table shows four "modes," since only the coupling (*συνδυασμός*) belonging to the "term" in question is taken into account; and by eliminating duplications we find the total number of modes here considered reduced from thirty-six to twenty, viz., A 1 a, b, c, A 2 a, b, c, A 3 a, b, B 1 a, b, c, B 2 a, b, c, B 3 a, b, C 1 a, b, C 2 a, b. There are thus seven (A 3 c, B 3 c, C 1 c, C 2 c, C 3 a, b, c) which are omitted because they each involve two or three *συνδυασμοί*.

(b) Aristotle then continues in § 11: ἡ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ πάντων αἰρέσει ἢ πάντες ἐκ πάντων κλήρω (καὶ [ἡ] ἐξ ἀπάντων ἢ ὡς ἀνὰ μέρος, οἷον κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ δήμους καὶ φρατρίδας ἕως ἂν διέλθῃ διὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἡ ἀεὶ ἐξ ἀπάντων) <ἡ πάντες ἐκ τινῶν αἰρέσει ἢ πάντες ἐκ τινῶν κλήρω>³ ἢ καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕτως τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως. πάλιν εἰ τινες οἱ καθιστάντες, ἡ ἐκ πάντων αἰρέσει ἢ ἐκ πάντων κλήρω ἢ ἐκ τινῶν αἰρέσει ἢ ἐκ τινῶν κλήρω ἢ τὰ μὲν οὕτως τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως (λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν [ἐκ πάντων] αἰρέσει τὰ δὲ κλήρω). ὥστε δώδεκα οἱ τρόποι γίνονται χωρὶς τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν.

Here, for the purpose of illustration, Aristotle confines himself to the modes produced by variants of the third "term" alone (manner of choosing), and so gives us A 1 a, b, c, <A 2 a, b, c>, B 1 a, b, c, B 2 a, b, c, which will be seen to coincide with the modes exhibited under C in our second table. We thus have twelve out of the thirty-six (or, eliminating duplicates, twenty) items of Table II.

So far, then, Aristotle has told us (a) that each variant of each "term," if only one *συνδυασμός* be employed (the one belonging to the term under consideration), provides four modes; (b) that since there are three variants of each term, the total number of modes for each term (with only one *συνδυασμός*) is twelve.

From this point, having illustrated his meaning in a limited way, Aristotle proceeds (§§ 12, 13) to consider the constitutional complexion given by the modes; and there is no reason now why he should fail to label modes involving two or three *συνδυασμοί*. In fact, even in the mutilated text as printed by Immisch, there is evidence that he does include in his survey at least the second *συνδυασμός*.⁴ The whole passage is full of pitfalls for the copyist, and appears to have suffered from transposition, from inclusion of glosses, and particularly from omissions due to similarity of terminations in phrases. Immisch has already pretty well taken care of the glosses; Spengel has furnished one of the needed supplements of lost phrases; and I believe that one essential change of punctuation from that of the Teubner text, transposition of one word,⁵ and inclusion of two more supplements provide a text that gives a complete survey of the twenty-seven modes which Aristotle had in mind and a reasonable allocation

³ Conring's supplement as quoted by Immisch.

⁴ Cf. § 12: τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν. So § 13 *init.*

⁵ Already suggested in the Latin version of Guillelmus and in a gloss or correction of one set of MSS.

of them to the four types of government of which he is treating.⁹ What Aristotle wrote, then, I suggest one can disentangle from the following text by omitting the expressions within square brackets. (§ 12) τούτων δ' αἱ μὲν δύο καταστάσεις δημοτικά, τὸ πάντας ἐκ πάντων <καὶ τὸ πάντας τὰς μὲν ἐκ τινῶν τὰς δ' ἐκ πάντων>⁷ αἰρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἰρέσει τῶν ἀρχῶν. τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἅμα μὲν καθιστάναι, ἐξ ἀπάντων δ' ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ αἰρέσει ἢ ἀμφοῖν, ἢ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν <ἢ αἰρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ>⁸ ἀμφοῖν (τὸ δὲ ἀμφοῖν λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἰρέσει) πολιτικόν,⁹ καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων ἢ αἰρέσει καθιστάναι ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἰρέσει, [ὀλιγαρχικόν] ὀλιγαρχικώτερον δέ. [καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν] τὸ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν¹⁰ πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς. [ἢ τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ] τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ (μὴ γιγνόμενον δ' ὁμοίως)¹¹ καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐξ ἀπάντων οὐκ ὀλιγαρχικόν.¹² τὸ

⁹ δημοκρατία, πολιτεία, ὀλιγαρχία, ἀριστοκρατία.

⁷ The vulgate text is impossible. Aristotle professes to give *two* schemes that are δημοτικά, but we have only A 1 a, b, c, which is not two but either *three* or *one*. The supplement provides for the addition of A 3 a, b, c, a group which is nearest in political character to A 1 a, b, c, and in fact is the only other one that might be characterized as δημοτικόν.

⁸ Supplement by Spengel (Immisch).

⁹ Immisch follows πολιτικόν with a full stop; but his bracketing of ὀλιγαρχικόν a little farther along compels one to interpret τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων κτλ. as another πολιτικόν type. This is supported both by the introductory καὶ τό (instead of τὸ δέ as usual where a new type is being treated) and by a consideration of the nature of the arrangement in question (= B 1 a, b, c), which cannot be oligarchic, since all citizens are eligible for office, but has a tinge of oligarchy in the fact that those who appoint are a limited group.

¹⁰ Immisch reads καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν and brackets τὸ δὲ τὰς . . . ἐκ τινῶν. It seems to me that the present text is favored by the sort of connective used (adversative as against copulative) and by the general form of expression (ἐκ πάντων . . . ἐκ τινῶν as against ἀμφοῖν, a word elsewhere reserved for manner of choosing).

¹¹ Newman understands κλήρῳ with γιγνόμενον and takes the phrase to mean that even though the choice is not made by lot, but by election, the situation is just as truly oligarchical.

¹² For τινὰς ἐξ ἀπάντων οὐκ ὀλιγαρχικόν Immisch keeps the vulgate τινὰς ἐξ ἀπάντων, with the following note in his *apparatus criticus*: "post ἀπάντων add. non oligarchicum Guil., οὐκ ὀλιγαρχικόν glossam praebebat p²." I believe that it is this ὀλιγαρχικόν which has been misplaced in the MSS just before ὀλιγαρχικώτερον a few lines above.

δὲ¹³ ἐκ τινῶν αἰρέσει <ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ τὰ μὲν κλήρῳ τὰ δ' αἰρέσει> πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν.

There is one expression in the second sentence of § 12 that needs comment, viz., τὸ μὴ πάντας ἅμα μὲν καθιστάναι. Just what does Aristotle mean? We can dismiss at once the possibility of equating this with τὸ τινὰς καθιστάναι, an arrangement taken up later in the section. One is tempted at first sight to regard it as parallel to the expression used in § 11 of those eligible for office,

¹³ Immisch adopts Rabe's *τοτέ δὲ*. The text of these last two sentences as published by Immisch (τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐξ ἀπάντων τοτέ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν αἰρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν) is supremely unconvincing. (a) If *τινὰς* be taken as masculine (in accord with the preceding text) we have the intrusion of something new, a crossing of lines that Aristotle manifestly did not contemplate in §§ 10, 11; i.e., a system wherein some of the offices are filled by a limited group choosing (in some unspecified manner) from all the citizens, and the rest are filled by all the citizens choosing by election from a limited group,—a confusing cross between B 1 and A 2a. In VI, i, 2 (1316b 39-1317a 10) Aristotle explicitly disclaims having taken hybrids into account: *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς συναναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπισκεπτέον πάντων τῶν τρόπων· ταῦτα γὰρ συνδυαζόμενα ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπαλλάττειν, ὥστε ἀριστοκρατίας τε ὀλιγαρχικὰς εἶναι καὶ πολιτείας δημοκρατικωτέρας. λέγω δὲ τοὺς συνδυασμοὺς οὓς δεῖ μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖν, οὐκ ἐσκεμμένοι δ' εἶσι νῦν, οἷον ἂν τὸ μὲν βουλευόμενον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρέσις ὀλιγαρχικῶς ἢ συντεταγμένον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἢ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον ὀλιγαρχικῶς, ἀριστοκρατικῶς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρέσις, ἢ κατ' ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον μὴ πάντα συντεθῇ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας οἰκεία.* (It cannot mean C 3a, for this is already taken account of in § 12, with Spengel's inevitable supplement.) And why omit reference to method of appointment in the first half, and limit to election in the second half? And how could a system be dubbed *ἀριστοκρατικόν* which leaves some of the offices wide open to any citizen? (b) If *τινὰς* be taken as feminine, we have a break with Aristotle's normal type of expression, which would be τὸ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐξ ἀπάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν αἰρέσει πάντας (= A 3a). This, while an obstacle, is not an insuperable one; but there is a decisive objection in that this mode of appointment (A 3a) is already taken care of at the beginning of § 12 (cf. n. 7). And again, why limit to the method *αἰρέσει*, since the manner of choosing is nowhere in this chapter treated as a significant factor?

The text here suggested provides a simple and normal expression. But it does more than that; added to the supplement given above (cf. n. 7) it fills out a complete consideration of all the twenty-seven modes that Aristotle had in mind in §§ 10, 11. Without these supplements the text covers only A 1a, b, c (§ 12), B 1a, b, c (§ 12), B 2a, b, c (§ 13), B 3a, b, c (§ 13), C 1a, b, c (§ 12), C 2a, b, c (§ 12), C 3 <a, b, c> (§ 12, with Spengel's supplement), plus a hybrid that cannot be placed anywhere in the scheme and produces sheer confusion.

viz., ἐξ πάντων . . . ὡς ἀνὰ μέρος, κτλ., and thus refer it to a situation where the electorate would comprise all the citizens, but only a part (e. g., one tribe) at a time. In view of the present context, this would be attributing to such cases a political significance. But, if that is correct, why did not Aristotle provide for them in §§ 10 f.? There, in an all-embracing statement, which must cover all that he regards as being significant, he asserts that the three "terms" have each *three variants*, which he then specifies. The assumption which we are now considering would present a *fourth* variant each for "terms" 1 and 2. Inasmuch as such a variant is not embraced in Aristotle's scheme as outlined in §§ 10 f., we must conclude that for him it had no political significance; it is not a true variant but merely a non-significant alternative form of these two "terms." This is borne out by xi, 2 f. (1298a 9-17): τὸ μὲν οὖν πάντας καὶ περὶ πάντων δημοτικόν· τὴν τοιαύτην γὰρ ἰσότητα ζητεῖ ὁ δῆμος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ πάντας πλείους, εἰς μὲν τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντας ἀθρώους, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Τηλεκλέους ἐστὶ τοῦ Μιλησίου· καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ πολιτείαις βουλευόνται αἱ συναρχαὶ συνιοῦσαι, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζουσι πάντες κατὰ μέρος ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν καὶ τῶν μορίων τῶν ἐλαχίστων παντελῶς ἕως ἂν διεξέλθῃ διὰ πάντων. Another reason for rejecting the above suggested interpretation is that it leaves a gap in the scheme; all of group C is omitted, and yet group C is clearly visualized by Aristotle in §§ 10 f. It would seem, then, that the expression which we are trying to elucidate (τὸ μὴ πάντας ἅμα μὲν καθιστάναι) is what Aristotle would normally (and more clearly) express by τὸ τὰς μὲν πάντας τὰς δὲ τινὰς καθιστάναι. If so, group C is brought within Aristotle's purview and the scheme of twenty-seven modes is rounded out completely.

Actually, this number may be considered as reduced to nine, because Aristotle here attaches no significance to variants in the manner of choosing, whether it be by election or by lot or by a combination of these. In some other passages, it is true, he speaks of appointment by lot as democratic, appointment by election as ἀριστοκρατικόν or ὀλιγαρχικόν.¹⁴ But in several places

¹⁴ Cf. *Politics*, II, viii, 4 (1273a 17 f.): τὸ δὲ ἀμύσθους καὶ μὴ κληρωτὰς ἀριστοκρατικὸν θετέον; II, ix, 2 (1273b 39-41): εἶναι γὰρ [sc. ἐνιοι οἶονται] τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρεῶν πάγῃ βουλὴν ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρετὰς ἀριστοκρατικόν; IV, vii, 3 (1294b 7-9): δοκεῖ δημοκρατικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ κληρωτὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς, τὸ δ' αἰρετὰς ὀλιγαρχικόν; *ibid.*, 5 (1294b 31-33): οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν [sc. ἐγχειροῦσι λέγειν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν] διὰ τὸ πολλὰ

he admits appointment by election into a democratic system;¹⁵ and in the present passage, starting by distinctly including election, lot, and a combination of the two as features of democracy, he continues as if the matter were one of indifference, the real criteria being (a) who has a voice in the appointment of officials and (b) who has the right to stand for office.

We may now proceed with a general view of §§ 12 f., the most vital in the whole passage.

τούτων at the beginning is all-inclusive; and we get then in four sentences a critique of all twenty-seven modes in the following order: (1) A 1 a, b, c, <A 3 a, b, c>; (2) C 1 a, b, c, C 3 <a, b>, c, B 1 a, b, c, B 3 a, b, c; (3) B 2 a, b, c; (4) A 2 a, <b, c>.

Aristotle's allocation of these modes to the four types of government will be most readily appraised from the following table, and, if we bear in mind, first, Aristotle's insistence (a) on the close connection between ἀριστοκρατία and πολιτεία¹⁶ and

ἔχειν ὀλιγαρχικά, οἷον τὸ πάσας αἰρετὰς εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν κληρωτήν. Cf. also IV, xi, 6 f. (1298a 35-1298b 11); VI, i, 10 (1317b 41-1318a 3); II, iii, 11 (1266a 5-9).

¹⁵ Cf. *Polítics*, IV, xi, 4 f. (1298a 19-34): ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος τὸ πάντας ἀθρόους . . . τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς ἀρχὰς βουλευέσθαι τὰς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τεταγμένας, αἰρετὰς οὖσας ἐξ ἀπάντων ἢ κληρωτάς· ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ἀπαντᾶν τοὺς πολίτας . . . τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς ἀρχὰς διοικεῖν αἰρετὰς οὖσας, ὅσας ἐνδέχεται· τοιαῦται δ' εἰσὶν ὅσας ἄρχειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς ἐπισταμένους . . . οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τρόποι δημοκρατικοὶ πάντες; VI, i, 8 (1317b 18-21): τὰ τοιαῦτα δημοτικά· τὸ αἰρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς πάντας ἐκ πάντων . . . τὸ κληρωτὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ πάσας ἢ ὅσαι μὴ ἐμπειρίας δέονται καὶ τέχνης; VI, ii, 3 (1318b 27-31): καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τῇ πρότερον ῥηθείᾳ δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὑπάρχειν εἰσθελ, αἰρεῖσθαι μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ εὐθύνειν καὶ δικάζειν πάντας, ἄρχειν δὲ τὰς μεγίστας αἰρετοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων; VI, iii, 5 (1320b 11-17) (of democracy at Tarentum): τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐπιήρησιν διττὰς τὰς μὲν πλεονεξίας τὰς δὲ κληρωτάς, τὰς μὲν κληρωτάς ὅπως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν μετέχῃ, τὰς δ' αἰρετὰς ἵνα πολιτεύωνται βέλτιον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς μερῶν, τοὺς μὲν κληρωτοὺς τοὺς δ' αἰρετοὺς. πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰς δημοκρατίας κατασκευάζειν εἰρηται. Further, in IV, iv, 1-7; v, 1, 3-8, where Aristotle is presenting types of democracy and oligarchy, he makes no reference to αἵρεσις or κλήρωσις.

¹⁶ Cf. *Polítics*, II, viii, 3 (cited in n. 17); IV, vii, 3 (1294b 10 f.): ἀριστοκρατικὸν τοῖνον καὶ πολιτικὸν τὸ ἐξ ἐκατέρας ἐκάτερον λαβεῖν; IV, ix, 2 (1295a 31-34): καὶ γὰρ ἂς καλοῦσιν ἀριστοκρατίας . . . τὰ μὲν ἐξωτέρω πλῆτονσι καὶ πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων τὰ δὲ γειτνιώσι τῇ καλουμένῃ πολιτείᾳ διὸ περὶ ἀμφοῖν ὡς μιᾶς λεκτέον; IV, xi, 7 (1298b 10 f.): τὰ μὲν πολιτείας ἀριστοκρατικῆς ἐστὶ τούτων τὰ δὲ πολιτείας αὐτῆς; IV, xiii, 4 (1301a 11-14):

(b) on the middle position of *πολιτεία* and *ἀριστοκρατία* as against *δημοκρατία* on the one side and *ὀλιγαρχία* on the other,¹⁷ and, second, his acceptance of the view that of these two middle types of constitution *πολιτεία* leans toward *δημοκρατία* and *ἀριστοκρατία* toward *ὀλιγαρχία*,¹⁸ we shall be convinced, I think, that (with perhaps one exception) it is a satisfactory distribution.

TABLE III.

Electorate		Those Eligible	Characteristic
A 1 a, b, c	All	All	δημοτικόν (§ 12)
A 2 a, <b, c>	"	Some	ἀριστοκρατικόν (§ 13)
<A 3 a, b, c>	"	All + Some	δημοτικόν (§ 12)
B 1 a, b, c	Some	All	πολιτικόν, ὀλιγαρχικώτερον δὲ (§ 12)
B 2 a, b, c	"	Some	ὀλιγαρχικόν (§ 13)
B 3 a, b, c	"	All + Some	πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς (§ 13)
C 1 a, b, c	All + Some	All	πολιτικόν (§ 12)
C 2 a, b, c	"	Some	"
C 3 <a, b, c>	"	All + Some	"

Obviously A 1 and B 2 represent the two extremes and are properly designated respectively as *δημοτικόν* and *ὀλιγαρχικόν*.

τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δημοτικά, . . . τὰ δὲ δεύτερα ὀλιγαρχικά, . . . τὰ δὲ τρίτα ἀριστοκρατικά καὶ πολιτικά, . . . ; V, i, 4 (1301b 8-10): . . . οἷον ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ δημοκρατίαν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ πολιτείαν καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐκ τούτων ἢ ταύτας ἐξ ἐκείνων . . .

¹⁷ Cf. *Politics*, II, viii, 3 (1273a 4-6): τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὰ μὲν εἰς δῆμον ἐκκλίνει μᾶλλον τὰ δ' εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν; IV, vi, 2 (1293b 33 f.): ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν μείζεις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας; IV, vii, 2 (1294a 41 f.): διὸ καὶ πολιτικόν, μέμικται γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν; IV, vii, 3 (cited in n. 16); V, vi, 3 (1307a 5-12): λύονται δὲ μάλιστα αἱ τε πολιτεαὶ καὶ αἱ ἀριστοκραταὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτεῖα τοῦ δικαίου παρέκβασιν. ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ μὴ μεμείχθαι καλῶς ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτεῖα δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ δύο· λέγω δὲ τὰ δύο δῆμον καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν. τῶν τε γὰρ οἱ πολιτεαὶ τε πειρῶνται μειγρύναι καὶ αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἀριστοκρατιῶν.

¹⁸ Cf. *Politics*, IV, vi, 2 (1293b 34-37): εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινοῦσας ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας; V, vi, 4 (1307a 12-23): διαφέρουσι γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων πολιτειῶν αἱ ἀριστοκραταὶ τούτῳ [sc. a point previously mentioned; cf. text in n. 17] . . . τὰς γὰρ ἀποκλινοῦσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἀριστοκρατίας καλοῦσιν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος πολιτείας . . . ὅλως δ' ἐφ' ὁπότερον ἂν ἐγκλίῃ ἡ πολιτεία, ἐπὶ ταῦτα μεθίσταται . . . οἷον ἡ μὲν πολιτεία εἰς δῆμον, ἀριστοκρατία δ' εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν.

A 3 is only a slight modification of A 1, and no one could object to bracketing these two together.

The other six may all be reasonably placed in the middle group comprising *πολιτεία* and *ἀριστοκρατία*. Of these, C 1 and C 3, permitting all the citizens, either in all cases or in some, to act as the appointive body, may be said to lean toward *δημοκρατία* and hence be termed correctly *πολιτικά*.

A 2, confining the appointees to a limited group, but with everybody privileged to participate in appointing, leans enough toward B 2 to be rated as *ἀριστοκρατικόν*.

Of B 1 and B 3, the latter seems to me to lean more toward oligarchy, and perhaps Aristotle might elucidate his characterizations of these two by saying that in *πολιτικόν*, *ὀλιγαρχικώτερον* δέ he meant "characteristic of a *πολιτεία*, but with a tinge of *ὀλιγαρχία*," whereas in *πολιτικόν ἀριστοκρατικῶς* he meant "characteristic of a *πολιτεία* but with so much of *ὀλιγαρχία* about it that it smacks of *ἀριστοκρατία*."

Aristotle's gradation, then, from *δημοτικόν* to *ὀλιγαρχικόν* would appear to be as follows.

TABLE IV.

Electorate	Those Eligible	Characteristic
A 1 All	All	<i>δημοτικόν</i>
A 3 "	All + Some	"
C 1 All + Some	All	<i>πολιτικόν</i>
C 3 "	All + Some	"
C 2 "	Some	"
B 1 Some	All	<i>πολιτικόν, ὀλιγαρχικώτερον δέ</i>
B 3 "	All + Some	<i>πολιτικόν ἀριστοκρατικῶς</i>
A 2 All	Some	<i>ἀριστοκρατικόν</i>
B 2 Some	"	<i>ὀλιγαρχικόν</i>

The real difficulty, I think, is found in labelling C 2 as *πολιτικόν*; it appears to me to be on the oligarchic side of A 2, and I should have been inclined to set it between that and B 2. But since the label *πολιτικόν* is vouched for in what editors regard as a sound portion of the vulgate text, the flaw (if it is one) must be due not to faulty MS tradition but to Aristotle himself, and so cannot be remedied. Otherwise, I suggest, the text as emended exhibits on Aristotle's part an adequate consideration of the complete scheme of twenty-seven modes with which he begins his discussion.

O. J. TODD.

TOPICS OF PITY IN THE POETRY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

The theory of the emotion of pity in Greek and Latin literature has been sketched in a German dissertation¹ and has received notice in hand-books for the history of ideas.² No detailed study, however, of either the theory or the topics and contexts of pity in ancient literature has been made, though some divisions of the subject have fared better than others.³ It is the purpose of this paper to contribute a chapter towards such a study by presenting as fully as the frequently fragmentary nature of the material permits an account of the discussions of pity and references to it that occur in the poetry of the Roman Republic. And since this is an intermediary chapter, it will be necessary to draw upon the larger history of pity for illustration and elucidation.

Pity is not a simple or clear-cut emotion. At one extreme of its range it is almost scorn,⁴ at the other it is so "akin to love" that it is not always possible to distinguish it from a general feeling of kindness and good will. Thus *pietas* may fairly be translated "loving kindness," as Miss Steuart turns it in her translation of Ennius' *O pietas animi*.⁵ But, waiving the question at what period in Latin literature *pietas* comes to mean "pity,"⁶ I find no context in the poetry of the Republican period

¹ Konrad von Orelli, *Die philosophische Auffassungen des Mitleids* (Bonn, C. Georgi, 1912). I here gladly acknowledge my deep obligation to the librarian of Columbia University for courtesies extended to me there.

² Rudolf Eisler, *Wörterbuch d. phil. Begriffe*, s. v. "Mitleid"; Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. "Pity"; *R.-E.*, s. v. "Eleos"; Schmidt, *Ethik d. alt. Gr.*, II, pp. 290-294.

³ Cf., e. g., for the Altar of Pity in Athens, Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, II, pp. 436-440; for Vergil's compassion, E. Adelaide Hahn, "Vergil and the Under-Dog," *T. A. P. A.*, LVI (1925), pp. 185-212.

⁴ Cf. Tennyson's "scornful pity," *Geraint and Enid*, 859; and the horrible pity of Grandet for his servant Nanon, a pity which was calculated to keep her mindful of her condition when Grandet employed her (Balzac, *Eugénie Grandet*, *ad init.*).

⁵ Ethel Mary Steuart, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*, p. 99.

⁶ Cf. the brilliant discussion of Henry, *Aeneidea*, I, pp. 175-187; and Cyril Bailey, *Religion in Vergil*, pp. 80-85.

in which *pius* seems to mean "pitying" or *pietas* "pity." On the other hand, a tragic fragment of unknown authorship⁷ seems to mark a clear difference between *miser cordia* and *pietas*, in that the speaker advances from a general appeal for pity to a particular and more cogent appeal to the bond of brotherhood and the *pietas* involved therein:

Te nihil

hominum fortunae, nihil commiserescit meae?
Finge advenam esse; nihil fraterni nominis
sollemne auxilium et nomen Pietatis movet?

Schopenhauer says that weeping is caused by sympathy for oneself, and among other illustrations cites the tears of Odysseus on hearing Demodocus' song of the fall of Troy.⁸ The circumstance that it contained a rare word for "cloak" has preserved Livius Andronicus' version of the previous occasion in the same book when Ulysses wept at another song about himself:⁹ *simul ac lacrimas de ore noegeo deterisit*. This as it were objective sympathy which a man feels with himself as he is reminded of the vicissitudes of his fortunes may be sorrow's crown of sorrow that remembers happier things, the sentiment expressed by a fragment of Accius' *Eurysaces*: *Heu me miserum, cum haec recordor, cum illos reminiscor dies*.¹⁰ And it may be a pleasant kind of pity as in happier circumstances one reviews past misfortune. Such pleasure Cicero expects to find in reading Luceius' account of his consulship,¹¹ and this pleasurable recollection of past grief has a long tradition in ancient literature, beginning with Homer's *Odyssey*, and proceeding through a fragment of Euripides which Cicero translates: *suavis laborum est praeteritorum memoria*.¹² In his letter to Luceius Cicero

⁷ *Trag. Incert.*, 110-113 W. In my references to the fragments of Latin poetry W. = E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Loeb Classical Library, 1935-38, three volumes); R. = Otto Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta* (2nd edition, 1871, two volumes).

⁸ Schopenhauer, *Sämtliche Werke*, II, p. 697 (Reclam); Homer, *Od.*, VIII, 521 ff.

⁹ Homer, *Od.*, VIII, 83-89; Livius Andronicus, *Odissia*, 22 W.

¹⁰ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 342 W.

¹¹ Cicero, *Ad Fam.*, V, 12, 5.

¹² Cicero, *De Fin.*, II, 105. Cf. Homer, *Od.*, XV, 400 f., and Euripides, *fr.* 113 N² (see Nauck's note for further parallels). It is to such pleasure that Aeneas looks forward when he says (Vergil, *Aen.*, I, 203): *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*.

correlates with this pleasant recollection of past grief the pity felt by one who himself free from pain watches another's misfortunes, and Cicero finds that pity under such conditions is pleasurable: *ceteris vero nulla perfunctis propria molestia, casus autem alienos sine ullo dolore intuentibus etiam ipsa misercordia est iucunda*. But as Cicero proceeds to offer examples of the sort of trials the spectacle of which offers a pleasurable sense of pity, e. g., the noble and stoic death of Epaminondas, we gather that the element of pleasure which he finds in such pity arises rather from the interest of the story of the trial, and the reader's admiration of the courage shown by the hero in his downfall: *at viri saepe excellentis ancipites varique casus habent admirationem, expectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem: si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima lectionis voluptate*.

Martha observed a resemblance between Cicero's pleasurable pity and the sentiment expressed in the opening lines of the second book of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*:¹³

Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis,
e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
non quia vexari quemquamst iucunda voluptas,
sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.

But, whereas Lucretius develops his eloquent proem out of a proverbial expression, *ἐξάντης λείσσω τοῦμόν κακὸν ἄλλον ἔχοντα*,¹⁴ or, as Cicero elsewhere puts it, *cupio istorum naufragia ex terra intueri*,¹⁵ in the letter to Lucceius Cicero has woven this commonplace together with the thought that the memory of one's own past tribulations is sweet. There is furthermore an essential difference of purpose and meaning in the two passages. Lucretius' pleasure in the misfortunes of others is but a means to the recommendation of his philosophy to the blind souls that have not yet seen the light, whereas Cicero's pleasure in pity is marked by an admiration of the commiserated person, the moral effect of which might be to inspire the pitier to meet his own misfortunes with greater courage. It may be observed that Aristotle does not relate the pleasurable character of recollections of events

¹³ C. Martha, *Mélanges de littérature ancienne*, p. 173.

¹⁴ Leutsch and Schneidewin, I, pp. 81 f. Cf. Pearson on Sophocles, fr. 636.

¹⁵ Cicero, *Ad Att.*, II, 7, 4.

in themselves unpleasant¹⁶ to self-pity, though in his discussion of pity he says that the pitiable must be such as the pitier recalls having suffered, or may expect to suffer, if not in his own person, in that of one near to him.¹⁷ And when in the *Politics* Aristotle recognizes that pleasure attends the feeling of pity, he means the pleasure consequent on the relief of the emotions, the *catharsis*,¹⁸ a pleasure which is, I think, unrelated to the pleasure to which Cicero refers.

A fragment of Ennius' *Annales* records an occasion in Roman history when perhaps the wives of condemned captives¹⁹ sought by their tears to move their enemy to take pity on them: *cogebant hostes lacrumantes ut misererent*. The scanty remains of Republican tragedy are not such as to enable us to judge accurately of the Roman tragedian's criticism of his nation's policy with regard to the victims of its warfare. We can, however, imagine that the opportunities offered for pathetic treatment of the inhumanity of warfare and the glad blessing of mercy by such *fabulae praetextae* as the *Ambracia* and *Sabinae* of Ennius, and the *Paulus* of Pacuvius,²⁰ were not overlooked. To be sure, the record of Roman armies does not argue for a compassionate character in the Roman,²¹ but we should hesitate for that reason to pass an adverse judgment on the Roman's sense of pity, though it is no doubt true that the very continuity of Rome's wars inured her citizens to cruelty, as Cicero, recalling a day when the Roman people was considered merciful to its foes, observes that in his time domestic cruelty by long use had taken from even the gentlest souls their capacity for pity.²² Finally,

¹⁶ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1370 b 1-7. At *Poet.* 1455 a 2 f. Aristotle uses the scene in which Odysseus weeps as he is reminded of the past by the song of Demodocus to illustrate a type of *ἀναγνώσις*.

¹⁷ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1301 a 13.

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Pol.* 1342 a 11-13.

¹⁹ So Miss Steuart, *op. cit.*, V, 2, followed by Warmington, I, p. 62; line 169.

²⁰ Cf. Livy, XLV, 7-8, and Plutarch, *Aem. Paul.*, 27.

²¹ Cf. W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, p. 208.

²² Cicero, *Pro Rosc. Am.*, 154:

vestrum nemo est quin intellegat populum Romanum, qui quondam in hostes lenissimus existimabatur, hoc tempore domestica crudelitate laborare. . . . quae . . . hominibus lenissimis ademit misericordiam consuetudine incommodorum. nam cum omnibus horis aliquid atrociter fieri videmus aut audimus, etiam qui natura mitissimi sumus, assiduitate molestiarum sensum omnem humanitatis ex animis amittimus.

it must be remarked that, whether with compassion or not, Rome's absorption of subject peoples necessarily involved a policy generally more lenient than that she adopted in particular instances: hence Vergil's *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, Horace's *iacentem | lentis in hostem*, and much earlier Ennius' *qui vicit non est victor nisi victus fatetur*; ²³ and hence too the avowed humanity of Caesar and the boasted mercy of Augustus. ²⁴

"There are many with hearts of stone who pity none," says a fragment of Ennius' *Erechtheus*. ²⁵ And though the Roman applauded the grand rhetoric of Atreus' cruelty, as Cicero tells us, ²⁶ he condemned cruelty generally, and found it easier to believe his enemy guilty of it than himself. Cicero achieves a rhetorical contrast between Hannibal's respectful award of funeral rites to Marcellus, and his conventional attribute, *crudelissimus*. ²⁷ The Phoenicians were wont to sacrifice their children to the gods; ²⁸ the Phoenicians commit atrocities on the field of battle. ²⁹ And by an extension of such self-satisfaction the Roman could feel with the Greek the barbarity of the Thracian Tereus, ³⁰ or with the Trojan the contrast between Greek cruelty and Trojan humanity. ³¹ If the Roman did not then feel so strongly as the writer of a recent article who speaks of

²³ Vergil, *Aen.*, VI, 853; Horace, *O. S.*, 51 f.; Ennius, *Annales*, 485 W. Cf. Publilius Syrus, 367 R.: *misericors civis patriae est consolatio*; 475 R.: *potens misericors publica est felicitas*; 500 R.: *perpetuo vincit qui utitur clementia*.

²⁴ Caesar, *B. G.*, II, 28; *B. C.*, I, 72, 3; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, 3. For Augustus' acts of clemency see note of Owen on Ovid, *Trist.*, II, 43. For pity in modern warfare cf. Pierre van Paasen, *Days of Our Years* (1938), p. 66: "I have never heard of a single case of chivalry or pity towards the enemy, either in the Great War, or in the subsequent campaigns in Syria, Ethiopia and Spain which I followed as a correspondent."

²⁵ Ennius, *trag. fr.*, 144 W. Cf. Pease, . . . *Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, on *Aen.*, IV, 366.

²⁶ Cicero, *De Off.*, I, 97.

²⁷ Cicero, *De Sen.*, 75.

²⁸ Ennius, *Annales*, 237 W. Moloch is meant, probably. See note of Pearson, Sophocles, *fr.* 126.

²⁹ Ennius, *Annales*, 282 W.

³⁰ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 639 W.: *indomito more atque animo barbaro*.

³¹ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 568 W.: *Phrygiam miti more esse, animo inmani Graeciam*. Cf. Accius, *trag. fr.*, 147 W.: *quorum crudelitatem numquam ulla explet satias sanguinis*.

the "one great quality in which our world is immeasurably and unmistakably better than it was at any period before . . . the quality of mercy,"³² he was conscious of a long struggle upwards from savage and lawless barbarity to a gentler condition of civilization, a progress which he found expressed in such a line as the following from Accius' *Medea sive Argonautae*: *primo ex inmani victum ad mansuetum applicans*.³³ Lucretius' account of this progress is noteworthy for the emphasis it gives to the part played by compassion in civilizing man. With housing, clothing, fireside, and family, man became a tamer creature, till, losing his primitive lusts in his new-found marital happiness, and beguiled by the blandishments of his children, he made a compact with his neighbor for their mutual protection from each other and for the safe-keeping of their wives and children. And though his speech was still a series of gestures and stammering sounds he hit upon the idea that it is right for all to have pity on the weak: *imbecillorum esse aecum misererier omnis*.³⁴ Cicero seems to have much the same thought in mind when he says: *etenim iustitiae non natura nec voluntas sed imbecillitas mater est*. But he generally omits *miser cordia* from the list of qualities which make up the common bond that holds society together.³⁵ This omission may in part be due to his deference to the Stoic doctrine that pity like the other passions is eschewed by the wise man.³⁶ In several places in the orations, however, Cicero does refer to pity as a factor in this common bond, as well as to *humanitas* in its special sense of humane feeling.³⁷ In the oration *pro Ligario*³⁸ he says that none of Caesar's virtues is more admirable or more welcome than his *miser cordia*, and adds

³² Francis Burgess, "The Discovery of Pity," *Quarterly Review*, CCLXVII (1936), p. 282.

³³ Accius, *tragic. jr.*, 400 W.

³⁴ Lucretius, I, 1023.

³⁵ Cf. Cicero, *De Fin.*, V, 65; *De Off.*, I, 20, 42, 50, 53; *Pro Flac.*, 62; *Pro Quinct.*, 51; *Pro Rosc. Am.*, 63. Cf. also Siegfried Lorenz, *De Progressu Notionis ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΑΣ* (Lipsiae, Weidae Thuringorum, Thomas et Hubert, 1914), pp. 51-53.

³⁶ Cf. Cicero, *Tusc.*, IV, 18, 41 ff.

³⁷ Cf. *Pro Rosc. Am.*, 154 (cited *supra*, note 22); *Pro Quinct.*, 97: . . . *obsecravit . . . ut aliquando misericordiam caperet, aliquam si non propinquitatis, at aetatis suae, si non hominis, at humanitatis rationem haberet . . .*; cf. also *Ad Q. Fr.*, I, 1, 21; *Pro Mur.*, 62-66.

³⁸ §§ 37 f.

the general remark: *homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando*.³⁹

Aristotle declares that the proper hero of tragedy is illustrious in rank and fortune,⁴⁰ a requirement which it has been suggested is designed to make the catastrophe more impressive.⁴¹ In a passage cited above⁴² Cicero mentions as particularly pleasing to a reader the *temporum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines*. And again, explaining the ease with which Mithridates after his defeat by Lucullus gathered another army about him, Cicero observes that it is not unusual for the downcast fortunes of kings to move the pity and attract the resources of many men, especially of those who from the circumstance that they are themselves kings or live in kingdoms regard the name of king as something great and sacred.⁴³ Further, the idea that reverses of fortune arouse pity is suggested in Pausanias' report of the Altar of Pity at Athens. For Pausanias says that the Athenians alone among Greeks honor Eleos as being especially beneficent towards the affairs of mankind and their vicissitudes.⁴⁴ By chance one of the fragments of Accius' *Telephus* touches on this theme: *nam is demum miser est, cuius nobilitas miserias | nobilitat*, "He is really unfortunate whose high rank makes his misfortunes widely known."⁴⁵ Another fragment of Accius less

³⁹ Cf. the line of Caecilius, fr. 257 W.: *homo homini deus est si suum officium sciat*. Cf. also Otto, *Sprichwörter d. R., s. v., "deus,"* and P. Faider, "Le Poète Cécilius," *Musée Belge*, XIII (1909), pp. 24 f. Caecilius' line is apparently a reflection of a Greek proverb (Leutsch and Schneidewin, I, p. 29, 12-14): *ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου δαυμόνιον*.

⁴⁰ *Poet.* 1453 a 9.

⁴¹ S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts*,⁴ p. 304.

⁴² See note 11, *supra*.

⁴³ Cicero, *Pro Manil.*, 24. Where noble rank is wanting courage can make shift. So Cicero says, *Pro Mil.*, 92, that spectators are more likely to pity a courageous gladiator than one who begs for pity. Adam Smith remarks (*Theory of Moral Sentiments* [Philadelphia, 1817], pp. 225 f.): "The fall from riches to poverty, as it commonly occasions the most real distress to the sufferer, so it seldom fails to excite the most sincere compassion in the spectator."

⁴⁴ Pausanias, I, 17, 1: . . . 'Ελέον βωμός, ᾧ μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὄντι ὠφελίμῳ μόνου τιμὰς Ἑλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι.

⁴⁵ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 627-8 W. = 621-2 R. The text is uncertain. Ribbeck reads *nam huius demum miseret*, etc. With either text the frag-

directly illustrates the greater pitiableness inspired by true nobility of mien or manner. Assigned to the *Astyanax*, it may, as conjectured, be Agamemnon's or another Greek general's confession that he is moved to pity by the exalted dignity of countenance of his captive Andromache:⁴⁶ *abducite intro, nam mihi miseritudine | commovit animum excelsa aspecti dignitas.*

Another stimulus to pity is the spectacle of death, and again it is helpful to note Schopenhauer's remark that the tears shed in the presence of death spring not only from the thought of the deceased's fate, nor only from pity of the mortality that awaits all mankind's high efforts, but even more from pity of oneself and one's own death to come.⁴⁷ This last is the self-pity for what shall be that Lucretius declares to be irrational.⁴⁸ In a passage of similar purport Cicero quotes from a scene in Pacuvius' *Iliona*,⁴⁹ a scene in which the ghost of Iliona's murdered son appears and, reproaching her for sleeping, says that she has no pity on him, and bids her rise and bury him, urging further that his remains be not allowed to rot in the ground. Cicero's use of the passage is not sympathetic, to be sure, but he does tell us that the lines were sung to subdued and tearful modes so effectively that they set entire audiences weeping. By way of further illustration of Lucretius' self-pitying man we may recall the satisfaction Simo derives from the tears which he believed his son shed for the death of the Andrian woman with whom he was only casually acquainted, as it occurred to him how much more the boy would grieve for his own father's death.⁵⁰ So comforting is the prospect of this pity that a fragment of the *Vidularia* of Plautus ironically suggests that it is better to be dead and be mourned by good men than to live and be mocked by bad

ment suits my purpose here, though whether the emphasis is on the high rank of the sufferer or the widely spread knowledge of his suffering is obscured by the paronomasia. Cf. also Plautus, *Epid.*, 526: *si quid est homini miseriarum quod miserescat, miser ex animo est.* Cf. further Caecilius, *fr.* 136 f. W.: *Is demum miser est qui aerumnas suas nesciat occultare | foris.*

⁴⁶ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 151-2 W.

⁴⁷ Schopenhauer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 484 f. (= *Die Welt als Wille u. Vorstellung*, § 67).

⁴⁸ Lucretius, II, 879-911.

⁴⁹ Cicero, *Tusc.*, I, 106; Pacuvius, *trag. fr.*, 205-210 W.

⁵⁰ Terence, *Andria*, 110-112.

men.⁵¹ But, though pity of the dead by the living is the more familiar motif,⁵² a tender elegiac couplet of the Sullan period is a request that the deceased take pity on the bereaved survivor and permit their reunion in the world beyond:

Sei quid amor valeat nostei sei te hominem scis,
Commiseresce mei, da veniam ut veniam.⁵³

Expressions of pity in Roman drama vary in tone from sudden and not very stirring declarations of sympathy to the pity that chokes with tears the voice of one of the characters of Pacuvius' *Iliona*.⁵⁴ The former passages can be passed over here⁵⁵ save to remark the mocking retort which an expression of pity encounters in Plautus' *Curculio*. Just as Curculio closes the deal with the pimp Cappadox for the girl Planesium, Cappadox ostentatiously requests that the girl be well taken care of. "If you pity her," asks Curculio, "how much are you willing to contribute to her future well-being?"⁵⁶ Cappadox drops his pose with a curse, and the humor lies, to be sure, in the absurdity of supposing that the conventionally godless and heartless pimp, a *homo inhumanissimus*,⁵⁷ could under any circumstances feel pity. At the other extreme in tone is the scene in Accius' *Meleager* in which Althea, resolved to cast the brand into the fire and so end her son's life, struggles for a moment with her motherly love and murmurs: *Nunc si me matrem mansues misericordia | capsit*.⁵⁸ We are reminded of the strife in Medea's breast be-

⁵¹ Plautus, *Vid.*, fr. XV: *malim moriri meos quam mendicari: | boni miserantur illum, hunc inridet mali*.

⁵² Cf. Buecheler, *C. L. E.*, 82, 8: *infunde lacrimas, quisquis es, mihi misericors*. Cf. also Clara Louise Thompson, *Tedium Vitae in Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions* (St. Louis, 1911), pp. 3-5; J. A. Tolman, Jr., *Study of Sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's C. L. E.* (U. of Chi. Press, 1910), p. 6.

⁵³ *C. I. L.*², I, 2540 c. Cf. also C. L. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-16.

⁵⁴ Pacuvius, *trag. fr.*, 228 W.: *miseret me, lacrimis lingua debiliter stupet*.

⁵⁵ Cf. Pacuvius, *incert. fr.*, 19 W.: *cepisti me istoc verbo, miseretur tui*. Cf. also Plautus, *Bacch.*, 1044, *Cist.*, 769, *Most.*, 985, *Pers.*, 639, *Vid.*, 69-71; Terence, *Phorm.*, 501, *And.*, 869, *Eun.*, 802.

⁵⁶ Plautus, *Curc.*, 518 f.: *si huius miseret, | equid das qui bene sit?* Cf. for a similar breaking of a pose, Plautus, *Poen.*, 150 f.

⁵⁷ Terence, *Phorm.*, 508. Cf. Plautus, *Pseud.*, 308, 378; Terence, *Phorm.*, 497 f., 520-522; Plautus, *Rud.*, 485 f.

⁵⁸ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 446-7 W.

tween her resolution and her maternal pity, and of course the *Meleager* is derived from Euripides' play of that name. Ennius' *Hecuba*, also modeled after Euripides' play, offers among its extant fragments one in which Hecuba, having just heard that her daughter Polyxena is to be slain, asks for pity for the old woman that she is, and a sword with which to slay herself.⁵⁹ And from another of Ennius' adaptations of Euripides, the *Alexander*, Cicero preserves a considerable fragment in which Cassandra, foreseeing all Troy's tale of woe, cried out: *Mea mater, tui me miseret, mei piget*. Cicero, quoting the fragment for a purpose, is moved to interrupt himself and exclaim: *O poema tenerum et moratum atque molle*.⁶⁰ Ennius' *Hectoris Lytra* is thought to have been formed from three different plays of Aeschylus, and thus to have covered the whole story of the *Iliad*. One of its fragments contains Priam's plea for pity to the Myrmidons keeping guard before Achilles' tent.⁶¹ An unplaced fragment of Accius' *Epinausimache* offers Achilles' admission that he pities the hard-pressed Argives.⁶² And an unassigned fragment of Pacuvius, imitated by Vergil, Ovid, and Terence, describes someone as so pitiable that even Priam would pity him, Priam, who would as his enemy be the least likely to pity him.⁶³

One of Accius' coinages in *-udo* is the word *miseritudo*.⁶⁴ The text of a fragment in the *Astyanax* in which this word appears is uncertain, but Ribbeck's suggestion is plausible.⁶⁵ Accepting it, we may imagine a number of survivors of the city's fall, Aeneas probably and his followers, returning to the ruins, and in grand pity of their one-time stronghold, bravely reciting its past glories to each other. There are, to be sure, a number of

⁵⁹ Ennius, *trag. fr.*, 204-5 W.

⁶⁰ Cicero, *De Div.*, I, 66; Ennius, *trag. fr.*, 63 W.

⁶¹ Ennius, *trag. fr.*, 100 W.

⁶² Accius, *trag. fr.*, 317 W. The text is corrupt, but, supposing Havet's text to be correct, the line probably represents the mood of Achilles as he began to accept the idea of letting Patroclus go to the fray among the ships. It should then be placed near the beginning of the play.

⁶³ Pacuvius, *incert. fr.*, 10 W.: *Priamus si adesset, ipse eius commiseresceret*. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.*, XI, 259; II, 6; Ovid, *Met.*, XIV, 474; Terence, *Hec.*, 128 f.

⁶⁴ Cf. the list given by F. Leo, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, p. 403, n. 1. An instance of the word appears *supra*, note 46.

⁶⁵ Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 416. The fragment is Accius, *trag. fr.*, 149-150 W.

fragments which, like this one, tease the imagination to furnish them with fitting settings. Another of the three instances of *miseritudo* may come from a lament of Phegeus in Accius' *Alphesiboea* for children pitilessly slain.⁶⁶ And from the play which Aesopus used to stir the Roman public to weep over the exile of Cicero,⁶⁷ the *Eurysaces*,⁶⁸ a character says, "As I called to mind how alone you were and feared for you my concern for you was more than my pity of myself."⁶⁹ A group of these fragments contains mention of pitiable conditions, such as tearfulness and bereavement,⁷⁰ poverty, exile, and old age.⁷¹

One of the most familiar kinds of pity, the pity of a god for a mortal, is suggested but once in the Republican dramatic fragments, and in that instance it probably means simply: "We're finally having some luck."⁷²

In Accius' *Athamas* the protagonist despairs of meeting with a pity he does not deserve.⁷³ The idea that to meet with compassion one must show compassion is a commonplace. A line buried in the elder Seneca's *Controversiae* and accepted as a verse from an early Latin comedy warns us that a man often asks for pity who had the opportunity to show pity. Two of the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus are to the same effect.⁷⁴ But the best example of this topic is the declaration of Hegias in Plautus' *Captivi* (765) that he is determined to pity none, since none pities him. So too Pseudolus is not at first inclined to be moved by the suppliant attitude of Simo, as he reflects that if he had lost their wager his back would have met with no mercy.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 42 W. Cf. Turpilius, 54 R.: *ni Callifonis nunc te miseret liberum.*

⁶⁷ Cicero, *Pro Sest.*, 120.

⁶⁸ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 349-350 W.

⁶⁹ Cf. Turpilius, 55 R.: *quam matris nunc patris me miseretur magis.*

⁷⁰ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 54 W.: *miseret lacrimarum luctuum orbitudinis.* Cf. Turpilius, 211 R.: *hoc te oro, ut illius commiserescas miserulae orbitudinis.*

⁷¹ Pacuvius, *trag. fr.*, 328 W. Cf. Accius, *trag. fr.*, 48 W.

⁷² *Atranius*, 417 R.: *nescio qui nostri miseritust tandem deus.* Cf. Menander, *Arbitrants*, 659 (Allinson).

⁷³ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 160 W.

⁷⁴ *Trag. incert.*, 93 R.: *saepe qui misereri potuit, rogat misericordiam.* Publilius Syrus, 329 R.: *misereri scire sine periclo est vivere; idem,* 206 R.: *homo qui in homine calamitoso est misericors meminit sui.*

⁷⁵ Plautus, *Pseud.*, 1324: *neque te mei tergi misereret hoc sei non hodie efecissem.*

Related to this topic is the pitilessness of the *meretrix* of comedy. She is moved to pity her suppliant not by his tears but by what he pays.⁷⁶ Thus her "pity" is but her final consent, and so resembles somewhat the technical pity of the courtroom, where to take pity on the defendant is to acquit him.⁷⁷ The *locus classicus* is the first scene of Terence's *Hecyra* (63-87). Philotis, a young and inexperienced *meretrix*, relates her surprise at hearing that Pamphilus has married, though he swore to Bacchis that he would not marry during her lifetime. Syra, an older courtesan, is not surprised, and remarks that this sort of thing is her reason for urging Philotis never to let pity of any man deter her from ruining him. "Shouldn't I have one special lover?" asks Philotis. Syra's answer is that she should make no exception, since she can be sure that no man will come to her with any purpose other than to have his pleasure as cheaply as possible. The same spirit animates a monologue in Plautus' *Truculentus* (223 ff.).

The interplay of pity and love exists, however, on a less practical plane, and we may recall that it was in part the tale of his misfortunes that moved Dido with the first blush of love for Aeneas.⁷⁸ The *Andromeda* of Ennius probably presented a development of love out of pity, as did its model, Euripides' *Andromeda*,⁷⁹ the fragments of which contain Cepheus' plea to Perseus for sympathy (119 N.), Perseus' first cry of pity for the maiden in distress (127 N.), Andromeda's appeal for pity (128 N.), Perseus' unchivalrous attempt to get a promise of love from the girl before he rescues her (129 N.), and, anticipating Aristotle, his rationalization of his pity as a feeling arising from his fears for himself (130 N.), and lastly the girl's impatience with his promises. The Perseus of Accius' *Andromeda* seems from the fragments to have acted more chivalrously.⁸⁰ A plainer case of pity becoming love is the story in Terence's *Hecyra* of the gradual transference of Pamphilus' affection from his mistress

⁷⁶ Publilius Syrus, 358 R.: *muneribus, non lacrimis, meretrix est misericors.*

⁷⁷ Cf. Starkie's note on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 880.

⁷⁸ Vergil, *Aen.*, IV, 13 f.: *heu, quibus ille | iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!*

⁷⁹ Cf. Ribbeck's reconstruction, *Röm. Trag.*, pp. 164-176.

⁸⁰ See Tenney Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic*, pp. 44 f.

to his wife, a transfer caused mainly by the noble conduct of the wife during their separation and the pity such conduct aroused in her husband.⁸¹ In Terence's *Andria* the old father, as we have seen, was disappointed to find out that his son's apparent pity was not pity at all, but love; yet pity is an important part of the young man's love, as subsequent passages in the play reveal.⁸² Again, in the *Phormio* of Terence, the pitiable circumstances of the orphaned girl heighten her beauty and cause Antipho to fall in love with her at sight (91-110). Terence's description of the girl's plight is a *miseratio*, and later, when Phaedria undertakes to defend Antipho to Antipho's father, he suggests that the court order for Antipho to marry the orphan was secured by the *commiseratio* of the plaintiff's speech in the courtroom, and asks whether in that case the blame is his or the judges': *qui saepe propter invidiam adimunt diviti | aut propter misericordiam addunt pauperi*.⁸³ Similar *miserationes* are Aeschinus' plea (Terence, *Adelphoe*, 662 ff.) in behalf of the girl his father Micio pretends to have treated unjustly, and the plea of Lysiteles in behalf of Lesbonicus in Plautus' *Trinummus* (326-358).

In the latter passage, Philto cautions his son against prolonging another's misery in the act of being compassionate to him (339 f.), and against letting one's pity of others reduce oneself to pitiable circumstances (343). This counsel of caution is found in a number of passages in Roman comedy. Periplectomenus, the astute old epicure of the *Miles Gloriosus*, has no children because, he says, they would cause him too much mental torture (718-722). In the *Mostellaria* Theopropides, who likes to talk in proverbs, says that charity begins at home, and that a man should refrain from pitying others.⁸⁴ In Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos* Chremes, having just discovered that his wife many years before had disobeyed him in handing over her new-born girl to an old woman of Corinth instead of exposing it to die, is particularly vexed at his wife's deception, but admits that she may fairly appeal to her motherly love and compassion

⁸¹ Terence, *Hec.*, 164-168.

⁸² *Andria*, 125 f., 260-263, 277-280.

⁸³ *Phormio*, 276 f. Cf. also 357 f.

⁸⁴ *Most.*, 799: *sibi quisque ruri metit*; 802, *misericordia se abstinere hominem oportet* (*abstinere* is conjectural).

(637): *at id omitto: misericordia, animus maternus: sino*. And in the lines following he makes it clear that it is not the quality of mercy that he condemns so much as the thoughtlessness and selfishness of a sudden act apparently merciful, but really cruel, since it preserved the girl for a life that to Chremes' way of thinking was worse than none. The crueler course here would have been the kinder one.

The greater susceptibility of women than men to pity, illustrated in the passage just cited, is a commonplace that figures largely today in the masculine-feminine tests of psychologists.⁸⁵ A fragment of Pacuvius gives tears to women: *fletus muliebri ingenio additust*.⁸⁶ These are the tears of self-pity to which Philodemus refers when he writes of women that "they think it proper that their natural weakness be pitied, that they be readily forgiven, and that they be not of set purpose abused by those stronger than themselves; whence it is that they readily break into tears, supposing that they are reproved because they are disdained."⁸⁷ The use of pity as a weapon is one of the recognized artifices of the *meretrix*.⁸⁸ On the other hand, woman's tenderness is well depicted in a fragment of Accius which tells how Antigona went about caring for the wounded: . . . *omnis saucios | convisit ut curentur diligentius*. Accius has made Antigona more of a Florence Nightingale than she had been in the play he imitated.⁸⁹ The priestess of Plautus' *Rudens* boasts that no woman is more commiserate than she (281), and an experienced courtesan in Plautus' *Cistellaria* is at least tender-hearted.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ See L. M. Terman and C. C. Miles, *Sex and Personality* (New York and London, 1936), pp. 2, 391, 392, 399-401, and 413-415.

⁸⁶ Pacuvius, *trag. fr.*, 295. Cf. Euripides, *Medea*, 928: γυνή δὲ θῆλυ καὶ κακὰ ποιεῖ τῷσιν. Cf. also Sophocles, *Trachin.*, 1070 ff.

⁸⁷ Philodemus, *Περὶ παρηγορίας* (Teubner, 1914), 11.

⁸⁸ Cf. Turpilius, 29-30 R.; Terence, *Andria*, 558-560. Cf. also Lucian, *Tox.*, 15, and *Anth. Pal.*, V, 186, quoted by Keith Preston, *Studies in the Diction of the Sermo Amatorius in Roman Comedy* (U. of Chi. Libraries, 1916), p. 24. Cf. also Shakespeare, *King Lear*, II, iv, 277 f.: "And let not women's weapons, water-drops, | Stain my man's cheeks!"

⁸⁹ Accius, *trag. fr.*, 600-601 W. Cf. Warmington's note here on Euripides, *Phoen.*, 1476 f.

⁹⁰ Lines 58 and 112. Cf. also the quite proper squeamishness of a courtesan at Terence, *Eun.*, 945 f.

A number of minor topics of pity must be passed over here.⁹¹ Not a few of the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus are concerned with pity. Where they illustrate topics of pity which I have mentioned, I have generally relegated them to footnotes. A few of them are better adapted to study in connection with the *com-miseratio* of Roman oratory, as, e. g. (77 R.) *bona comparat praesidia misericordia*; (312 R.) *mala causa est quae requirit misericordiam*.

These topics of pity, considered as a group and for all that they are disparate in tone and literary value, form a chapter in the history of pity the full import of which will be more evident when they are compared with the uses of pity in Greek epic and dramatic literature on the one hand, and on the other with the treatments to be found in the historical and poetical literature of the Roman Empire. Such comparisons are, however, save for passing comments interspersed above, beyond the scope of this paper.⁹² That the Roman tragedy of the Republican period is almost entirely drawn from Greek classical tragedy, as is Roman comedy from the New Comedy, may be fairly accepted as patent. But we have no assurance that the study of any particular topic in Greek tragedy would be a more direct and easier way of ascertaining the incidence of such a topic in Roman tragedy. Fragmentary though they be, we had best take little for granted about the remains of Roman drama, and adhere to the evidence offered. It is remarkable, I think, that there is so much evidence of a concern with the topics of pity in such scanty remains.

EDWARD B. STEVENS.

HILLSDALE COLLEGE.

⁹¹ Cf. for self-pity: Plautus, *Merc.*, 335 f.; Terence, *Hec.*, 281 f. and 293. For ironic pity cf. Plautus, *Amph.*, 297. For boisterous or comic pity cf. Plautus, *Stich.*, 329 f. and Plautus, *fr.*, 57. For the sympathetic fallacy (a merciful sea) see Plautus, *Trin.*, 825-827; and for the "unsympathetic" fallacy, Accius, *trag. fr.*, 238 W.: *flucti immiseri-cordes* (see Pease, *Cl. Journ.*, XXII [1927], pp. 651-654). For a slave's pity of his mistress' pain in childbirth, see Caecilius, 156 W., and Terence, *Adelph.*, 306-308.

⁹² I plan to treat other divisions of the history of pity in future studies.

HORACE, *ODES*, II, 7, 9-10.

Horace's words, addressed to his friend Pompey:

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi relictā non bene parmula

(*Odes*, II, 7, 9-10) have evoked a good deal of discussion as to their proper evaluation. Is the statement that Horace lost his shield at the battle of Philippi an imitation of Greek models, or is it a true account of his own experience? Obviously the judgment of Horace's behavior and character depends on the answer to that question. Yet no solution has been generally agreed upon. I therefore propose once more to discuss the reasons given for the various interpretations and to reexamine the meaning of the sentence and the situation which it describes.¹

The usual attitude is to take Horace's statement as an imitation of Greek examples. It is clear, most commentators say, that the passage is no portraiture of what happened at Philippi but a literary commonplace which Horace uses, recalling the three great lyric poets, Alcaeus, Anacreon, and Archilochus, who in their poems told of having thrown away their shields. Now the verses of Alcaeus are not preserved; it is only known that he lost his arms and sent a poem on the subject to a friend.² Anacreon threw away his shield and, he says, fled like a cuckoo;

¹ Much, almost too much has been written on the subject. It is quite understandable that L. Castiglioni says (*Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti* [Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche], LXX [1937], p. 59): "Cetera mitto, de quibus ad taedium satietatemque iam diu disputatum est, gesseritne parmulam Horatius, abieceritne eam an deposuerit, gloriatusne sit an rei turpissimae puditus ioco gravissima occultare voluerit, eandem denique scuti reverentiam quam Graeci Romani habuerint neque, aliaque multa, quae stomachum partim movent, partim risum. . . ." Yet to the biographer of Horace, as well as to the interpreter of his work, the problem is too interesting to be left in suspense.

² Herodotus, V, 95: πολεμεόντων δὲ σφῶν παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇσι μάχῃσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικῶντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὄπλα ἴσχυοσι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεὶ ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἐωντοῦ πάθος Μελαρῖππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ.

why he did so or how he felt about his misfortune, he does not tell.³ Archilochus, who alone is explicit about the whole affair, asserts that he left his shield unwillingly (οὐκ ἐθέλων) and that he feels sure of getting another, and not a worse one, in due time.⁴ Horace's statement differs greatly from Archilochus' defiant spirit. He admits that he lost his shield, and that he lost it ignominiously (*non bene*). This, as far as can be ascertained, none of the Greek poets asserts of himself. The simple citation of literary parallels then fails to explain the characterization which Horace gives of his conduct; the peculiar evaluation which he makes of the event cannot be understood as a mere imitation of Greek models.⁵

Besides, even if one were willing to accept as negligible Horace's change of the patterns which he is supposed to follow, one has to ask why he uses such a topic and why he pictures himself as behaving worse than he really did. The commentators do not discuss at all Horace's intention in writing these verses; they treat the poet as if he were a mere translator of Greek passages. The only one to consider the purpose which Horace might have had is Lessing.⁶ He was of the opinion that these words are meant to be sarcastic; he stated that one who does not speak in earnest likes to portray himself in a way different from that in which he really behaved. Lessing's chief reason for his assumption of mocking imitation is found in Horace's claim

³ Anacreon, frag. 51 (Diehl): ἀσπίδα ρίψ' ἐς ποταμοῦ καλλιρροῦ προχοάς; and frag. 60 (Diehl): ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς φύγω ὥστε κόκκυξ. It is not certain that these fragments belong together and really describe the experience of Anacreon (cf. Heinze [*Qu. H. Flaccus, Oden und Epoden erklart von E. Kiessling*], erneuert von R. Heinze, Berlin, 1917] *ad v. 10*); it is not even certain that frag. 60 (Diehl) refers to an experience in war (cf. frag. 26 [Diehl]); the seventh edition of Heinze's commentary therefore does not consider frag. 60 at all.

⁴ Archilochus, frag. 6 (Diehl): ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαῶν τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνω / ἔντρος ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων. / αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος. ἀσπίς ἐκέλην / ἑρπῆτω· ἐξαῦτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω. Heinze emphasizes the fact (*ad v. 10*) that Philippi lies near the city of Saïs. If this argument is of any value at all it makes the difference between the original and the imitation even more noteworthy. See also note 8, *infra*.

⁵ The importance of the words *non bene* has been correctly emphasized by N. Salanitro, *Il Mondo Classico*, VI (1936), p. 402; see also note 22, *infra*.

⁶ G. E. Lessing, *Rettungen des Horaz, Saemmtliche Schriften*, ed. K. Lachman, IV (1835), pp. 27 f.

that he had been saved by Mercury.⁷ To be sure, this claim is not literally true; but is it only a jest? In verses which are undoubtedly serious, Horace says:

Vestris amicum fontibus et choris
non me Philippis versa acies retro,
devota non exstinxit arbor,
nec Sicala Palinurus unda. (*Odes*, III, 4, 25-28)

These words express Horace's belief that in the three great dangers which he had experienced he had been saved by divine intervention. In the poem sent to Pompey he says the same thing. At Philippi in extreme peril of his life he had, by the aid of God, been removed from imminent destruction. Whether, by this statement, Horace is referring to the Olympian Mercury, his patron god, or to Augustus, whom he believes to be an incarnation of Mercury,⁸ his words can surely not be meant as a joke. On this basis it is not possible to vindicate other remarks as being ironic.

Besides, the tone of the whole poem is grave; the verses deal with experiences shared by the poet and the friend to whom the ode is presented. Horace begins with a reminder of the deadly perils which he, together with his companion, had so often to face. This is the first thought which occurs to him when he greets Pompey, who has at last been brought home by good fate (1-4). True, Pompey is not only the fellow soldier; he is also the foremost of his mates of old, the comrade with whom he spent so many pleasant days when they were young (5-8). Yet

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 29 and p. 30: "Kurz, die ganze siebende Ode des zweyten Buches ist nichts als ein Scherz."

⁸ Mercury as the patron god of Horace: Heinze, *ad Od.* I, 10; *Od.* II, 17, 29; Augustus identified with Mercury: *Od.* I, 2, 44 (cf. also K. Scott, *Hermes*, LXIII [1928], pp. 15 f.). *Ode* II, 7 was probably written after 29 B. C.; I, 2 probably in the winter 28-27 (cf. Heinze's introduction to these poems). Th. Zielinski, on the evidence of Horace's poem, has suggested that Archilochus too was saved by Mercury (*Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore*, Serie Quarta, Scienze Filologiche, VII [1927], p. 605). If this restoration of the Archilochus monument is correct—it is certainly possible (cf. the new edition of the monument by F. Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Philolog.-hist. Kl., I, 2 [1934], p. 49)—it would serve to confirm the notion that Horace agrees with his Greek examples only in such instances in which his personal experience and belief allow him to do so.

the remembrance of the golden time of youth is immediately superseded by the recollection of the hardship which the friends had to suffer later on.⁹ The war broke out; soon both found themselves in the most critical situation of their lives, the battle of Philippi. There they fought together, and together they saw the defeat (9-12). Afterward, however, they were separated. Horace was honorably discharged from the army¹⁰ and returned to the fatherland; Pompey for a long time remained engaged in warfare (13-16). Now, finally, he too comes home, no longer a soldier, an enemy of Augustus, an outlaw, but a citizen once more, who wishes to live in peace and quiet. Horace asks him to offer sacrifices and thanks to God, to try to drown in Lethe the sorrows of the past, drinking the wine which he has treasured up for him all these years. He himself will celebrate the return of his friend with joy so intense that it approaches ecstasy (17-28).¹¹ That is the content of the stanzas. In such an ode it seems hardly possible to resort to facetious self-abasement in explanation of one single feature. Yet, so far as I can see, there is no other possibility of understanding Horace's statement about the abandonment of his shield, once it is supposed to be a mere imitation of Greek examples.

It seems, therefore, that the lines must be presumed to report a fact. Horace must actually have abandoned his shield at Philippi and have behaved ignominiously. But is it not strange that he should have done so? For such behavior would be in contradiction to all that Horace tells about his military service in his other poems. Although by nature he has no liking for warfare and although he does not have a very strong constitution (*imbellis ac firmus parum*, *Epod.*, I, 16), he has always done his duty. That in war as well as in peace he satisfied the demands of the first men of the city is one of the virtues by which he overcame the stain of his mean birth (*me libertino natum patre, et in tenui re / maiores pennas nido extendisse loqueris, / ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas; / me primis urbis belli placuisse domique*, *Epist.*, I, 20, 20-24). Horace may have been

⁹ Cf. Heinze *ad* v. 5: " . . . Erinnerung an die Symposien des sorglosen athenischen Studentenlebens . . . welche in wirkungsvollem Gegensatz zu den vorher und nachher erwähnten Leiden stehn."

¹⁰ Lessing, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹¹ The word ecstasy is customarily reserved by the poet for the experience of deep emotion and passion; cf. Heinze *ad* v. 26.

the more proud of his achievements because, as he says rather ironically, the poet is usually not of much worth in war even if he is a useful citizen (*militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi*, *Epist.*, II, 1, 124). Moreover the poet puts the position which he once held in the army on the same level with the friendship of Maecenas. (*Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum, / quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum, / nunc, quia sim tibi, Maecenas convictor, at olim, / quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno*, *Sat.*, I, 6, 45-48). No wonder! Horace had been tribune, and, since this title was not rightly his by law, the winning of it was the greater honor, especially in a time when there was no dearth of soldiers of good family to aspire to this rank.¹²

These facts certainly seem, at first glance, to be inconsistent with the supposition that Horace abandoned his shield. But the commentators think it a mistake to assume that it is dishonorable for a soldier to lose his shield, for, while the Greeks may have had this feeling, the honor of the Roman warrior is not touched, even if he throws his shield away.¹³ Yet, as a matter of fact, in the Roman army it was at all times considered a heinous crime to give up one's arms; all authors who treat of the subject express this opinion. A soldier who lost his shield, whether by his own fault or not, lost his honor.¹⁴ Horace, then, mentions a

¹² "Er [Horace] . . . wird hier, wo es an Offiziersaspiranten wahrlich nicht fehlt, Kommandant einer Legion—er ist offenbar schon eine hervortretende Persönlichkeit" (Richard Reitzenstein, *Das Römische in Cicero und Horaz, Neue Wege zur Antike*, II, p. 23). Even if, however, "Brutus was so hard pressed for officers that he was ready to make some concessions to the freedmen stock" (L. R. Taylor, *A. J. P.*, XLVI [1925], p. 165) he would not have commissioned Horace had he not been a good soldier. My attention was drawn to the article in *A. J. P.* by Prof. H. T. Rowell.

¹³ Cf. Heinze *ad v.* 10 and C. L. Smith, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace* (1903), *ad loc.*: "The Greek ideal of 'returning with one's shield or on it' was foreign to the more business-like Roman."

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Polybius, VI, 37, 10: *eis δ' ἀνανδρίαν τιθέασι καὶ στρατιωτικὴν ἀσχύνην τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἔαν . . . παραπλησίως ἔαν τις ἀωορρίψῃ τι τῶν ὅπλων κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον διὰ φόβον.* Plutarch, *Caesar*, 16, 3: *ἐν δὲ Βρεττανίᾳ . . . στρατιώτης . . . πολλὰ καὶ περίοπτα τόλμης ἀποδειξάμενος ἔργα . . . ἔρριπεν αὐτὸν εἰς ρεύματα τελευτωδῆ, καὶ μόλις ἄνευ τοῦ θυρεοῦ . . . διεπέρασε.* *θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κραυγῆς ἀπαντώντων, αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα κατηφῆς καὶ δεδακρυσμένος προσέπεσε τῷ Καίσαρι, συγγνώμην αἰτοῦμενος ἐπὶ τῷ προέσθαι τὸν θυρεόν;* cf. Dionysius, *Antiquitates*, IX, 53, 4.

deed which, in the opinion of his contemporaries, must have seemed disgraceful. Moreover can it be supposed that he would recount his ignominy in such a nonchalant manner? He may relate without any hesitation that he was full of fear when the god came to his rescue (*Odes*, II, 7, 13-14). Even Aeneas, even the Homeric heroes are fearful when life is endangered, and Horace being saved like these heroes is not ashamed of feeling as they do in the same circumstances.¹⁵ But the abandonment of the shield is dishonorable. If Horace was really capable of acting in such a way, he could no longer claim, as in fact he did, that he was a good soldier.

It is tempting to evade this conclusion by saying: "The kind of folk that have no horror of a joke will decline to discuss Horace's courage in this connection—Horace is 'reconstructed' and can afford to laugh at the 'terrible whipping we got'."¹⁶ Even people who like jokes must admit that a jest about such a matter and at this place is not in keeping with the character of the poem as a whole and with the attitude of Horace as indicated by his other remarks. They, too, must feel the necessity of explaining how a man who threw away his shield at Philippi had before that day been so far from showing himself capable of such an act that his military virtues had won for him signal and extraordinary promotion. They, too, must consider that Horace, desiring as he did to be both in war and in peace a good Roman in the estimation of his contemporaries, could ill afford to play the coward and jest about it. They, too, must realize that it was certainly daring of him to show such indifference and yet to ask for the admiration of posterity on the ground that his virtues in war and in peace had proved his merit.

All the proposed interpretations then, whether they take Horace's words as a literary commonplace or a statement of fact, lead into difficulties. Horace cannot have feigned to have abandoned his shield ignominiously nor can he really have done so. But what else could he possibly mean to say?

¹⁵ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 92 and Heyne's commentary on this passage (*Virgilii Opera*, ed. Ch. G. Heyne, II [1771], p. 17): "Naturae veritatem secutus poeta, exemplo Homeri Od. V, unde locus expressus, v. 297 . . . (cf. Achillis exemplum, qui mortem a Xanthi eluvie instantem similiter exhorrescit *Il.*, XXI, 272) Aeneam suum metu vacare non sinit . . . Priscis heroibus nec metuere nec flere indecorum est."

¹⁶ Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. P. Shorey and Gordon J. Laing (1919), *ad loc.*

At this point it is necessary to draw attention to a problem which has hitherto not received adequate consideration: I refer to the division of the sentence in question. It is always taken for granted that *relicta non bene parmula* is to be connected with the previous words and refers to Horace. Yet this is not self-evident. It is also possible to connect *relicta non bene parmula* with what follows. Instead of punctuating:

tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi relicta non bene parmula,
cum fracta virtus et minaces
turpe solum tetigere mento,

one can also divide the words in this way:

tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi, relicta non bene parmula
cum fracta virtus et minaces
turpe solum tetigere mento.¹⁷

The technique of metrical structure allows the placing of a sense pause at this point in the verse (cf. *quis devium scortum eliciet domo / Lyden? Odes*, II, 11, 21-22). The position of the ablative absolute before the temporal clause to which it belongs causes no difficulties (*nam, male re gesta, cum vellem mittere operto / me capite in flumen, dexter stetit . . .*, *Sat.*, II, 3, 37-8; . . . *Helade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se . . .*, *loc. cit.*, 277; cf. also *Carm. Saec.*, 9-10; *Odes*, I, 7, 21-22).¹⁸ This other possible division being accepted the meaning of the words would be: "With you I have experienced the battle at Philippi and the quick flight, when virtue collapsed as the shield was ignominiously forsaken and the threatening hosts ignobly fell prostrate."¹⁹

¹⁷ In regard to the usual punctuation cf. e.g. *Q. Horati Flacci Carmina*, ed. F. Klingner (1939) and Heinze, *op. cit.*; the seventh edition of Heinze's commentary (1930) omits the comma after *parmula*, no doubt by mistake as is evident from the interpretation given.

¹⁸ The commentators have even taken pains to explain the position of the ablative absolute after the word in the interpretation that connects *relicta non bene parmula* with *sensi*; cf. H. D. Naylor, *Horace Odes and Epodes* (Cambridge, 1922), *ad loc.*

¹⁹ For *relinquere* in the sense of *forsake* cf., e.g., *Od.* III, 27, 34 and the expression *signa relinquere*. The phrase *solum tetigere mento* is very often translated by "bit the dust." I cannot agree with such a rendering. The word *turpe* has no sense if it is used in regard to the death of the soldiers. Heinze (*ad loc.*) is certainly right in stating that

The words *relicta non bene parmula* then would not refer to Horace at all but rather to the soldiers of Brutus.

Is this the way in which Horace intended the phrase to be taken? That conclusion would follow only on two conditions: the various difficulties encountered by the other interpretations must be resolved by the rendering just proposed and it must in itself be unobjectionable; moreover it must fit the historical data. As to the first stipulation, it is obvious that the words, being no longer a description of Horace's attitude, cease to be contradictory to other statements of his in regard to his military career. In order to understand them it is not necessary to take refuge in literary topics or in questionable jokes. Furthermore, the new interpretation accounts for the use of the term *parmula* in this passage. The word cannot be correctly employed in connection with Horace himself, who, being a tribune, had no *parmula*; it is an antiquated, yet appropriate word for the shield of the soldiers.²⁰ Finally, the construction of the whole sentence now shows a perfect parallelism. In both parts of the *cum* clause the soldiers are the subject spoken of.²¹ The phrase *minaces tetigere mento* is qualified by *turpe*; the expression *fracta virtus*, according to the usual arrangement without any explanatory attribute,

even for the vanquished death is not ignominious; the parallels quoted from the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* fail to prove the opposite as Heinze also points out. Concerning the historical facts described in these words, cf. pp. 449 f. *infra*.

²⁰ Festus, *De verborum significatu*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (1933), p. 274, 21 ff.: *Parmulis pugnare milites soliti sunt; quarum usum sustulit C. Marius datis in vicem earum Bruttianis*. Concerning Horace's shield cf. A. Ruppertsberg, *Philologus*, LXVIII (1909), p. 523, and Heinze *ad loc.* In regard to archaic words cf. *quiritem* (v. 3) and Heinze *ad Od.* IV, 4, 40. The explanation that "There is the same irony in the diminutive *parmula* 'my poor little shield'" (*Horatii Opera*, ed. E. C. Wickham [1881], and Heinze *ad loc.*: "... wohl eine Nuance des Bedauerns . . .") is hardly convincing.

²¹ Some commentators assume that virtue is to replace the name of Brutus (cf. e.g. Heinze *ad loc.*). Although Horace did not disavow his service in the army of Brutus, he can hardly refer to Brutus in such a way. For his expression would imply that with the death of Brutus virtue itself collapsed and that it no longer existed after Philippi. Moreover, Horace himself identifies the reign of Augustus with the reign of virtue, saying that virtue has come back under his government (*Carm. Saec.*, 58). Therefore I cannot agree with Castiglioni, *loc. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

is now qualified by *relicta non bene parmula*, the words *non bene* exactly corresponding to *turpe*.²² The claim that virtue collapsed with the ignominious abandonment of the arms is as antithetical in itself as is the statement that threatening hosts ignobly fell prostrate. The first condition then is clearly fulfilled by the proposed rendering.

But did the soldiers forsake their shields ignominiously, and did they prostrate themselves ignobly before the enemy? Did their conduct deserve contemptuous irony because they were virtuous and haughty before? According to the historical sources,²³ the troops of Brutus with whom Horace fought were victorious in the first part of the battle of Philippi. After the defeat of the troops of Cassius they constrained Brutus, against his will, to reopen the fight, for they still boasted of themselves and their superiority over the enemy. Again they behaved courageously in the combat and repulsed the attacks of the regiments of Augustus. It was only after a long and very hard struggle that they began to retreat and that they were partly put to rout. At first those who still stayed with Brutus were ashamed and repented of their impetuosity. When, however, Brutus wanted them to fight again and to unite with the rest of the troops still in the camp, they declined to do so, telling him to mind his own business as they would try for themselves to make the best of a bad situation. Moreover, after hearing that Brutus had taken his life, they and all the others gave themselves over to the enemy.²⁴ In short, the soldiers, although they had been good and courageous fighters before, suddenly forsook their arms when they could still have fought. This was ignominious; thus virtue collapsed. Although threatening before, they wanted to fight only as long as they believed that they could win. In the moment of apparent defeat they thought only of surrender. They prostrated themselves ignobly before Augustus. Their conduct was contemptible.

Horace's indictment then, intended to emphasize the difference

²² On the meaning of *bene* and *turpe* cf. Livy, XXII, 50, 7: *... qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit* . . . ; cf. also Livy, XXI, 42, 4 and the commentaries *ad loc.*

²³ Appian, *Hist. Rom.*, IV, 128-135; Dio Cassius, XLVII, 42 ff.

²⁴ Cf. especially Appian, IV, 128: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμεμνητοί γε ἦσαν οὐδὲ οἱ Βρούτῳ; 131: ἀπεκρίναντο ἀναξίως.

between what the soldiers pretended to be in words and what they showed themselves to be in deeds, is both adequate and true. To give the most emphatic expression to his ironic contempt the poet refers to the moment when the troops of Brutus surrendered. In what form the surrender took place has not been recorded by the historians, but it can be inferred from the usual form of a *deditio* (παραδιδόναι ἑαυτούς, Appian, IV, 135). In such a situation the soldiers themselves or their legates came to the commander of the enemy troops, threw away their arms, and knelt down or prostrated themselves, imploring the mercy of the victor. So the soldiers of Pompey behaved when vanquished by Caesar, so too did the barbarians conquered by the Roman emperor.²⁵ The case must have been similar when the soldiers of Brutus gave themselves up to Augustus whether they accepted the amnesty offered (Dio Cassius, XLVII, 49) or asked for it (Appian, IV, 135). The poet mentions the abandonment only of the shield, not of all the arms, apparently using the shield, the most valued weapon, as a symbol of all the others. The artist of the Trajan Column did the same: whereas the historian, describing the surrender of the Dacians, tells about the throwing away of all the arms, the sculptor merely shows the putting aside of the shield.²⁶ On the other hand, Horace was able to keep the motif of prostration which the artist, although it is recorded by the historian, could not portray and had to replace by the kneeling down of the legates.

To conclude: in the few words in question it is probable that Horace does not speak of himself but rather describes in accurate and proper terms the inglorious conduct of Brutus' troops at Philippi. No judgment of Horace's behavior or character can be based on these lines, except that even after so many years he still remembered with hurt pride the cowardice of his fellow

²⁵ Cf. Caesar, *B. C.*, III, 98: *Caesar prima luce omnes eos, qui in monte consederant, ex superioribus locis in planitiem descendere atque arma proicere iussit. Quod ubi sine recusatione fecerunt passisque palmis proiecti ad terram flentes ab eo salutem petiverunt.* . . . Dio Cassius, LXVIII, 9, 1: *ὅτι ὁ Δεκέβαλος ἐπέπομφει μὲν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἡττῆς πρέσβεις . . . καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τε ὅπλα ῥίψαντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν καταβαλόντες ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ; ibid., 6-7: καὶ ἄκων ὁμολόγησε, πρὸς τε τὸν Τραϊανὸν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν πεσὼν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπορρίψας (cf. *ibid.*, 10, 1).*

²⁶ Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule* (Berlin, 1926), Text, IV (Gesandte und Gefangene), pp. 50-63, especially pp. 56 f.

soldiers of old. He himself had not surrendered but was among the officers who saved themselves by flight.²⁷ If Horace in writing the poem thought at all of the great Greek poets who like him had fought in war, he may have taken pleasure in realizing that in this one respect at least the Roman was superior to the Hellene.

LUDWIG EDELSTEIN.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

FOUR LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

ἀποπαιδαριόω¹

In *P. S. I.*, IV, 418, Pyron, who is known from other papyri as a scribe and agent connected with the estate of Apollonius,² writes to Zeno and makes certain requests, which, he says, Zeno had previously agreed to grant. First, he asks Zeno to provide "the boy" (παιδάριον) with a himation and send him to the palaestra; thus the boy seems to be one of those whom Apollonius was in the habit of training as professional athletes.³ Whether Pyron's interest in the request arises from the fact that the boy is in his company or under his protection, or from his having previously recommended him as suited for an athletic training, does not appear. Nothing bearing upon the point can be inferred from his use of the first person plural in the following sentences. We see (18-22) that he asks for a garment, not garments, which looks as if his "we" means "I" throughout. The second request is that Zeno send an allowance of grain, oil, and other necessities, ἵνα πανσώμεθα ἀσχημονοῦντες; we may note in passing

" Cf. Dio Cassius, III, 71, 10: ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτῆς ἀδελὰς σφίσι κηρυχθείσης μετέστη . . . τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων τῶν ἀρχὰς τινὰς σχόντων . . . οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐάντους παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτειναν . . . οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν διέφυγον; cf. *tecum . . . celerem fugam/sensi, relicta non bene parmula/cum fracta virtus et minaces/turpe solum tetigere mento.*

¹ In this paper I refer to the new edition of Liddell and Scott, edited by H. S. Jones, as LSJ.

² *P. S. I.*, VI, 571; *P. Cairo Zen.*, 59253; *P. Mich. Zen.*, 46.

³ Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt* (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, VI), pp. 172-4; Edgar in *P. Mich. Zen.*, *Introd.*, p. 14.

that Pyron shows a naïve concern about proper appearances in other letters, as well as here.⁴

In the third item Pyron asks for clothing for himself, a *τριβώνιον*, or, if that is too expensive, linen cloth to make a himation (18-22). He introduces this request with a sentence (14-18) which the Italian editors say they do not understand. Yet they have given a good explanation of part of it; the aim of this note is to clear up a doubtful point that remains. The sentence is as follows:

καὶ εἰ σοι φαίνεται, ἀποσύνταξον μὴ ὥσπερ τοὺς κυβευτὰς ἐπιτηροῦντας ὡς ἂν εἰσερχόμεθα ἀποπαιδαριῶν γυμνοὺς ἰστάντας ἡμᾶς.

The editors suggest, rightly, that there is an allusion to the custom of requiring newcomers into a game of dice to strip so that they might not conceal loaded dice and covertly exchange them for those previously used. But they do not explain the word *ἀποπαιδαριῶν*, which does not occur elsewhere, and they offer no translation of the obscure sentence. Schubart, however, gives this version.⁵ "Und wenn du meinst, so verbiete, dass man uns wie die Würfelspieler argwöhnisch betrachte, wenn wir eintreten, uns nackt hinstelle und veralbere." He adds, by way of comment on the letter, "Besonders peinlich ist es ihm (Pyron), zusammen mit seinem Schützling infolge seiner Armut und seiner schäbigen Kleidung schief angesehen zu werden wie ein Würfelspieler, den man zwingt, sich nackt hinzustellen, damit er keinen falschen Würfel verbergen könne."

This translation seems to me to err in two points. In the first place, sensitive as Pyron is about his personal appearance, he could hardly have expected Zeno to forbid people to view him with suspicion on his entrance into company; what authority could reach so far? Secondly, I doubt whether *ἀποπαιδαριῶν* is *veralbern*. The German word I take to mean much the same as our "make a fool of," "mock," "hoax," and the Greek equivalent of that is usually *παίζω* compounded with *διά*, *έν*, or *κατά*.

Now *ἀποπαιδαριῶ* is not defined in LSJ, but it should mean "make into, or treat as, a *παιδάριον*"; compare *ἀποθεῶ*, *ἀποθηρύω*. The appropriateness of the word in this place probably comes from the simple fact that in Egyptian villages small boys run

⁴ *P. S. I.*, VI, 571, 12, 20; *P. Mich. Zen.*, 46, 6-10.

⁵ *Ein Jahrtausend am Nil*, p. 49.

naked during most of their childhood; thus we see that *γυμνὸς ἱστάνρας* develops and explains *ἀποπαιδαριούν*. It is true, however, that in the papyri *παιδάριον* often means a slave-boy, and *ἀποπαιδαριούν* in this context might mean, or imply, providing a person with the scant costume allowed to slaves. In any case, I think that the order that Pyron wishes Zeno to give to his stewards is contained, with the exaggeration characteristic of this rather fussy letter-writer, in the words *μὴ . . . ἀποπαιδαριούν γυμνὸς ἱστάνρας ἡμᾶς*, while *ὥσπερ . . . εἰσερχόμεθα* is all part of the comparison. I would therefore translate, "Give orders (to the stewards) that they are not to treat me as a small boy (or, slave boy), leaving me naked as do the dice-players, watching as we come in."

The first person *εἰσερχόμεθα* merely adds, by imaginary participation, to the vividness of the comparison; this clause might have been, for example, *ὡς ἂν οἱ συγκυβεύοντες εἰσερχώμεθα*. As to *ὡς ἂν* the references given by the editors may be supplemented by Mayser, *Gram. der. griech. Pap.*, II, 1, pp. 270-271; II, 3, p. 79. Two possible objections to the translation proposed can, I think, be met. In the first place, *τοὺς κυβερτάς*, for which a nominative might have been expected, is attracted to the construction of *ἱστάνρας*; cf. Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges*, § 2465. Secondly, with the version that I have suggested, *τούς* might seem to be required before *ἐπιτηροῦντας* in order to make a neat construction. But anarthrous attributive participles are known in biblical Greek, as in Matt. 12, 25, *πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρημοῦται*; and as Robertson has shown (*Gram. Greek N. T.*⁴, p. 1105), "It is not easy to draw the line between the anarthrous attributive participle and the predicate participle of additional statement." I incline to treat *ἐπιτηροῦντας* as circumstantial, adding a descriptive detail.

καθαπαί

In *P. S. I.*, IV, 420, 21 ff., Semtheus reports to Zeno that a third person has on hand a stock of 300 vessels of earthenware, *γᾶστρας καὶ καθαπτάς*. *γᾶστραι* are undoubtedly big-bellied pots, and that meaning is adequately attested in LSJ. On *καθαπαί* the note of the Italian editor is merely "quid? 'vasi ansati?'" LSJ is content with the definition "a kind of vase," and is uncertain whether the *καθαπτάς* of *P. S. I.* is from *καθαπτής*, -οῦ, or *καθαπτή*.

The meaning may be settled by joining an archaeological observation to a consideration of the natural meaning of *καθαπταί*. The word is surely merely the feminine plural of the verbal *καθαπτός* from *καθάπτω*. This verb is not often found in our texts in its literal and material sense, which is, to hang or sling one thing to or round another. Plutarch uses it in speaking of garlands about the neck (*Quaest. Conv.*, 3, 1, 647 E), Euripides of objects hung round a child's neck (*Ion* 1006), Sophocles of a garment thrown round the shoulders (*Tr.* 1051), of a fawn-skin slung across the body (*Ichn.* 219, with Pearson's note), and of Antigone's hanging herself from the roof of her prison (1222). The word would naturally describe vessels carried in a kind of sling made of cordage and may be rendered sling-bottles or sling-jars. Now such vessels are known to have been very commonly used in Graeco-Roman Egypt. In the excavation conducted by the University of Michigan at Karanis several specimens, both large and small, were unearthed, most of them in an excellent state of preservation and several with the carrying-sling still attached to them. Some quite small ones were probably oil-flasks and may have been slung from a belt. In these the sling is simply looped through the handle of the vessel or the cord is first drawn tightly round the neck of the vessel two or three times and then passed through the handle.

With the larger vessels the arrangement varies. There is one medium-sized jar without handles, which has the cord passed three times round the neck, just below the lip, and then tied in such a manner that a loop large enough to serve as a lifting-handle is left on each side; a sling cord could, of course, be passed through these handles. Others of moderate size have a cord slung through the handle, or handles, as in the case of the smallest. With some large and heavy vessels a more elaborate sling was used. Supposing the rope used to be laid out in the form of a narrow ellipse, with the ends still loose, a small segment of the closed end of the ellipse is fitted to the neck of the vessel so as to clasp half of it. Then next to this measured segment, on each side, a carefully tied loop or eye is made. The two eyes thus formed are pushed through the two handles of the jar, and while they are held in this position a strong stick is passed horizontally through the two eyes, so that they can no longer be drawn back through the handles. Then the loose ends of the

rope are tied, or as in our specimen, spliced together, so as to serve as a carrying sling. Vessels thus equipped could be carried on a shoulder pole; but they were often slung from the saddles of camels. For this purpose a wooden hook was sometimes used, the upper end of the hook being provided with a loop of rope to attach it to a projection of the saddle. Sometimes several vessels were carried on a kind of rack slung from the saddle and consisting of a stout bar provided with several pegs or knobs projecting upward from it, to each of which the sling of a jar could be attached. The cordage used in all these sling-devices is made of palm-fiber.

The subject deserves a minute description accompanied by illustrations; and I hope that the topic will be treated, in a manner more likely to meet the approval of archaeologists, by a member of the staff of our museum. The objects that I have described can be dated by the levels at which they were found and range from the first to the fifth century of our era.

It may be worth while to add that pots intended to be carried by a sling are usually not provided with a base broad enough to support them in an upright position, and some are pointed, or at least quite narrow at the bottom. Their more slender outlines would be in striking contrast to those of the γάρτραι, and thus we can understand why the writer of the papyrus letter roughly divides the pots into these two groups.

ἄσσάλιος

The word ἄσσάλιος, which is not to be found in any lexicon, occurs in a little-known apocryphal text, the Testament of Job (ch. 7). The work has been twice edited, by Mai (*Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, VII, pp. 180 ff.) from a Vatican manuscript, and by M. R. James (*Texts and Studies*, V, 1) from a Paris manuscript; there are numerous verbal differences between the two texts. The work is dated by James in the second or third century. The passage where our word occurs begins the story of a visit of Satan to Job's house and stands as follows in James' edition:

ὁ δὲ Σατανᾶς ἀκούσας ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἐπέθετο τοῖς ὤμοις ἄσσάλιον, καὶ ἐλθὼν λελάληκεν τῷ θυρωρῷ λέγων· εἰπὼν τῷ Ἰώβ, Δός μοι ἄρτον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἵνα φάγω.

While Mai's text is quite different, the only variant that concerns us is the addition of *ράκκῳδῃ*, "ragged," after *ἀσσάλιον*; it shows that the editor of that recension took *ἀσσάλιον* to be masculine, not neuter. It is clear from the context that an *ἀσσάλιος* was something appropriate to the disguise of a beggar. Gustave Brunet, who has made from Mai's text the only complete translation of the Testament,⁶ renders *ἀσσάλιον* *ράκκῳδῃ* "un vêtement en lambeaux." James did not translate his text, but, in a paraphrase of the story which he published for young readers,⁷ the phrase "put a wallet on his shoulder" shows how he interpreted *ἀσσάλιον*. The adjective *ράκκῳδῃ* in Mai's text perhaps suits a garment a little better, but its presence is certainly not decisive.

The word *ἀσσάλιος* is probably an adjective derived from the Latin *axilla*, through a popular form *assella*, which, along with *ascilla* and *ascella*, is attested in later Latin and may have belonged to the vulgar speech from an early period. All three of these popular forms are found as manuscript variants on a single passage of Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.*, 4, 60 *ad fin.*, ed. Harvey), where he is quoting Matt. 23, 37-38.⁸ The *e* in the second syllable of the Latin word has been assimilated to the *a* of the first, probably after its adoption by Greeks; cf. Mayser, *Gram.*, I, pp. 59 f.

If, as I think, *ἀσσάλιος* is an adjective, *χιτών* was probably originally expressed, then understood, with it. In this respect the word resembles the genuine Greek ἀμφιμάσχαλος (*χιτών*) of Aristophanes, *Eq.* 882. This analogy favors "shirt" rather than "wallet," though it is true that a wallet was slung over a shoulder and might hang under an arm.

There is a difficulty in this explanation, which must not be overlooked. In view of the long duration (until the sixth century) of the hard *c* before *e* and *i*,⁹ it is clear that in order to provide a loanword for the Testament of Job, *assella* must have been derived not from *ascella* but directly from *axilla*. The change *x* > *ss* is not an obstacle in itself, since we know that

⁶ In Migne, *Dict. des apocryphes*, II, 404 (*Encycl. Théol.*, XXIV).

⁷ *Old Testament Legends* (1913), pp. 85-86.

⁸ According to the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *axilla*, *assella*, not *assella*, is the spelling in the two Irenaeus MSS that begin the word with *ass*.

⁹ See Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 87-88.

cossim was used for *coxim* by the farce-writer L. Pomponius (fl. 89 B. C.).¹⁰ But the form *axilla*, according to the *Thesaurus*, is found only as a name and in certain glosses. Consequently the explanation of ἀσσάλιος suggested above depends upon the assumption that *axilla*, despite its being so scantily attested, was current long enough to give rise to a popular pronunciation *assella* at some time before the second century A. D.

πρόφασις in late Greek

Several years ago, in a paper called "Demons of the Bath,"¹¹ I called attention to a peculiar use of the word *πρόφασις* occurring in the apocryphal Acts of John attributed to Prochorus, and indicated my intention to take the subject up for fuller discussion at some later time. Meanwhile, the few related examples that I had collected have been increased by several interesting passages contributed by letter by Dr. Darwell Stone, the editor of the projected lexicon of patristic Greek; to him, as also to Dr. W. E. Crum and Dr. H. I. Bell, who have made valuable suggestions, I would record my obligations.

The semantic development of the word, as traced in LSJ, is as follows: first, *alleged motive* or *plea*, whether true or false (when false, translated "pretext," "pretense," "excuse"); second, *actual motive*, *purpose*, or *cause*, and as a development from these meanings, *occasion*. Some of the unfamiliar uses of *πρόφασις* may be viewed as extensions of the idea of *occasion*. There are examples of this use in English, such as "their lawful occasions" (Book of Common Prayer), where it means "affairs" or "business," and the colloquial "This is a pleasant occasion," said of a social entertainment or "affair." For this aspect of the word *πρόφασις*, we may note the following examples.

Theod. Mopsuest., *In evang. Ioan. comm. prooem.* (P. G., LXVI, 728B): ἡ μὲν γὰρ Σίμωνος πρόφασις τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ὁδὸν ποιήσασθαι παρεσκεύαζεν, ἕτερον δὲ ἐτέρως. Translate "the affair," "the matter" of Simon.

Acta Joannis, ed. Th. Zahn, p. 24: after telling how, at the building of a certain bath-house, a youth or a maiden had been buried in the foundations, the writer continues ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹¹ In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (1932), p. 204.

βαλανείῳ ἢ τοιαύτῃ πρόφασις ἐγένετο. Translate "affair," "incident."

P. Cairo Masp., III, 67306, 11 (sixth century), a cancellation of an acknowledgment of debt: εἰ συμβαίῃ ἐνάγειν σοι ὅσον [δήποτε ἂν] θρωπον, περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προφάσεως τῆς ὑποθήκης, ἐτοί[μως ἔχω] ποιῆσαι τὸ ἀνενόχλητόν σοι. Translate, "matter," "business."

In a list of payments, *P. Cairo Masp.*, I, 67058, iii, 20 (sixth century? Here, as in the next two examples, I give the expanded text, which is much abbreviated in the originals): Ψόῳ νομεραρίῳ προφάσει Ξερηνοῦ, where προφάσει is "in the matter of" or perhaps "for the account of" (so also probably *P. Oxy.*, 1717, 1).

P. Lond., IV, 1434, 57 (714-6 A. D.): ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ συμβούλου ὑπὲρ προφάσεως δρομικῶν ἀλόγων ἀλλαγῆς; "on the subject of," "concerning." Similarly 1441, 67 (706 A. D.), μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐκ προφάσεως ναυτῶν, κτλ.

This development, "subject," or "topic," suggests that "heading" or "caption" would suit better than "general view" (Sophocles' definition) or "preface" (LSJ) in Dioscurides, περὶ ιοβόλων, 3 (Kühn, *Medici Graeci*, XXVI, 2, p. 66), πρῶτον μὲν τὰς σημειώσεις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μίαν ἐκθησόμεθα πρόφασιν.

In the ninth Clementine homily, ch. 10 (*P. G.* II, 249A), warning against fleshly temptations, the writer says διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ προσφεύγειν θεῷ εὐχαῖς καὶ δεήσεσιν, ἀπεχομένους πάσης ἀκαθάρτου προφάσεως. "Occasion" or "purpose" might serve here, but one suspects that the word πρόφασις has been weakened in loose usage to a point where it means little more than "thing." One way in which this weakening of the meaning is furthered may be illustrated by the next two passages, in each of which πρόφασις, being placed in close connection with other words meaning "occasion" or "reason," tends to lose its own definiteness of content. So in Libanius, *Decl.*, 26, 22 (*On the garrulous wife*), πᾶσα γὰρ πρόφασις λόγων ἀφορμή, ἂν οἴκοι μένω, ἂν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀπέλθω, κτλ. Here one may indeed translate "every occasion is a starting-point for talk," but the virtually synonymous character of πρόφασις and ἀφορμή tends to reduce the former to "subject" or merely "thing." Similarly in Methodius, *De Libero Arbitrio*, 15, 3 (p. 184, 4 ff. of Bonwetsch's Berlin edition), after mentioning circumstances in which homicide is justifiable, ἐὰν δέ τις τὸν μηδὲν τι τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων πεποιηκότα ἀναίρησιν οὐδενὸς ἄλλης προφάσεως λόγου χάριν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν οἰκείων ἀφαίρεσεως ἔνεκα,

τουτέστιν ἡ χρημάτων ἡ κτημάτων, φαῦλον ἐργάζεται. Here, it is true, corruption has been suspected; but the attempts to correct it were doubtless prompted by uncertainty as to the use of *πρόφασις*.

The notion of *occasion* passes into that of *means, way*, in several instances; as follows:

Ps.-Clem., *Hom.*, 3, 11 (P. G., II, 117 C): *περὶ τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ* (i. e. a prophet) *μὴ ἀπλῶς διαλαμβάνειν* (decide), *ἀλλ' εἰ δύναται ἄνευ ἐτέρας προφάσεως συνεστάναι αὐτοῦ ἢ πρόγνωσης*.

Idem, *Hom.*, 7, 2 (P. G., II, 200 B), *θεῶ τῷ κτίσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὐ λείπει πρόφασις πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν σώζεσθαι θελόντων*.

Idem, *Epist. ad Jacobum*, 9 (P. G., II, 44 B), *πρὸς δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς* (i. e. ἀγαπῆς) *εἰσοδὸν μία τίς ἐστὶν ἱκανὴ πρόφασις, ἡ κοινὴ τῶν ἁλῶν μετάληψις*.

Ibid., 8 *ad fin.*, *ἐννούμενοι τὰς προφάσεις τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς, τεχνίτη ἔργον, ἄδρανεῖ ἔλεος*.

Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae (ed. James, *Texts and Studies*, II, 3), 8 (p. 62, 32), *ἵσως γένη μοι πρόφασις σωτηρίας*.

Ibid., 41 (p. 85, 24), *ὁρᾷς δὲ πῶς διὰ πολλῶν προφάσεων σώζει πολλοὺς ὁ θεός*. But in 18 (p. 71, 10) *καὶ τοῖς δυσπιστοῖς διὰ προφάσεως ἐξιλεῖται ὁ θεός*, διὰ προφάσεως is probably "for a purpose."

πρόφασις is clearly "way," "manner" in a passage in Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyrius*, 3: *αἰτούμενος δι' αὐτῶν* (i. e. εὐχῶν) *τὴν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριν τε καὶ βοήθειαν εἰς τὸ δυνηθῆναι, οἷα δὴποτε προφάσει, τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀνδρὸς διηγῆσθαι*. Grégoire and Kugener in their edition translate *πρόφασις* "manière," and cite as a parallel a Christian inscription (fifth century) from Delos,¹² *ἧ τις* (perhaps to be read *εἷ τις*) *ἐστὶν πρόφασις ἁμαρτιῶν, ταύτην ἐποίησα*. Here *πρόφασις* is almost our "kind," "sort."

CAMPBELL BONNER.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

¹² H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscr. gr. chrét. d'Asie Mineure*, no. 214.

NOTES ON MENANDER.

The double herm of Homer-Menander. One portrait of a double herm, found near the Appian way and now in the Terme Museum in Rome,¹ was at once recognized as that identified by Studniczka² as Menander. The resemblance to the comic poet of the Lateran relief, for an illustration of which see page 131 of the Loeb Menander, is particularly convincing evidence. Menander's squint, attested by Suidas, is also clearly portrayed in the copy belonging to the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, so much so that casual observers notice it without any prompting. The other portrait of the double herm was proved by J. F. Crome³ to represent Homer, not Aristophanes, as had been supposed. Crome argued, however, that Homer was coupled, not with Menander, but with Vergil. Poulsen in a review⁴ of Crome's work confidently asserts on stylistic grounds that the Menander portrait belongs to the third century B. C. and hence cannot represent Vergil. Körte has demolished the argument that Homer and Menander would not be coupled by quoting an epigram preserved on a bust at Turin.⁵ The writer of the epigram places Menander opposite Homer in his gallery because Aristophanes of Byzantium rated him next to Homer as a poet. There is another reason why the sculptor might couple Homer and Menander, for they were the two writers first read by boys in the elementary schools of Rome. Hence we may assume that the classroom, if it contained portraits at all, would have Homer and Menander. There is ample evidence to show that Menander came after Homer in the elementary curriculum. In Statius, *Silvae*, II, 1, 113-9 we read that the talent of a precocious boy was displayed in his recitations of Menander and Homer; and no other writer is mentioned. Compare Quintilian's

¹ Illustrated in Margarete Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1939), fig. 222. See also D. M. Robinson, "A New Marble Bust of Menander, Wrongly Called Vergil," *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, LXXXIII (1940), pp. 465-78.

² *Neue Jahrbücher*, XLI/XLII (1918), pp. 1-31.

³ "Das Bildnis Vergils," *Atti e Memorie, Reale Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova*, XXIV (1935), pp. 167 ff.

⁴ *Gnomon*, XII (1936), pp. 90-95.

⁵ *I. G.*, XIV, 1183; see A. Körte, "Homer und Menander," *Hermes*, LXXI (1936), pp. 221 f.

(I, 11, 12; I, 8, 7) recommendation of comedy, particularly Menander, as practice for the young declaimer. So Ausonius, in a letter to his grandson (*Epistle* 22, 46 f.) exhorts him to study the same two poets. It would be more surprising if we did not find such a double herm.

Epitrepontes, 390-7. The difficulty in supplementing line 395 is such that Körte leaves a blank in his edition. The difficulty has arisen, I believe, because it was supposed that ταύτην in the preceding line must refer to Pamphila. But ταύτης in line 386 refers to Habrotonon, and it seems to me quite certain that Onesimus refers to her with the same pronoun a second time. This permits us to fill out the whole passage as follows:

νῦν ἐπισφαλῇ
τὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κεκτημέ[νην]
ταχέως ἂν γὰρ εὐρεθῇ πατρὸς κόρ[η]
ἐλευθέρου μήτηρ τε τοῦ νῦν παιδί[ου]
γεγονῶ, ἐκείνην λήψεται, ταύτην [ἀφείς.
ἐπεύξ[εθ' ἢ γὰρ ἔ]γδον ἀπολείπειν· [ὅλως
καὶ νῦν χαριέντως ἐκνευκέναι δο[κῶ
τῷ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ ταυτὶ κυκᾶσθαι.

The only certain word in line 395 is ἀπολείπειν, the technical term used of a woman who leaves her husband as the first step in divorce. It may be used of a man who leaves his wife, but in that case means merely "leave" and implies neither a permanent separation nor divorce. Onesimus sees Charisius involved with three women: his wife; Habrotonon; and the mother of his child, who is probably a citizen. The recognition of Habrotonon will win her freedom and the position of *pallake*. Pamphila will be glad to obtain a divorce; in this Onesimus agrees with the mistaken calculation of Smicrines, who cannot imagine his daughter tolerating a rival. Since the real mother is rich and already bound to Charisius by the child, she and Charisius have everything to gain by marriage. What will become of Habrotonon? When she no longer poses as mother of the baby, Charisius will have no reason to keep her. In fact she would be an obstacle to his new marriage and must be dismissed.

The expression ἀφείς is inappropriate to Pamphila. Since Charisius could not legally keep her from going, Onesimus would

not speak of him as letting her go. I assume that Onesimus takes it for granted that Pamphila will take the initiative. He is wrong, to be sure, in thinking that she will seek a divorce, but right in supposing that Charisius will get rid of Habrotonon, when he finds the real mother of his child, for this action evidently takes place in our play before the final appearance of Smicrines in Act 5.

The word *ἐνδον* was read by Sudhaus and is much more likely than Jensen's *ναῦν*, which he himself once declared did not fit the visible traces (*Hermes*, XLIX [1914], p. 387). The shorter word *γάρ* seems more likely than *γοῦν* in spite of Sudhaus' discovery of traces that he read as *τήν*, which would perhaps fit *γοῦν*. The first word might be *ἐπείξεθ'* except for the fact, noted by Körte, that most students of the papyrus have read the fourth letter as Υ. In any case my reading is stronger, implying that Pamphila will offer vows of thanksgiving for the privilege of leaving her husband. I have not found the verb in this use as early as Menander, but *εὐχή* and *εὐκτόν* are familiar expressions for "the best that one can ask or hope for." The same idea is present in *Samia*, 171: *ἀγαπήσει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς θύσει*, "she will be content, in fact she will celebrate with sacrifices." I propose *ὅλως* at the end of the line, rather than *ὁμως*, because I see no point in the adversative here and prefer to take *καί* as the conjunction. There is a parallel in Antiphanes, frag. 33:

ὅλως

αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν δοκεῖ.

Perikeiromene 36-42.

ἡ δὲ τῷ προσιδέ[ναι]

*ἀδελφὸν ὄντ' οὐκ ἔφυγε, προσιών δ' [ὁ ξένος
ὁρᾷ. τὰ λοιπὰ δ' αὐτὸς [εἴρηχ']· ὃν τρ[όπον
ὁ μὲν ᾤχετ' εἰπὼν ὅτι κατὰ σχολὴν ἰδ[εῖν
αὐτὴν <ἔ>τι βούλεθ', [ἡ δ'] ἐδάκρυ' ἐστῶσα καὶ
ὠδύρεθ'—ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐλευθέρως ποιεῖν
ἔξεστιν αὐτῇ.*

It is usually assumed that it was Polemon who saw Moschion kissing Glycera. I assume that it was Sosia (171 ὁ ξένος) for Polemon "was at once beside himself" (410, *εἰθὺς ἐπαρφύνονν*), and there are good reasons for supposing that the actual assault on Glycera's hair took place during the action, that is, on the

day of the play, not the night before. Polemon is known to the audience as *σφοδρός*, a word that seems to imply action as at *Epitrepontes*, 352: *κατέβαλες δέ μ' ὡς σφόδρα*. There are in the play no altercations between Polemon and Glycera. If there were, the effect would be more tragic than comic, or else sympathy would be lessened. The principals meet for a reconciliation in the last act; it would not be in the manner of Menander to show them together after the outrage. Agnoia fears that someone may have felt disgust (47), presumably when Glycera's hair was shorn, for the aorist is used as of a sudden emotion. The operation would take place off-stage and be reported to the audience by Doris or Sosia looking through the door. Even when Glycera appears later, her veil might easily hide her hair so that she would not be deprived of her charm for the audience. The best reason for thinking that the shearing was presented directly is that Agnoia refers to it as to a thing perfectly clear in the minds of the spectators without any direct statement. We are justified in assuming that anything explained by Agnoia has not been explained before and that anything not explained was presented in action.

There is furthermore no case of a present participle as title of a play where it is probable that the title does not, as in the *Epitrepontes*, refer to an incident within the frame of the play. The argument of Ulbrecht is completely unconvincing.⁶ He considers it improbable that the heroines of *Ἐμπιπραμένη* or *Παριζομένη* could have been set on fire or slapped on-stage. The question, however, is not whether the shearing happened on-stage or not, but whether it happened, probably off-stage, after the action of the play had begun. In the *Heracles Mainomenos* of Euripides the madness is off-stage, but it is part of the action. Again the burning or the slapping may have been merely threatened, under way but not completed, like the roasting of the babe off-stage in the *Samia* (209, *ἐμπρήσειν*) or the roasting of Davus at the altar in Menander's *Perinthia* (20, *κἀερε*). The same method is threatened by Lycus in Euripides' *Heracles* (240-6) to force Heracles' wife and children from the altar. Presumably Menander's *Empimpramene* had a similar scene enacted on the stage. The beating of a woman could also

⁶ *Kritische und exegetische Studien zu Menander* (Würzburg, Triltsch, 1933), pp. 41 f.

happen in Greek comedy off-stage or could be threatened, if we may judge Greek feeling about such incidents by what happens in romances. The hero of Chariton's romance actually kicks his wife in a fit of jealousy when she is pregnant. The heroine of Heliodorus' *Ethiopica* (VII, 7, 6), disguised as a beggar, is publicly slapped. Scenes in which torture is threatened also occur. Wives are not beaten, as a rule, in Greek fiction, but slave women are, and violence produced by jealousy was no more unforgivable than it is in Chinese novels, as the *Perikeiromene* itself clearly indicates. Menander was too good a showman not to make the ill treatment of Glycera as vivid as possible in order to arouse sympathy. To represent Glycera in an altercation on the stage would have spoiled the effect entirely. Furthermore Agnoia would surely have explained in her narrative that Polemon took action at once, if the audience were intended to suppose that he had done so.

Hence I conclude that the observer of Moschion's kiss was Sosia, who acts as spy for his master throughout the play. To whom do the pronouns in 38 f. refer? Coppola in his annotated edition⁷ interprets both as referring to Moschion, while in the Loeb translation both seem to be taken as referring to Polemon. On my interpretation it must be Moschion who left Glycera with the remark that he would see her again at leisure; and the words fit, for Moschion had been interrupted by the appearance of a spectator, while Polemon would not have waited to demand an explanation. Again if he had sheared Glycera there and then, she would not have stood weeping and lamenting that she could not freely see Moschion; she would have had something worse to lament. In line 38 *αὐτός* might conceivably mean Moschion or Sosia; it makes little difference. We know that Sosia had appeared, since at line 52 it is assumed that he is known to the audience. In any case neither Moschion nor Sosia could have known why Glycera was lamenting. Hence I have put a dash before *ὅτι* in line 41 to show that what follows is an addition by Agnoia herself.

Perikeiromene, 114. Merely because a gayer rhythm better suits Moschion's character and mood, I should read:

τὴν δ' Ἀδράστειαν μάλιστα νῦν ἄρ' [ικετεύω θε]ῶ[ν].

The last letter may have been indicated by a line above the Ω.

⁷ Torino, Chiantore, 1938.

Perikeiromene, 135-7.

κατακέχρη]σαί μοι. (Δα) γελοῖον. ἡ μὲν οὖν μήτηρ—

(Μο) τί φῆς;

οὐκ ἔρᾶν ἤ]κουσαν αὐτήν, ἢ τί πρᾶγμ'; οὐχ ἔνεκ' ἐμοῦ

εἶπας ὥ]ς πέπεικας ἔλθειν πρὸς μ';

(Δα) ἐγὼ δ' εἶρηκά σοι κτλ.

In line 136 recent editors print οὐ φνυγεῖν ἐκοῦσαν αὐτήν, which does not quite fit. Flight is in its nature voluntary, a choice of the lesser of two evils. We might better read οὐ μένειν ἐκοῦσαν or οὐ παρεῖν' ἐκοῦσαν, for Moschion is evidently disconcerted to hear that Glycera does not wish his company. He had supposed that her *coming* was proof of her love. But οὐκ ἔρᾶν ἤκουσαν is the most forcible expression of his deduction from her coming and his surprise to find himself mistaken. It is sound psychology to represent Moschion as ignoring everything but the precise point that matters to him. Since both Myrrhina and Glycera were clearly acting voluntarily, neither ἐκοῦσαν nor ἄκουσαν is particularly probable. The other possibilities with ἤκουσαν, such as οὐ φιλεῖν, ἄρ' ὀκνεῖν, μετανοεῖν seem less likely than my suggestion.

Perikeiromene, 158. Davus urges Moschion to do something and enter the house in decent style. Sudhaus would have him change his costume (μεταβαλοῦ τρόπον τινὰ). Jensen would have him invest himself with some sort of behavior (περιβαλοῦ τρόπον τινὰ). According to Jensen, Sudhaus' reading does not fit the traces of letters in the papyrus. Certainly Jensen's reading does not fit an unphilosophical slave such as Davus. Another possibility is παραβαλοῦ τρόπον τινὰ. Compare Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.*, 711d: φείδον καὶ παραβάλλον. Since in another passage we find ἐπίσχες καὶ παραβαλοῦ τὸ θυρίον τοῦ λόγου, *De facie*, 940 f (cf. 965 b), the metaphor seems to refer to the closing of the orifice of a water-clock when an oration ceased. In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (180) παραβαλοῦ is Charon's order to the rowers to ship oars or bring the boat to land. The vague τρόπῳ τινά, "in a way," is used by Davus in the *Hero* (20) of Menander. Hence we may translate: "come to rest somehow and go inside in decent fashion," or "pull up, more or less, etc."

Perikeiromene, 307-10.

εἰλόμην δ' οὕτως ἐγ[ώ]

ἁπρόνως ἔχειν ἔχθραν τε πρᾶ[ξαι τοῖς φίλοις]

ὑμῖν θ' ὑπόνοιαν καταλιπεῖν [ἦν ἐκβαλεῖν
ἦν ἐξαλείψαι τ' οὐκέτ', οὐδ' αἰσχ[ύνομαι,
Πάτακε;

The supplement in line 309 with the accents and division of words in the next line were credited to me by Allinson in the revision of his Loeb version (1930). The reading of Jensen and Körte is καταλιπεῖν ἀκοσμίας ἦν ἐξαλείψαιτ' κτλ. The potential optative without ἄν was a stumbling-block to Allinson as it is to me. Such usage cannot be proved possible by an occasional prose passage, where there may well be a scribal omission. Note the skepticism of a reviewer in *C. R.*, LIV (1940), p. 22 with regard to the attribution of such a use to Hyperides. The use of ἐκβαλεῖν in the sense "disown," "eliminate from the record," is illustrated by Sophocles, *O. T.*, 849:

οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ τοῦτό γ' ἐκβαλεῖν πάλιν.

The modal use of ἦν without ἄν in a statement that would be contrary to fact in English is normal Greek. The arrangement of words in τ' οὐκέτ' οὐδ' with the repetition of τ' οὐ- is appropriate to express Glycera's strong feeling. There are similar assonances in καταλιπεῖν, ἦν ἐκβαλεῖν, ἦν ἐξαλείψαι. Note also the assonance of initial and final letters in ἔχειν ἔχθραν, ὑμῖν θ' ὑπόνοιαν. The whole effect is truly remarkable. Glycera is simply exploding with righteous indignation, and I like her the better for it. Menander's verse was written for the actor, not for the reader, as Demetrius notes (*De Elocutione*, 4, 193 f.). Strong feeling or action is indicated by the rhythm, as in *Epitreponτες*, 706 f., where the jolts of the verse show that Smicrines is shaking the old woman: προπετῶς ἀπάγω, περιμένω καταφαγεῖν. The supplement that I reject is appropriate rather to a staid observer than to the excited Glycera. In line 308 I adopt τοῖς φίλοις as stronger in sense and rhythm than other supplements.

Perikeiromene, 344-348.

ἐν τῶν] ἀδυνάτων ἐστί, τουτί μοι δοκεῖ
σκοποῦν]τι, τὴν ἐμὴν τεκοῦσαν μητέρα
μόνην προ]έσθαι θυγατέρ' αὐτῇ γενομένην·
εἰ δὲ γεγέννητ]αι τοῦτ', ἀδελφῇ δ' ἔστ' ἐμῇ
αὐτῇ, κάκιστ'] ἔφθαρμ' ὁ δυστυχῆς ἐγώ.

In line 344 Körte reads, with Gomme's approval:⁸ οὐ τῶν ἀδυνάτων, taking τὴν μητέρα as referring not to Myrrhina, but to Moschion's unknown natural mother. This interpretation requires the assumption that Moschion has learned from Myrrhina that he is a foundling. There are reasons for not accepting this. In line 363 Moschion still refers to Myrrhina as his mother, and the evidence that he is a foundling does not come until line 356. The reason that he is not stunned by this disclosure is that he suspected the truth, not that he knew it. No one of course will suppose that τεκοῦσαν in 345 is a defining attribute; its position forbids it to mean anything but "my mother, *having borne* a daughter."

With my reading Moschion refuses to believe that Myrrhina would, after giving birth to a daughter, have exposed her. The gap in 346 contained an expression that would make the action still more unbelievable. Sudhaus' λάθρα will not do, for the position is emphatic, and the secret disposal of a babe would surely be normal. The most likely possibilities are ταύτην, μόνην, πρώτην, and ζῶσαν. Daughters are, as Gomme points out, highly valued in Greek comedy, but people might value one daughter without wanting to have more. Moschion would know that Myrrhina had no daughter living, hence that it was an only daughter that was abandoned. To be sure, the missing word may be ζῶσαν. Chremes in Terence, *H. T.*, 626-43 is indignant because a newborn daughter of his had been exposed to be brought up as a prostitute or a slave, instead of being put out of existence as he had ordered. Moschion may have agreed with Chremes that it is a sin to expose a babe alive, though it is no sin to let it die and bury it. The women were expected to keep unwanted babies out of sight and out of mind. On the other hand, γενομένην is not likely to mean simply "born," for that would duplicate the sense of τεκοῦσαν in the preceding line. It is, therefore, best to read μόνην, which may be taken with γενομένην as equivalent to μονογενῆ.

What then did Moschion know? It is clear that he knew something that left him hesitant between two alternatives: 1. Was he himself a foundling and not Myrrhina's natural son? With line 356 he discovers that this is actually so. 2. Was he Myrrhina's son, though his sister was a foundling? This alter-

⁸ *Class. Quart.*, XXX (1936), pp. 68 f.; 193.

native he rejects in line 344 as an impossibility. He knew then that Glycera was his sister and that she was a foundling. In line 285 he declared himself the most miserable of men, probably because he had discovered that Glycera was his sister. It was not impossible, however, that Myrrhina had brought her up secretly like the heroine of Menander's *Phasma*. When he observed and overheard the scene of recognition in which Glycera displays the tokens, he sees of course that she was brought up as a foundling. This starts him thinking, and he concludes that he too must be a foundling, a conclusion that is soon confirmed by what he overhears. It is natural that he should not exclaim in surprise when he becomes aware of a fact that he has reached by deduction.

How did Moschion discover that Glycera was his sister without the opportunity to learn more? Certainly not from any intentional revelation either by Myrrhina or by Glycera, but only by overhearing something that passed between the two women. We know that he heard Glycera take an oath to Myrrhina (363). The scene is set for this in line 300. What he overheard was perhaps: "I swear that I will not reveal the fact that I am Moschion's sister." He perhaps heard only this because Myrrhina had brought Glycera to a particular shrine within his hearing in order to solemnize the oath. There is a parallel in the *Ethiopica*. (IV, 18, 6) of Heliodorus, where the hearth of a private house is used as an altar for a solemn oath: ἐμοῦ . . . τὴν ἐστίαν ἐσχάραν εἰς βωμὸν ἀνάψαντος καὶ λιβανωτὸν ἀποθύσαντος ἐπώμνυνε δ' Θεαγένης. Moschion would be too much overwhelmed by the blow to his prospects as lover of Glycera to seek further information at first. I can see no weakness in the plot as I have outlined it.

Perikeiromene, 394. Here Körte leaves a blank. I suggest a reading that fills the space and gives good sense:

(Πα) οὐκέτι καθέξω, φιλάτ[η. (Μο) σκόπ]ει δ' ἐγώ
τίς εἶμ]ι, τί προσέχουσθ' ἐμ[οι.

"*Pataecus*. I will no longer restrain myself, dearest daughter. *Moschion*. But observe who I am, how you two are related to me."

L. A. POST.

THE EURIPIDES PAPYRI.

In my book on Euripides ¹ published in 1930 I included in an appendix a list of the Euripides papyri known to me at that time, adding also a few other items in which the writing was on some other material than papyrus, such as vellum or a potsherd. During the last ten years other new fragments of Euripides in considerable number have been identified, so that it seems desirable to bring the list up to date. That has been done in this paper which also includes a few small fragments omitted from the earlier list. There are now 73 separate items ² as compared with 42 in 1930. They are the following and, as before, include a few which are not papyri.

1. *Aegeus*. Two lines, the same as Fragment 11 (Nauck) with four additional words. On an ostrakon in Berlin. No. P. 12311. Part of a school exercise. P. Viereck, *Raccolta Lumbroso*, pp. 255 f. Date second half of third century B. C.

2. *Alcestis*, lines 1155-1163. See also ending of *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Helen* and, with change of one line, *Medea*. *Hibeh Papyri*, No. 25, pp. 113 f. Date 280-240 B. C.

3. *Alcmaeon at Corinth*. Two lines quoted in a work on literary criticism. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1611, lines 90 ff., Vol. XIII, pp. 127 ff. Date early third century A. D.

4. *Alexander*. About 150 badly broken lines besides various small fragments. Now in Strassburg. See B. Snell, *Hermes*, Einzelschriften, V (1937). Date first century B. C.

5. *Andromache*, lines 5-28 (omitting 7), 30-36, and 39-48. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 449, Vol. III, pp. 101 ff. Date third century A. D.

¹ *Euripides, A Student of Human Nature* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930).

² In *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 208 f. F. M. Heichelheim publishes a tiny fragment of papyrus in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, dating from the late first or early second century A. D. There are parts of eight lines, that is four on the recto and four on the verso, with three letters of each line preserved, but there is doubt about some of these. He would assign them to Euripides, *Hecuba*, 503-504, 20-21; *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 790-791; and Sophocles, *Antigone*, 689-690. In view of their uncertain character it seems advisable not to include them in this list of Euripides papyri.

6. *Andromache*, lines 907-914. *Rendel Harris Papyri*, No. 39, p. 26. Date early third century A. D.

7. *Andromache*, lines 957-959, 988-990, 1239-1242, and 1273-1276. *Papyri Russischer und Georgischer Sammlungen*, I: *Literarische Texte*, No. 8, pp. 58 f. Date second century A. D.

8. *Antiope*. 123 lines from end of play. Mahaffy in *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff. See also von Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum*, pp. 18 ff. Date third century B. C.

9. *Archelaus*. Sixteen fragmentary lines. Cf. Fragment 247 (Nauck). *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 419, Vol. III, pp. 65 f. Date second or third century A. D.

10. *Cretans*. Fifty-two lines on a parchment leaf. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. 217, Vol. V, 2, pp. 73 ff. See also von Arnim, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff. Date second century A. D.

11. *Danaë*. Five lines from an anthology. Same as Fragment 326 (Nauck) omitting line 4. *Papyri Russischer und Georgischer Sammlungen*, I: *Literarische Texte*, No. 9, p. 60. Date second century A. D. See No. 49.

12. *Electra*. Part of the Hypothesis. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 420, Vol. III, pp. 66 ff. Date third century A. D.

13. *Electra*, lines 367-379. From an anthology. *Hibeh Papyri*, No. 7b, pp. 36 f. Date third century B. C.

14. *Electra*, lines 388-389. From a collection of sentences on an ostrakon in Berlin. No. P. 12319. *Sitz. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1918, pp. 742 f., No. 6. Date second half of third century B. C. See No. 15.

15. *Hecuba*, lines 254-256. From a collection of sentences on an ostrakon in Berlin. No. P. 12319. *Sitz. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1918, pp. 742 f., No. 10. Date second half of third century B. C. See No. 14.

16. *Hecuba*, lines 700-703 and 737-740. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 876, Vol. VI, pp. 182 f. Date fifth century A. D.

17. *Hecuba*, lines 1252-1269 and 1271-1280. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 877, Vol. VI, pp. 183 f. Date third century A. D.

18. *Hippolytus Crowned*, lines 243-367, 375-430, and 492-515. From a parchment book. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 5005, Vol. V, 2, pp. 88 ff. Date sixth century A. D.

19. *Hippolytus Crowned*, lines 403-423 with the omission of lines 405, 411, and 412, and with the addition of an interpolated

line after 407. From part of an anthology in Berlin. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 9772, Vol. V, 2, p. 127. Date second century B. C. See Nos. 38 and 63.

20. *Hippolytus Crowned*, lines 616-624 on an ostrakon in Berlin. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 4758, Vol. V, 2, pp. 96 f. Date second century B. C.

21. *Hippolytus Crowned*, lines 664-668. From an anthology in Berlin. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 9773, lines 7-11, Vol. V, 2, p. 129. Date second century B. C.

22. *Hypsipyle*. Parts of nearly 1700 lines in over 200 fragments, some of them very small. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 852, Vol. VI, pp. 19 ff. See also von Arnim, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff. Date late second or early third century A. D.

23. *Hypsipyle*. Twenty fragmentary lines identified by F. Petersen, *Hermes*, XLIX (1914), p. 156. *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Vol. II, 49(c), now British Museum Papyri No. 590. Date not given.

24. *Hypsipyle* (?). Parts of nine lines. H. J. M. Milne (*Class. Rev.*, XL [1926], p. 64) thinks this fragment belongs to *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Vol. II, 49(c). *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Vol. II, 49(d) DX. Date not given.

25. *Ino*. Lines 3 and 4 of Fragment 407 (Nauck), quoted by Satyrus in his *Life of Euripides*, col. XVII, lines 1-7. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1176, Vol. IX, pp. 124 ff. Date second century A. D.

26. *Ino*. Lines 1, 2, 4, and 5 of Fragment 424 (Nauck) with syllables separated, in a school book with elementary exercises in reading, etc. O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet, *Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J. C.*, lines 126-129. Cairo Museum No. 65445. Date latter part of third century B. C. See No. 55.

27. *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, lines 174-191 (omitting 178), 245-255, 272-286, 581-595, and 600-629 (omitting 628). *Hibeh Papyri*, No. 24, pp. 108 ff. Date 280-240 B. C.

28. *Medea*, lines 5-12. Weil, *Monuments Grecs*, No. 8, 1879, Pt. II, pp. 16 ff. Date before 161 B. C.

29. *Medea*, line 20 on a marble plaque at Delphi. *Bull. Cor. Hel.*, XLIX (1925), p. 88. Date third century B. C. See No. 54.

30. *Medea*, lines 20-26 and 57-63. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1370, Vol. XI, pp. 126 ff. Date fifth century A. D.

31. *Medea*, lines 507, 513-517, and 545-560. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. 243, Vol. V, 2, pp. 97 f. Date fifth century A. D.

32. *Medea* lines 710-715. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 450, Vol. III, p. 103. Date third century A. D.

33. *Medea*, lines 719-723, 1046-1053, 1279-1299, 1301-1319, and 1323-1328. *Rendel Harris Papyri*, No. 38, pp. 23 ff. Date second century A. D.

34. *Medea*, lines 843-844, 846-849, 852, 856, 859, 862, 865, 976-977, 979, 981, 1087-1115, 1251-1287, 1290-1292, and 1389-1419. From a roll containing lyric passages from Euripides written like prose. Now in Strassburg. N. Lewis, *Études de Papyrologie*, III (1936), pp. 52 ff. Cf. B. Snell, *Hermes*, Einzelschriften, V (1937), pp. 69 ff. Date third century B. C. See Nos. 40 and 60.

35. *Medea*, lines 1057-1062 and 1086-1092, much broken. Vellum fragment from Arsinoë now in London. H. J. M. Milne, *Class. Rev.*, XLIX (1935), p. 14. Date fourth or fifth century A. D.

36. *Medea*, lines 1156-1160, 1165-1177, and 1191-1199. In Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. *Class. Quarterly*, XXXII (1938), pp. 45 f. Date first or early second century A. D.

37. *Melanippe Desmotis*. Fifty lines, some consisting of a few letters only, from a parchment book. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 5514, Vol. V, 2, pp. 84 ff. Date fifth century A. D.

38. *Melanippe Desmotis*. Thirty-two lines from an anthology in Berlin. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 9772, Vol. V, 2, pp. 125 f. The last four lines also quoted as from the *Protesilaus*. Date second century B. C. See Nos. 19 and 63.

39. *Melanippe Desmotis*. Lines 5-15 of No. 38 quoted in the *Life of Euripides* by Satyrus, col. XI, lines 1-30. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1176, Vol. IX, pp. 125 ff. Date second century A. D.

40. *Melanippe Desmotis* (?). Thirty-six broken lines from a roll which contained lyric passages from Euripides. Now in Strassburg. N. Lewis, *Études de Papyrologie*, III (1936), pp. 68 ff.; also B. Snell, *Hermes*, Einzelschriften, V (1937), pp. 78 ff. Date third century B. C. See Nos. 34 and 60.

41. *Oeneus* (?). Two small fragments the largest having parts of six lines. P. B. Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment*, Vol. II, p. 1. Date first century B. C.

42. *Oeneus* (?). Parts of seventy-eight lines. *Hibeh Papyri*, No. 4, pp. 21 ff. Date 300-280 B. C.

43. *Orestes*, lines 53-61 and 89-97. Leaf of vellum codex.

Oxy. Pap., No. 1616, Vol. XIII, pp. 163 f. Date fifth century A. D.

44. *Orestes*, lines 226-247. At Columbia University, New York. *Class. Phil.*, XXXIII (1938), pp. 411 ff. Date first century B. C.

45. *Orestes*, lines 338-343 with musical notes attached. Cf. J. F. Mountford in Powell and Barber, *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, Second Series, p. 169. *Rainer Papyri*, No. 8029, Vol. V, pp. 65 ff. Date about 1 A. D.

46. *Orestes*, lines 445-449, 469-473, 482-486, 508-512, 685-690, 723-729, 811-817, 850-854, 896-898, 907-910, 924-936, 945-948, 1248-1262, 1297-1305, 1334-1345, and 1370-1371. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1370, Vol. XI, pp. 126 ff. Date fifth century A. D.

47. *Orestes*, lines 754-764. *Études de Papyrologie*, I (1932), pp. 15 f. Date late first or early second century A. D.

48. *Orestes*, lines 1062-1090 (omitting 1086 and 1087). Nicole, *R. de Philologie*, XIX (1895), pp. 105 ff. Date second or third century A. D.

49. *Orestes*, lines 1155-1156. From an anthology. *Papyri Russischer und Georgischer Sammlungen*, I: *Literarische Texte*, No. 9, p. 60. Date second century A. D. See No. 11.

50. *Orestes*, lines 1313-1350 and 1356-1360. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1178, Vol. IX, pp. 184 ff. Date early part of first century B. C.

51. *Phaethon*. Nineteen lines written as thirty-five. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 9771, Vol. V, 2 pp. 79 ff. Date third century B. C.

52. *Phoenissae*, lines 105-118 and 128-140. Inscribed on an ostrakon by a school-boy. Many mistakes. *Class. Rev.*, XVIII (1904), p. 2. Date second century B. C.

53. *Phoenissae*, lines 171-185 and 200-226. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1177, Vol. IX, pp. 182 ff. Date early first century A. D.

54. *Phoenissae*, lines 529-530 much broken. On a marble plaque at Delphi. *Bull. Cor. Hel.*, XLIX (1925), p. 88. Date third century B. C. See No. 29.

55. *Phoenissae*, lines 529-535 with syllables separated, in a school book with elementary exercises in reading, etc. O. Guéraud and B. Jouguet, *Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J. C.*, lines 115-125. Cairo Museum, No. 65445. Date latter part of third century B. C. See No. 26.

56. *Phoenissae*, lines 646-656. From Oxyrhynchus. *Cata-*

logue of Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Vol. III, pp. 195 ff. Date second century A. D.

57. *Phoenissae*, lines 1017-1043 and 1064-1071. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 224, Vol. II, pp. 114 ff. Date third century A. D.

58. *Phoenissae*, lines 1027-1048. From Oxyrhynchus, now in Florence. *Papyri Greci e Latini*, No. 1193, Vol. XI, p. 70. Date second century A. D.

59. *Phoenissae*, lines 1097-1107 and 1126-1137. On a wooden tablet. *Rainer Papyri*, Vol. V, pp. 74 ff. Date fourth or fifth century A. D.

60. *Phoenissae*, lines 1500-1581, 1710-1730, and 1733-1736. From a roll containing lyric passages from Euripides written like prose. Now in Strassburg. N. Lewis, *Études de Papyrologie*, III (1936), pp. 52 ff. Date third century B. C. See Nos. 34 and 40.

61. *Phoenissae*. Excerpts from scholia. Eighty-six lines, some much broken. From Hermopolis, now in Würzburg. On verso scholia on lines 344, 347, 417, 574, 631, 638 ff., 640, 651, and 657; on recto scholia on lines 683, 730, 808, 606, 23, 43, 982, 90, 1019-1020, 1023, 1028, 1033, 1043, 1046, and 1108. Wilcken, *Abhand. der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1933, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, No. 6, pp. 7 ff. Date sixth century A. D.

62. *Phoenix*. Fragment 809 (Nauck), lines 8 and 9 quoted in a rhetorical treatise. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 410, lines 103 ff., Vol. III, pp. 26 ff. Date latter half of second century A. D.

63. *Protesilaus*. The four lines of Fragment 658 (Nauck) are found in an anthology in Berlin quoted as belonging to the *Melanippe Desmotis*. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 9772, Vol. V, 2, p. 126 (col. V, lines 2-5). Date second century B. C. See Nos. 19 and 38.

64. *Protesilaus*. Three of the four lines of Fragment 658 (No. 63 above) in an anthology in Berlin. *Berl. Klassikertexte*, No. P. 9773, Vol. V, 2, p. 129, lines 1-3. Date second century B. C.

65. *Rhesus*. Twenty-five lines of the Hypothesis; also eight lines of the Hypothesis of the spurious *Rhadamanthys*. From Oxyrhynchus. C. Gallavotti, *Rivista di Filologia*, XI (1933), pp. 177 ff. Date second century A. D. See No. 68.

66. *Rhesus*, lines 48-96, i. e. 48-70 and 71-96. In Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Wilcken, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1887, pp. 813 ff. Date fourth or fifth century A. D.

67. *Sciron*. Part of the Hypothesis with broken lines of the beginning of the play, fifteen fragmentary lines in all. *Amherst Papyri*, Vol. II, No. 17. Date sixth or seventh century A. D.

68. *Scyrians*. Part of line 1 and sixteen lines of the Hypothesis. From Oxyrhynchus. C. Gallavotti, *Rivista di Filologia*, XI (1933), pp. 177 ff.; also A. Körte, *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), pp. 1 ff. Date second century A. D. See No. 65.

69. *Telephus*. Fifteen and one-half lines from the beginning of the play. In Milan. *Aegyptus*, XV (1935), pp. 239 ff. Date second century B. C.

70. *Telephus* (?). Nineteen lines from a play dealing with the Telephus story. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Vol. III, pp. 92 ff. Date second century A. D.

71. *Temenidae* (?). Forty-four lines in two copies, i. e. the same lines are repeated on the recto and the verso of the papyrus. Weil, *Monuments Grecs*, No. 8, 1879, Pt. I, pp. 2 ff. Date before 161 B. C.

72. *Troades*, lines 876-879 on a wax tablet. *Berl. Klassiker-texte*, No. NR. 17651, Vol. V, 2, p. 98. Date first century A. D.

73. *Life of Euripides* by Satyrus. *Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1176, Vol. IX, pp. 124 ff.; also von Arnim, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff. Date second century A. D.

WILLIAM NICKERSON BATES.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE INDO-EUROPEAN BASE-TYPE *do-, *do-*ie*-,
*do-*ye*-, *do-*ze*-.

From a purely theoretic and schematic point of view, one should have, corresponding to the Indo-European diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi* and *au*, *eu*, *ou*, whose second components are the prepalatal semivowel [j] and the bilabial semivowel [w] respectively, a third series whose second component should be of postvelar quality. That this element was a semivowel (here written *Ɂ* or *ə*) corresponding to the surd pharyngeal spirant [ħ], which appears in Hittite intervocalically as *hh*, and which coalesced elsewhere in Indo-European with a preceding [a], [e], and [o],¹ seems evident from such correspondences as Hittite *newahhun* "I renewed": Greek *veān* < **veḥā-essēn* < **veḥaɁ-essēn* (cf. also Latin *novāre* < **novā-esi*); Hittite *tehhhi* "I place": Greek *τί-θη-μι*, Latin *fēcī*, Old Church Slavonic *dě-ti*; Hittite *dahhi* "I take": Greek *δί-δω-μι*, Latin *dō-num*, Lithuanian *dūo-mi*.

One would have, then, the following alternations:

	NR	NZ	RN	RR	RZ	ZN	ZR	ZZ
<i>eie</i>	<i>éi_e</i> > <i>éia</i>	<i>éi</i> = <i>ei</i>	<i>éi_e</i> > <i>aíé</i>	<i>éi_e</i> > <i>aíā</i>	<i>éi</i> > <i>ī</i>	<i>íé</i> = <i>íé</i>	<i>í_e</i> > <i>ia</i>	<i>i</i> = <i>i</i>
<i>eue</i>	<i>éu_e</i> > <i>éua</i>	<i>éu</i> = <i>eu</i>	<i>éu_e</i> > <i>aué</i>	<i>éu_e</i> > <i>auā</i>	<i>eu</i> > <i>ū</i>	<i>ué</i> = <i>ué</i>	<i>u_e</i> > <i>ua</i>	<i>u</i> = <i>u</i>
<i>eəe</i>	<i>éə_e</i> > <i>ē</i>	<i>éə</i> > <i>ē</i>	<i>éə_e</i> > <i>ē</i>	<i>eə_e</i> > <i>ā</i>	<i>eə</i> > <i>ā</i>	<i>əé</i> > <i>ē</i>	<i>ə_e</i> > <i>a</i>	<i>ə</i> = <i>ə</i>

In view of all this, and especially in the light of the type of Hittite *tehhhi*: Greek *τί-θη-μι*, it would appear that the supposed Indo-European bases ending in a long vowel were, in reality, bases ending in a short vowel plus *Ɂ* or *ə*, which would seem to have been determinatives³ of the same character as *íe*: *i* and

¹ This study represents a complete revision of my article "Vocalic Alternation in the Disyllabic Base in Indo-European" in this JOURNAL, LI (1930), pp. 273-285. Taking the base-type as **vecēi*-, I was then unable to explain what I there called the "shortened grade," and I was wrong in considering the final *-i/-u* as part of the primitive base. On the phonetic value of the laryngals (or pharyngals?) see, most recently, E. H. Sturtevant, in *Language*, XVI (1940), pp. 81-87.

² The developments of *aíé*, *oíə*, *eúa*, *oye*, *aəo*, *eəa* are exactly analogous. N, R, Z denote the normal, reduced, and zero-grades respectively.

³ This term here comprises both the "suffixe" and the "élargissement" of E. Benveniste (*Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, I [Paris, 1935], p. 148, etc.). On the other hand, I am still

ye: *u*, *ze*, *ie*, and *ye* being zero-normal grades of the determinative-bases *eze*, *eie*, and *eue*, and *z*, *i*, and *y* being their corresponding double-zero grades.

As a particularly wide-spread example of such a base, which will show all the principles involved, we may take *do- "give,"⁴ which appears historically in the four types *do-, *do-*i*(e)-, *do-*y*(e)-, *do-*z*(e)- > *dō(e)-, besides the compound types *do-*ye-ie*-, *do-*ze-ie*-, *do-*ze-ye*-, *do-*ze-ye-ie* actually found, and the hypothetically possible *do-*ie-ye*-, *do-*ie-ze*-, *do-*ye-ze*-.

From the purely theoretic point of view, these bases should show the following grades in Indo-European (*mutatis mutandis*, the base-types *do-*ye-ie*-, etc., show analogous grades):

	N, NR	N, NZ	R, RN	RR	RZ	ZN	ZR	ZZ
do-	dó-	d	dó-					
doie-	dóie-	dóí-	dóie-	dóie-	dóí-	díé-	díe-	dí
doye-	dóye-	dóu-	dóye-	dóye-	dóu-	dýé-	dýe-	du
doze-	dóze-	dóz-	dóze-	dóze-	dóz-	dzé-	dze-	də

The actual historical representatives of these base-types we may now consider in the order just given.

1) *do-. N *dó-: Sanskrit *dátra*-, Greek *δόσις* "gift," Venetic *zoto* "gave" (cf. Gk. *ἐξ-έδοτο*), Lithuanian *priē-das* "addition"; R *dó-: Sanskrit *daah* (written *dāh*) "mayest thou give,"⁵ Greek *δίδοται* "is given," *δοτός*, Latin *datus* "given"; Z *d-: Sanskrit *deva-ttá*- < *d-tó- "god-given," *dí-t-sati* "wishes to give," Old Latin *de-d-et*, Latin *de-d-it*, Gaulish *de-d-e*, Old Irish *dorat* < *to-pro-de-d-e "has given," Latin *Consus* < *kom-d-tó-, Lithuanian *dúomi* "I give," Old Church Slavic *damī* "I shall give" < *dōd-mi.⁶

unconvinced that the type of the Indo-European base was *bher- rather than *bhere-; and I may also remark that I am not yet prepared to state that Indo-European did not possess the three vowels *a*, *e*, *o*.

⁴ For the material see especially Walde-Pokorny, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930-33), I, pp. 814-816; Walde-Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd ed., I (Heidelberg, 1938), pp. 360-363, 861; W. D. Whitney, *Roots, Verbs-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 71-72.

⁵ E. V. Arnold, *Vedic Metre* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 91; H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* (Leipzig, 1873), col. 590.

⁶ For the reduplication syllable *dō*- instead of *de- see W. Vondrák, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., I (Göttingen, 1924), p. 705;

2) **do-je-*. NZ **dó-i-*: Sanskrit *déya-* "to be given"; RZ **dó-i-* > **dī-*: Sanskrit *diyāte* "is given"; ZN **dīē-*: Sanskrit *dadyāmāna-* "granted"; ZZ **dī-*: Sanskrit *vyā-dīta-* "opened" (mouth),⁷ *ádiṣi* "je me donnai."

3) **do-ue-*. NZ **dóu-*: Arcadian *ἀπυ-δοας* < **apo-dóu̯nts* "giving back," Lithuanian *dāvęs* "having given"; RN **dóuē-*: Cyprian *δοφειναι* "to give" (for the accentuation cf. Greek *διδόμαι*),⁸ Spanish Vulgar Latin *davo*, *dabo* "I give,"⁹ Old Church Slavic *davati* < **dóuō-ti* "to give"; RZ **dóu-* > **dū-*: Cyprian *δοφαι* "should give."¹⁰

4) **do-æ-*. NZ **dóæ-* > **dō-*: Sanskrit *dāti-* "act of giving," Doric *δῶρις* "gift, dowry," Latin *dōt-* "dowry," Old Prussian *dāt*, Lithuanian *dūoti*, Old Church Slavic *dati* "to give," Armenian *tur*, Greek *δῶρον*, Old Church Slavic *darŭ* "gift," Gaulish *Con-dātis* "Condat (Gironde)"; RZ **dóæ-* > **dō-*: Sanskrit *dādāti*, Greek *δίδωμι* "gives," Latin *dōnum*, Old Irish *dán*, Lithuanian *dūonis*, Old Church Slavic *danŭ* "gift," Armenian *etu* < **é-dō* "I gave" (cf. Sanskrit *ádām*); ZZ **dā-*: Sanskrit *dadivánt-* "having given," Latin *dedimus* < **dedamos* < **dē-da-mos* "we have given," Albanian *dhashë* < **dā-sm* "I gave," *dhënë* < **dā-nó-* "given."

5) **do-ue-je-*. NRZ **dóuē-i-* > **dóuē-*: Faliscan *doviad* "gives,"¹¹ Umbrian *pur-dovitu*, *pur-tuvetu* "porricito"; ZRZ

Meillet-Vaillant, *Le Slave commun*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1934), pp. 207-208, make the pre-form **dō-da-ti*.

⁷ Since *-je-* characterises the Sanskrit passive, the *i* of *-dīta-* seems to be from *i* rather than from the *o* which appears in the perfect active participle *dadivánt-*.

⁸ For other possible explanations of *δοφειναι* see E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I (Munich, 1939), p. 808.

⁹ A. C. Jennings, *A Linguistic Study of the Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo* (New York, 1940), p. 116.

¹⁰ Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 2nd ed. (Strasbourg, 1897-1916), II, iii, p. 17, derives the form from **dūynno-* (for the formation in general, *ibid.*, pp. 313-324), but, since all other Greek verbs of this type have a long vowel before *-aŋw* (e.g., *θηγάω* "I whet"), there seems to be no cogent reason to assume *ū* (i.e. ZZ) here unless the form be a second aorist rather than a present. The *f* is apparently a glide-sound (Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*, 4th ed. [Munich, 1913], p. 53).

¹¹ For the denominative formation < **doyiā* "gift," cf. Umbrian *anseriato* "observatum," *combifiatu* "nuntiatio," Marrucian *aiuiatas* "auspicatae," Latin *propitiare* "propitiate," a type which was greatly

*d_ue_i- > *d_ui-: Old Latin *duim* < *-_u-d_ue_im "may I give" (cf. *perduint* < *pér-d_ue_{nt} "may they destroy"), Umbrian *pur-ditom*, *pur-titu* < *por-d_ue_i-tó- "porrectum."

6) do-ze-je-. NZR *dō_ze_i- > *dō_ze-: Sanskrit *dāya*- "act of giving," Old Prussian *dāia* "gift"; RZZ *dō_zi- > *dōi-: Sanskrit (á)dāy_i "was given," Old Church Slavic *daję* "I give" (for the accentuation cf. Sanskrit *gopāyāti* "acts as herdsman"); ZZZ *dāi-: Sanskrit *deyām* "may I give" (for accent cf. *āśyām*), *deṣṇā*- "gift," Armenian *tam* "I give."

7) *do-ze-ye-. NZZ *dō_zu- > *dōy-: Sanskrit *dāvan*- "giving"; RZN *dō_zu- > *dō_zu-: Sanskrit *dāvāne* "to give," Lithuanian *dovanà* "gift."

8) *do-ze-ye-je-. RZNZ *dō_zu- > *dō_zu-: Old Church Slavic *davaję* "I give."¹²

It would seem, moreover, that *ze* appears in Indo-European not merely as an affixed determinative, but also, like *-n-*, as an infix. Thus we have for **uele-* "turn" (Walde-Pokorny, I, pp. 298-304) not only the extensions **uele-je-*, **uele-ye-*, and **uele-ze-*, but also **ye-ze-le-* in Sanskrit *cakra-vāla*- "circle," Armenian *gil* "round stone," Anglo-Saxon *wēlan* "twist around, bind" < **uēl-*; and for **dere-* "flay, split" (I, pp. 797-803) not only **dere-je-*, **dere-ye-*, and **dere-ze-*, but also **de-ze-re-* in Sanskrit *dāri-* "cleft" (contrast *dīrná-* < **d_or_enó-* "split"), Greek *δῆρις* "battle," Old Church Slavic *u-dariti* "strike." This formation is very frequent,¹³ but the following instances will

extended in Late and Vulgar Latin (cf. H. Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 2nd ed. [Marburg, 1875], pp. 155-171).

¹² For Slavic verbs in *-aja-* see Meillet-Vaillant, pp. 226-229. Among bases of a type similar to that of **do-*, etc., mention may be made of **garege-* "shining, white" (Walde-Pokorny, I, pp. 82-83), **gere-* "move" (I, pp. 136-142), **uele-* "turn" (I, pp. 298-304), **gene-* "rub" (I, pp. 392-397), **kere-* "top" (I, pp. 403-408), **ghene-* "gnaw" (I, pp. 584-585), **ghere-* "rub" (I, pp. 605-606, 646-647, 648-650), **gele-* "round" (I, pp. 612-621), **ghele-* "shine" (I, pp. 624-627), **ghere-* "heavy" (I, pp. 684-686), **da-* "divide" (I, pp. 763-767), **dere-* "flay, split" (I, pp. 797, 803), **bhere-* "seethe" (II, pp. 157-159, 167-168), **bhere-* "cut" (II, pp. 159-161, 194-196), **bhele-* "swell" (II, pp. 176-178, 210-211, 212-214), **mene-* "think" (II, pp. 264-266), **mele-* "rub, grind" (II, pp. 284-290), **sege-* "cut" (II, pp. 474-476, 541-545, 552-553, 559-563, 573-587), **sta-* "stand" (II, pp. 603-610), **stere-* "stiff" (II, pp. 627-635), **stere-* "ray, streak" (II, pp. 636-638), and **spere-* "strew, spurt" (II, pp. 670-672).

¹³ Omitting all bases which seem to be purely onomatopoeic, some

perhaps suffice to show the principles involved. The base **reġe-* "direct, rule" (Walde-Pokorny, II, pp. 347-348, 362-365, the base-form was really, as the Greek shows, **ġerege-*) appears in Sanskrit *rjû-* "straight," Greek *ῥέγω* "reach, stretch," Latin *regō* "direct," *rogō* "ask" < "direct one's self to," Old Irish *recht* "law, droit," Gothic *raih̥ts* "straight, right," Old Icelandic *rekja* "spread out, track"; but **re-ġe-ġe-* is seen in Sanskrit *rāj-*, Latin *rēx*, Old Irish *rí* "king" (Gaulish *Rīgo-magus* "King's Plain"), Greek *ἀργῶ* "succour," Old Icelandic *rák* "streak"; **kerde-* "heart" (I, p. 423) in Greek *καρδία*, Latin *cord-*, Old Irish *cride* < **krđio-*, Gothic *hairto*, Lithuanian *širdis* "heart," but **ke-ġe-rde-* in Armenian *sirt*, Greek *κῆρ*, Old Prussian *seyr* "heart," Old Church Slavic *srěda* "centre"; **terebe-* "beam" (I, pp. 757-758) in Latin *trabs* "beam," Old Irish *treb* "abode, tribe," but **tere-ġe-be-* in Greek *τέραρον* < **terəb-no-* "chamber, house," Oscan *trífbúm*, Lithuanian *trobà* "house," Old Church Slavic *trēmŭ* "tower."

In addition to the *-ġe-* infixes, we find those in *-ie-* and *-ye-*.¹⁴ At least three bases show *-ie-* beside *-ġe-*: **reġe-* "pole, stick" (II, pp. 346-347, 351), seen in Old Icelandic *rá* < **rahō* < **roqā* "landmark," shows **re-ġe-ġe-* in Lithuanian *réklės* "drying-frame," and **re-ie-ġe-* in Old High German *rigel* "bolt, bar," Lithuanian *rykštė* "rod"; *(*ġe*)*reġe*, already cited, shows

seventy-five are recorded by Walde-Pokorny which apparently fall within this category, notably **aera(əo)se-* "flow" (I, pp. 149-151), **ye(əe)ge-* "spin" (I, pp. 247-248), **ye(əe)ne-* "desire" (I, pp. 259-260), **ye(əe)re-* "true" (I, pp. 285-286), **ke(əe)rde-* "heart" (I, p. 423), **ke(əe)le-* "hide" (I, pp. 432-433), **qe(əe)le-* "speckled, darkish" (I, pp. 440-442), **tere(əe)be-* "beam" (I, pp. 757-758), **de(əe)mē-* "build" (I, pp. 786-788), **de(əe)le-* "split" (I, pp. 810-811), **ple(əe)te-* "spread" (II, pp. 99-100), **bhe(əe)re-* "bear" (II, pp. 153-157), **ne(əo)de-* "twist" (II, pp. 328-329), **re(əe)ġe-* "direct, rule" (II, pp. 362-365), **se(əe)me-* "one, same" (II, pp. 488-492).

¹⁴ Cf. J. Schrijnen, "i et y informatifs en indo-européen" in *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Joannis Rozwadowski*, I (Cracow, 1927), pp. 119-123 = *Collectanea Schrijnen* (Nijmegen and Utrecht, 1939), pp. 139-143. The theory of H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, I (Heidelberg, 1927), pp. 291-295, that i and y were lost postconsonantly in such cases seems contrary to fact. For possible Semitic infixes *-ia-*, *-ya-*, *-a-* (the latter = [ʔa]), giving the types **ka(ia/ya/a)ta(ia/ya/a)ba*, see L. H. Gray, *Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics* (New York, 1934), pp. 36-40.

*re-*ie*-*ge*- in Middle Irish *ri-n-gim* "torture, hang," Old High German *reichen* "reach," Lithuanian *raižyti* "stretch one's limbs," *réiztis* "strain one's self"; beside *la-*ge*-*pe* "shine, burn" (II, p. 383), seen in Greek *λα-μ-πας* "torch," Old Irish *lassar* < *lāp-s-aro-, Old Prussian *lopis* "flame," *le-*ie*-*pe*- appears in Old Icelandic *leiptr* "lightning," Lithuanian *liepsnà* "flame"; and beside *sa-*ga*-*dhe*- "succeed" (II, p. 450) in Sanskrit *sādhati* < *sādh_{ti}, *sadhnoti* < *sādh-n-*éuti* "succeed," *sādhú*- < *sādhú- "successful," *siddhá*- < *sādh-tó- "fulfilled," stands Greek *ῥέος* < *sādh-ú- "straight." As an example of the infix -*ye*- we may cite *se-*ye*-*ghe*- "anxious, ill" in Sanskrit *sūrksati* < *s_eurg_h-s-*éti* "heed," Albanian *dergjem* < *syorgh_{iō} "be ill," Gothic *saúrga* "anxiety," beside *serg_{he}- in Middle Irish *serg* "illness," Lithuanian *siřgti* "be ill," Old Church Slavonic *sraga* "illness" (II, p. 529).

The base *(*k̃*)sele- "beam, board" (II, pp. 503-504) shows a particularly interesting series: *(*k̃*)sele- in Anglo-Saxon *sealma* "couch," Old Lithuanian *šalma* "long beam"; *(*k̃*)sele-*ge*- in Old Church Slavonic *slěma* "beam"; *(*k̃*)se-*ie*-le- in Lithuanian *sýle* "trough"; *(*k̃*)se-*ye*-le- in Greek *ξύλον* "wood," Lithuanian *šūlas* "pillar, post" < *k̃suló-, Greek *σέλα* < *suel-ment- "ship's deck," Gothic *sauls* < *sólulos, Old High German *sûl* < *s_eulá "pillar," Anglo-Saxon *syll* < *sul-*ia* "sill," Old High German *swelli* < *s_uél-*is* "threshold"; *(*k̃*)se-*ye*-*ge*-le in Lithuanian *súolas* < *su_oeló- "bench"; and *(*k̃*)se-*ge*-le- in Albanian *gjollë* < *s_eelá "plate for cattle-salt."

As regards the meanings of the infixes -*i*(*e*)-, -*u*(*e*)-, -*g*(*e*)- < -*eie*-, -*eue*-, -*ege*-, it seems possible to make some suggestions. The first of these infixes would appear to be identical with the relative base **eie*-, which is an important formative in nouns, which is characteristic of denominative and causative verbs (the latter themselves denominative in origin), which is perhaps seen in the relative pronoun **io*- "who," and which may play a rôle in the inflexion of the noun.¹⁵ The base **eue*- appears as a

¹⁵ Cf. Brugmann, II, i, pp. 166-175, 182-199; iii, pp. 204-269; Gray in *Language*, VIII (1932), pp. 186-187, where the form of the base is to be corrected in the light of the present study; cf. also his "Sur l'inflection des prétendus thèmes en -i," in *B. S. L. P.*, XXXI (1931), pp. 34-42, and his *Foundations of Language* (New York, 1939), pp. 158-159; and especially Benveniste, *Origines*, I, pp. 50-86.

formative both of nouns and of verbs;¹⁶ and both would seem to have had a meaning of relativity.

A possible clue to the meaning of the determinative *-ǵe-* may be found in the Hittite *-hhi*-conjugation of the types of *tehhi* < **dhé-ǵ-i* "I place": Greek *τι-θη-μι*, *dahhi* < **dó-ǵ-i* "I take," etc., : Greek *δι-δω-μι*, with *-i* instead of **-a* by analogy with the *-mi*-conjugation. Sturtevant has recently shown that the inflexion of this *-hhi*-conjugation corresponds to that of the Indo-European perfect (cf. Hittite *dahhi*, *dati*, *dai*: Greek *οἶδα*, *οἶσθα*, *οἶδε*);¹⁷ and also that certain Greek perfects show traces of former existence of the laryngal [h].¹⁸ Since the meaning of the perfect is essentially "the present result of an experience or act completed in the past,"¹⁹ all this would appear to imply that the formative and infixional *-ǵe-* denoted completion, perfection, and the like.

The theory of an infix *-ǵe-* seems to explain a number of phenomena whose interpretations have hitherto been rather strained or regarded merely as prolonged grades having no con-

¹⁶ Brugmann, II, i, pp. 176-182, 199-208, iii, pp. 156-157, 269-272, 324-326.

¹⁷ "Source of Hittite *hi*-Conjugation," in *Language*, XIV (1938), pp. 10-17; in a supplementary note (pp. 17-19), G. Bechtel aptly compares it with that of the Teutonic preterito-presents; in two papers, "Les Désinences hittites *-bi*, *-ti*, *-i* du présent et *-ta* du parfait," in *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, II (Brussels, 1936), pp. 551-573 and "Le Verbe hittite et le type thématique," in *Mélanges Émile Boisacq*, I (Brussels, 1937), pp. 206-218, W. Couvreur holds that the *-hhi*-verbs are perfective-punctual and the *-mi*-verbs imperfective-durative (with a citation of my note "Athematic Verbs Durative, Thematic Verbs Momentary," in *Language*, IX [1933], pp. 82-84).

¹⁸ "The Greek Aspirated Perfect," in *Language*, XVI (1940), pp. 179-182 (cf. also his discussion of "The Greek *κ*-Perfect and Indo-European *-k(o)*," *ibid.*, pp. 273-284). For a collection of material of these types see Brugmann-Thumb, p. 375; G. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 637-638; for totally different explanations, see Meillet-Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (Paris, 1924), pp. 207-209; Schwyzler, pp. 771-772.

¹⁹ Brugmann, II, iii, pp. 768-769; L. Renou, *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques* (Paris, 1925); P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec* (Paris, 1927); cf. the Latin translation of (χρόνος) *παρὰκειμενος* by " (tempus) perfectum " and the Armenian rendering, in the Armenian version of Dionysius Thrax, by *yarakay* "permanent." My pupil, Gordon Harper Marsh, has in preparation a volume on the Indo-European perfect as a whole.

nexion with the prolonged grade proper of the types of Sanskrit *pāt* < *péd-s "foot," *padás*, Greek πούς (Doric πως, Hesychius), ποδός, Latin *pēs*, *pedis*; Sanskrit *tāṣṭi* "fashions" beside *tákṣati* < *tékp(e)ti.

At least one of these phenomena directly concerns the perfect. The type of Latin *sēdērunt*, Gothic *setun* "they (have) sat" beside the presents *sedeō*, *sitan* "sit," Lithuanian *sėdęs*, Old Church Slavic *sědŭ* "having sat," is currently explained as from *sēzd- < *sēsēd-, but would seem, rather, to have arisen from *sēd-, the reduced-zero-grade of *se-ge-de-. The type also appears in such Old Irish verbs as *r-a-mídar* "I have judged him" beside the present *mídiur* "puto," comparable with Gothic *us-metun* "they have lived" beside the present *us-mítan* "to behave" (cf. Greek μῆδομαι "I intend," Armenian *mit* "mind" beside Greek μέδομαι "I am mindful," Latin *meditor* "I meditate," Old Irish *mess* < *méd-tu "judgment," etc.).²⁰

Moreover, intensive perfectives of the type of Sanskrit *jā-gar-ti*, *jā-gār-a* "is, has been wakeful," Greek ἐ-γρή-γορ-α "I am awake," δῆ-δέχ-εται "they welcome," νη-vé-ω "pile up"²¹ seem explicable by the same principle, so that *jāgarti* would be from *ǵē-ə-gor-ti, ἐγρήγορα from *é-ǵre-ə-ǵor-a, etc. The type of Sanskrit *bhārā-* "burden," Greek φέρω, Latin *fūr* "thief," Old High German *-bâri* "bearing" < *bhóar- appears to be of like provenance, as does the numerous Sanskrit type of *mānavá-* < *mē-ə-n-ēuó- "human": *mānu-* "man," i. e., relative to man as an entity.

In the light of the data here presented, it would appear that

²⁰ For the type in general, see Brugmann, II, iii, pp. 433-435; Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 5th ed. (Munich, 1928), p. 332; E. Kieckers, *Handbuch der vergleichenden gotischen Grammatik* (Munich, 1928), pp. 208-209; H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, II (Göttingen, 1909-13), p. 388. The type of Sanskrit *papāca* "he has cooked": *pācati* "cooks" seems to be derived from *pe-pe-ə-ke; for those of Sanskrit *pece* "I have cooked for myself," *sedūr* "they are seated" I know as yet of no satisfactory explanation (for hypotheses see J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I [Göttingen, 1896], pp. 37-39; Thumb-Hirt, *Handbuch des Sanskrit* [Heidelberg, 1930], pp. 355, 362-363, 510, 511; Brugmann, II, iii, pp. 433-436, 454). (For the problem of *sedūr*, etc., see now Marsh, "The Voiced Sibilants in Sanskrit," in *J. A. O. S.*, LXI [1941], pp. 45-50.)

²¹ Brugmann, II, iii, pp. 23, 27, 112, 430; the view of Schwyzler, p. 648, that the long vowel here is probably due to metrical lengthening seems rather unlikely.

the base-types **xeice-*, **xeuce-*, and **xēce-* were, in reality, formed from **xece-* by means of the infixes *-i̇(e)-*, *-u̇(e)-*, and *-ə̇(e)-* respectively, these amalgamations being governed by their various regular gradations, so that their original forms must have been **xece-*, **xe-i̇e-ce-*, **xe-u̇e-ce-*, and **xe-ə̇e-ce-*. In the historic period, the overwhelming majority of Indo-European bases appear to have been of the disyllabic type **xece-*, which could be extended by various suffixes, enlargements, and infixes; and many of these bases would seem to have been compounds dating from an earlier stage of Indo-European, although, by the period immediately preceding the appearance of the historic Indo-European languages, their compound nature had been utterly obscured and forgotten.²² Beside these disyllabic bases there were, however, in my present opinion, a relatively small number of monosyllabic bases, such as **do-*, which seem to admit of no further analysis, and which must belong to a very early stage of Indo-European.²³

LOUIS H. GRAY.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

²² My pupil, Benjamin Schwartz, is preparing a volume on *The Root and its Modification in Primitive Indo-European*.

²³ Similarly, in Semitic, beside the great majority of trisyllabic bases (e. g., **kataba* "write"), there are several disyllabic bases (e. g., **abu* "father") and even a few monosyllabic (e. g., **pu* "mouth"); cf. Gray, *Introduction*, pp. 34, 38; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I (Berlin, 1908), pp. 331-334. Schwartz holds that **do-* is not truly a monosyllabic base but comes from an earlier **deə̇e-*, although felt and treated as a monosyllabic root by late Indo-European times.

FOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR SENECA, *E. M.* CIV.

The one hundred and fourth of Seneca's *Moral Epistles* seems to present an unusual ratio of cruxes to text; the accompanying notes seek to deal with four of these. The number-references in brackets indicate the page and line in Hense's second edition.

I continue once again in the conventional way to record readings as being vouched for by BA, but I believe that B. Axelson¹ has fully confirmed the doubts raised by Aemilius Hermes as far back as 1876 as to the independent value of A, and that any subsequent editor of the *Epistles* is for the most part dispensed from the obligation of reporting A at all.

CIV, 11 (498, 23): quicquid te delectat, aequè vide † ut videres
dum vireret uter: alium alio die casus excutiet.

BA: *vide ut*; Q: *videt aut*. QBA: *videres* (conjoined with *aut* in Q). B: *vireret*; QA: *viveret*. QBA: *uter*, after which there is a stop in B and, according to Hense (II), in A; Beltrami otherwise.

I propose to write out first what the preceding sentence seems to mean, then to attempt a reasonable continuation of the thought of that sentence, and finally to see what relation that bears or may be made to bear to the manuscript readings.

Going back then to *gravissimum* I translate as follows: "You will judge it a very grave affliction to lose some one of those to whom you will (at that time) be devoted, though this will be as out of place as to shed tears because the leaves are falling from the lovely trees that set off your house." I continue the thought thus: "Whatever delights you, look upon it exactly as you do on green leaves: while they flourish, make the most of them; this one today, another tomorrow, chance will knock from its place."

In comparing this with the manuscript readings one encounters the first difficulty in *ut*. Seneca does not write *aequè . . . ut*, but *aequè . . . quam* or *aequè . . . ac*.² In minuscules, however, *ac* to *at* to *ut* is no difficult transition, and the *aut* of Q may preserve traces of this process.

¹ "Der Codex Argentoratensis C VI 5," *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1936-7, No. III.

² H. Mueck, *Dissertatio Inauguralis* (Marburg, 1890), p. 16.

Videres I assume to be the residuum of an original *virides* < *frondes vides* >. Identity of ending, plus a general resemblance between *virides* and < *vides* >, caused the loss of < *frondes vides* >, and the isolated *virides* was next misread *videres* through a most natural error. Successive deteriorations now attacked *dum virent*, the verb appearing as *vireret* or *viveret*; with the loss of < *frondes* > there was nothing any longer left to assist in maintaining a third plural verb like *virent*. *Utere* was also left high and dry to become the impossible *uter*, and *aliam*, with no gender-controlling < *frondes* > remaining, became *alium*.

Reassembling these points, I think that the manuscript reading must originally have been substantially this: *quicquid te delectat, aequè vide ac virides* < *frondes vides* > : *dum virent, utere; aliam alio dies casus excutiet*. This is, with the exception of *ac* for *ut* and the addition of < *vides* > for the clausula rhythm, what Windhaus worked out sixty years ago on the basis of the excellent suggestions already offered by Haase.²

The three clausula rhythms are successively: (1) *-des* < *frondes vides* >, spondee plus cretic; (2) *dum virent, utere*, double cretic; (3) *casus excutiet*, cretic plus trochee, with resolution of the long syllable of the trochee. This, I think, is of considerable significance in enabling one to feel that he has arrived at something like the truth in a passage so corrupt.

CIV, 15 (499, 24) : peregrinatio notitiam dabit gentium, novas tibi montium formas ostendet, invisitata spatia camporum et inriguas perennibus aquis valles, alicuius fluminis sub observatione naturam, sive ut Nilus aestivo incremento tumet, etc.

The phrase *sub observatione* has always excited suspicion. Friedlaender, author of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*, sought to replace it by *rariorem*, and Beltrami (I) made of it the not unattractive *subobscuram rationi*. Part of the suspicion arises, I am sure, from the exceedingly modern sound and appearance of

² Georg Windhaus, *Varietas Lectionis . . . e Codice Bambergensi enotata* (Darmstadt, 1879), p. 26, note 9. Windhaus' collation of B, with his shrewd footnotes, is a most valuable piece of work for the text of *Epistles* 89-124. Apparently Axelson is unfamiliar with it; see his *Neuesenecastudien*, note to page 205.

the phrase, with attendant doubt as to whether *observatio* can be justified in Seneca with the sense apparently here required, viz. direct physical inspection of nature or some natural object with resulting conclusions. Yet I think that its use in the phrase *diuturna observatione siderum* in Cicero, *De Divinatione*, I, 1, 2, establishes the certainty that it can.

Then there has been the question of finding an adjective to accompany *naturam*. Hense thinks⁴ that there should be one because (1) there is one in the preceding portion of the sentence for each of the several nouns, (2) one would expect an adjective like *rariorem* since only rivers of marked peculiarity are named. But (1) *notitiam* at the beginning of the previous sentence has no adjective, (2) the mention of the peculiarities of the rivers through successive *sive* clauses seems to me to *obviate* the necessity of an adjective.

Finally a verb appears definitely to be required as *ostendet's* influence can hardly extend as far as *naturam*. The fact that *ponere* uses *sub* with the ablative to express the goal of its movement makes that verb seem at once desirable; if inserted after *observatione* it has some formal paleographic justification and furnishes a good clausula (cretic plus spondee plus spondee). As for the meaning, one has heard by report or learned through study of the peculiar nature of certain rivers; now travel will place that nature under watchful study. C. Busche's *sistet* after *naturam* is paleographically and rhythmically good,⁵ but *ponere sub* with the ablative seems preferable to me for the syntactical reason already mentioned, and the same may be said of the Beltrami (II) reading *sub<det> observationi*.

CIV, 27 (503, 1): si tamen exemplum desideratis, accipite Socraten, perpessicium senem, per omnia aspera iactatum, invictum tamen et paupertate, quam graviorem illi domestica onera faciebant, et laboribus, quos militares quoque pertulit. quibus ille domi exercitus < est >, sive uxorem eius *reminiscimur* moribus feram, lingua petulantem, sive liberos indociles et matri quam patri similiores. si vere *reputes*, aut in bello fuit aut in tyrannide aut in libertate bellis ac tyrannis saeviore.

⁴ *Hermes*, LXII (1927), pp. 112-3.

⁵ *Ph. Wochenschrift*, XLV (1925), p. 572.



E. P. Barker⁶ refers to this paragraph as a *locus paene conclamatus*; he has added his share to the large amount of emendation which has been attempted by many hands. The italicized words above are suggestions of Hense.

I think it practically certain that *quibus ille domi exercitus* belongs with the first sentence of the section, not with the second. The structure of the latter part of the first sentence as I see it is *invictum paupertate quam . . . faciebat* (ablative plus explanatory relative clause) and *laboribus quibus . . . exercitus* (same arrangement). In this second ablative plus its explanatory relative clause there is, however, inserted, quasi-parenthetically, *quos militares quoque pertulit*; the translation is: "unconquered by the hardships with which he was tried at home (and he endured some military ones as well)." The humor of comparing his domestic battles with Xanthippe to his battles while serving in the army is an ancient and honorable jest. Also, when we take *quibus . . . exercitus* with *laboribus* we have a perfect parallel to the *domestica onera* of the earlier relative clause. Hense suggests (crit. not. *ad loc.*) *ille ē* (i. e. *est*), and, while *est* may not be necessary,⁷ its addition produces the favorite double-cretic clausula rhythm. It appears then that the coupling of *quibus ille domi exercitus* with what precedes makes excellent sense, while with the small addition of the *ē* suggested by Hense after *ille* it provides an appropriate sentence-termination.

The second sentence then begins with a *sive*, and I agree with Kronenberg⁸ that we have here three parallel *sive* clauses, of which the first deals with Xanthippe, the second with the disappointing children, while the third is incomplete through a gap in the MS tradition, but obviously, in view of the main sentence following, dealt with the politics, internal and external, of Athens during Socrates' whole adult life. With Kronenberg I hold (and the idea had occurred to me independently) that the *re* in the MS *sivere* is for *rē*; in the gap the next word must have been *publicam*, followed by something like this: < *et bellis diu et tyrannis vehementer vexatam* >. We then require a verb to govern the objects *uxorem*, *liberos*, *rem publicam* in our three successive *sive* clauses, and *consideraveris* or *reputaveris* would

⁶ E. P. Barker, *Seneca's Letters to Lucilius* (Oxford, 1932), II, p. 331.

⁷ L. Castiglioni, *Gnomon*, III (1927), p. 669.

⁸ A. J. Kronenberg, *C. Q.*, XVII (1923), pp. 43-4.

serve, or *spectes* or *reminiscaris*; this can only be speculative. With this reconstructed triple condition the main sentence agrees in every detail.

CIV, 29 (503, 25): *tota illi (sc. Catoni) aetas aut in armis est exacta civilibus aut † intacta concipiente iam civile bellum.*

Q has *intanta*; BA as above. There have been many attempts at emendation, all based on the idea that some appropriate noun is concealed in *tacta*. The drift of the thought suggests that Cato's life-years are divided between two periods in the history of the Republic, one when civil war had actually broken out, the other when, though the forms of the Republic were in a sense preserved, civil war was in the air. Now in connection with this latter we have definitely the word *concupiente*, which may mean "conceiving." That in turn may at least suggest that *tacta* means, as in the common language of Rome, "seduced." We have then to discover a noun to which these two epithets could be properly applied in a figurative sense, and as a matter of fact the rather obvious *res publica* occurs in Harleianus 2659 in the form *R. P.*, which Rossbach holds to be correct.⁹ I suspect that there was some point in the manuscript tradition where *in R. P. tacta* was so written that it was possible for one scribe to miss the *R. P.* and for another in his interest over having found *R. P.* to forget to include the *tacta*; such a place would be at the end of a line with *in tacta* written in the line and *R. P.* above it. The one copyist would write what was in the line and miss the *R. P.* while the other, having noticed the *R. P.* got it into the line but omitted to complete the line with *tacta*. I suggest therefore *aut in <R. P.> tacta, concipiente iam civile bellum*. This I translate: "or in a violated commonwealth already shaping civil war in its womb."

WILLIAM H. ALEXANDER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

⁹ *Ph. Wochenschrift*, XXXIV (1914), p. 496.

THE SOURCES OF VERGIL, *AENEID*, III, 692-705.

Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula, contra
 Plemurium undosum; nomen dixere priores
 Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem
 occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc
 ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.
 iussi numina magna loci veneramur; at inde
 exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori:
 hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni
 radimus, et fatis nunquam concessa moveri
 apparet Camarina procul, campique Geloi,
 immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.
 arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
 moenia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum.

(Vergil, *Aeneid*, III, 692-705.)

In this passage Aeneas recounts his voyage along the east and the southwest coasts of Sicily. No important episode occurred here, and, to fill out the narrative, Vergil appends to each place-name a few words of description. Servius and modern editors note that some of these allusions are dramatically inappropriate, for Aeneas is represented as mentioning towns which were not supposed to have been founded in his day, and even calls attention to some special features of these later settlements which remained as yet in the future. Conington's comment expresses a reasonable judgement on this peculiarity: "A poet with his mind full of the literary and historical interest of his subject is perhaps not unlikely to allow the expression of that feeling to escape him even at the most inappropriate time." But it is possible to suggest that the material underlying Vergil's allusions was somewhat more specific than the general "literary and historical" interest of Sicily. Commentators do not appear to have observed that three oracles current in the ancient world each find an echo in Vergil's description.

(1) Pausanias (V, 7, 3) quotes the beginning of a Delphic response said to have been given to Archias, the founder of Syracuse:*

Ὀρτυγίη τις κείται ἐν ἡεροιδεῖ πόντῳ,
 Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν, ἔν' Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει
 μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν εὐρρείτης Ἀρεθούσης.

This corresponds closely in sense to the first five lines of the passage which we have quoted, especially if we suppose that

Vergil was paraphrasing the difficult *Θρινακίης καθύπερθε* by *Sicanio praetenta sinu*.

(2) Servius on line 701 tells the anecdote about the oracle which forbade Camarina to be disturbed. It is also preserved in a slightly different form in *Anthologia Graeca*, IX, 685. No one can doubt in this instance that Vergil is referring to the traditional prophecy.

(3) There are two different oracles extant on the foundation of Gela. The more familiar one derives the town's name from a pun on the Greek verb *γελᾶν*. But Diodorus Siculus (VIII, 23) recorded an entirely different response of the Pythia, which is probably authentic:

Ἐντιμ' ἡδὲ Κράτωνος ἀγακλέος υἱὲ δαΐφρον,
ἐλθόντες Σικελὴν <καλὴν> χθόνα ναίετον ἄμφω,
δαιμάμενοι πτολίεθρον ὁμοῦ Κρητῶν Ῥοδίων τε
παρ προχοῶς ποταμοῖο Γέλα συνομώνυμον ἀγνοῦ.

Here the one specific detail about the town—that it was to derive its name from the neighbouring river—reappears in Vergil's description.

(4) Finally, one may note that Servius on line 704, after mentioning Pindar as an authority for the victories of Agrigentine horses in Greek games, adds: *Legimus etiam aliud: cum in Cappadocia greges equorum perissent, Delphici Apollinis responso adduxerunt equos de Agrigento et reparavere meliores*. This appears to be the only mention of this oracular response, and Servius does not give any chronological datum. The chief literary allusions to the Cappadocian horse as a famous breed come from the third or fourth century A. D. (Steier, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Pferd"). Vergil's reference to the famous steeds of Acragas does not require to be explained as alluding to this utterance of the Pythia. But, in view of the oracles which we have already cited, it is at least worth notice that Servius thought to find a possible reference here also to an oracle.

These three examples of prophecies echoed in Vergil would not, perhaps, be very convincing, if taken separately. But three instances in eleven lines lend each other some mutual support. May one offer as the explanation this hypothesis? Vergil needed to find matter to fill out this otherwise uneventful stretch of Aeneas' voyage. For the purpose he went to some author, probably Greek, who recorded the foundations of Sicilian cities

with their local oracles. This gave Vergil some material with which to decorate his narrative, and he chose particularly to paraphrase the oracular responses recorded by his authority. The reason may have been partly that they were already in verse, but also that as prophecies they could with rather less inappropriateness be put into the mouth of Aeneas, even before the foundation of Syracuse, Camarina, or Gela.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

H. W. PARKE.

NOTE ON HERACLITUS, FRAGMENT 124.

All the manuscripts of Theophrastus' *Metaphysics* in which this fragment is found give the following reading: ἀλογον δὲ κακείνοις δόξειεν ἂν εἰ ὁ μὲν ὅλος οὐρανὸς καὶ ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν ἅπαντ' ἐν τάξει καὶ λόγῳ καὶ μορφαῖς καὶ δυνάμεσιν καὶ περιόδοις ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς μηθὲν τοιοῦτον ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σὰρξ εἰκὴ κεχυμένων ὁ κάλλιστος φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος ὁ κόσμος.¹ Moreover, this reading is upheld by Bartholomaeus of Messina with the exception that he apparently read εἰ for εἰκὴ, translating the last clause: "Sed quemadmodum caro si confusorum pulcherimus ait heraclitus mundus."²

The perplexity that this passage has caused modern scholars may be seen from the number and diversity of the emendations. Bergk changed κακείνοις to κακείνο. Diels emended σὰρξ to σάρμα, Bernays to σάρον, and Usener to σωρός. The last suggested κεχυμένον for κεχυμένων. The ὁ before κόσμος was excised by Wimmer. In the *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* and the Ross-Fobes edition of Theophrastus' *Metaphysics* the text of the quotation is: "ὥσπερ σάρμα εἰκὴ κεχυμένων ὁ κάλλιστος," φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος, "[ὁ] κόσμος."³

It would be tedious and perhaps not helpful to repeat all the current interpretations that are based on these changes, but two of the more recent may serve to indicate the general trend. Ross and Fobes render as follows: "The most fair universe," as

¹ 7 a 10-15. The only variation in the manuscripts is that Σ has ἀπαντὰ τ' for ἅπαντ'.

² W. Kley, *Theophrasts Metaphysisches Bruchstück und die Schrift περὶ σημείων in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Bartholomaeus von Messina*.

³ Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 5th ed., I, p. 178, 10-15; *Theophrastus Metaphysics*, ed. W. D. Ross and F. H. Fobes (Oxford, 1929).

Heraclitus says, "is like a rubbish heap of things thrown together anyhow." And Fränkel, using the same text: "The most perfectly organized universe is like a heap of garbage dumped at random (*scil.* when compared to the less obvious organization behind and beyond the manifest regularity of sun, stars, and life)." ⁴

An examination of the context will prove, however, that the manuscript readings must be kept. In the immediately preceding part Theophrastus has raised the question whether the principles should be shapeless and as it were potential, or possessed of shape like those of Plato in the *Timaeus*. Some thinkers, he says, maintain that all the ruling principles are possessed of form; others posit material principles only; a third group adopts both kinds of principles on the assumption that complete reality is dependent upon both since being as a whole is composed of contraries.⁵ The members of this division are respectively Plato and the Pythagoreans, the majority of the Presocratics, and the Peripatetics.⁶

It is in the criticism of the second group that the fragment under discussion appears. The objection that Theophrastus raises is that urged by Aristotle against the Atomists in particular: ⁷ the materialists had characterized the phenomenal world by order and at the same time denied any similar order to the first principles. Theophrastus' motive for quoting Heraclitus is to wrest from his own words an admission of an antithesis between the orderli-

⁴ H. Fränkel, "A Thought Pattern in Heraclitus," *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), pp. 319-320.

⁵ Theophrastus, *Metaphysics* 6 b 23 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 7 a 6-10. Of the first class Theophrastus mentions only Plato, but from the continual association of Plato and the Pythagoreans it is safe to assume that they are meant here too. The Atomists might be included in this group but Empedocles, although his principles were in a sense definite, would be placed in the second group. Earlier (6 b 25-26) Theophrastus gives as an example of the second class those who made fire and earth principles. He probably is not thinking of particular philosophers but is using fire and earth merely as symbols of all the early physical doctrines (see Ross-Fobes *ad loc.* and Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 987 A 17). The loose writing of Theophrastus here obscures the meaning, since for the Peripatetics form and matter are not opposites (see Aristotle, *Physics*, A, chap. 9).

⁷ See Aristotle, *Physics* 196 A 24-B 5 (cf. Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 331, 16 ff.) and *De Part. Animal.* 641 B 15-23.

ness of the world of perception and the disorder of the principles from which the world is formed. Certainly Theophrastus is doing violence to Heraclitus' theory, for whatever the *κεχυμένα* were they were not principles in an Aristotelian sense; but, although these considerations may throw suspicion on Theophrastus' understanding of the fragment, they do at least clarify the function of the quotation in the argument and make the manuscript readings intelligible. The translation must be: "But even those who posit material principles must (i. e. if they considered the matter rightly) think it unreasonable if, while the whole heaven and each of its parts are in order and plan in respect of shapes, powers, and periods of time, in the ruling principles nothing of the sort is present, but as Heraclitus says 'the fairest man is flesh composed of parts scattered at random' so is the cosmos."

Since *ὥσπερ* must be taken with *φησὶν* 'Ηράκλειτος'⁸ the actual quotation is: *σὰρξ εἰκὴ κεχυμένων ὁ κάλλιστος*. The context may lead one to suspect that Heraclitus had in some way connected *ὁ κάλλιστος* and *ὁ κόσμος*, and that Theophrastus is quoting directly only part of one of Heraclitus' sayings framed in the familiar AB : BC thought pattern.⁹ The original could possibly have run: "The fairest man is flesh composed of parts scattered at random; men are but scattered parts of the cosmos."

JOHN B. McDIARMID.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

A NOTE ON THE LOCATION OF THE *CENA TRIMALCHIONIS*.

The problem of where the *Cena Trimalchionis* took place has provided material for a great deal of learned discussion.¹ Evi-

⁸ Ross-Fobes' interpretation requires that *ὥσπερ* be taken with both *σάρμα* and *φησὶν*. This impossible construction, which is implied by most of the current interpretations, is obviated by the observation that *ὥσπερ . . . φησὶν* 'Ηράκλειτος go together and enclose the quotation and that this whole phrase is predicate to *ὁ κόσμος*.

⁹ E. g. frags. 79, 82, 83. Cf. Fränkel, *loc. cit.*

¹ For the literature on the subject see Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*⁴, II, p. 512. Cumae, Tarracina, Naples, Puteoli, and Misenum have all been suggested. At present Cumae appears to be the favorite.

dence has been adduced from the few geographical data given by the text and from the details of local administration which may be gleaned from the conversation of the guests. Always supposing that Petronius laid this scene in a real town, as he did the others in the *Satyricon*, there is one more piece of evidence which, as far as I know, has never been utilized, and suggests a new possibility.

In an effort to describe the elegance of his house Trimalchio tells us that when Scaurus—whoever he may have been—came to town he preferred to stay with him—Trimalchio—rather than go to his own place by the sea. *ad summam, Scaurus cum huc venit, nusquam mavoluit hospitari, et habet ad mare paternum hospitium.*²

The name of a Scaurus is preserved today in Scauri, a village about three miles up the coast from the ancient Minturnae.³ The environs of Scauri, although not the modern village itself, abound in the remains of ancient buildings, some of which might well have belonged to a Roman villa. It is probable that the name of Scauri has never been changed, unlike so many Italian towns which have of recent years shifted back from their mediaeval to their classical names.

On the basis of this evidence I should like to suggest that the *Cena* took place at Minturnae. This possibility certainly satisfies the geographical requirements made in chap. 81 (*locumque secretum et proximum litori maestus conduxi*), since Minturnae was a well-known seaport. Another statement in chap. 81 (*exul in deversorio Graecae urbis iacerem desertus*) has been interpreted to refer to a city with more Greek character than Minturnae, on the edge of Campania, could lay claim to. It does not, however, seem necessary to apply the phrase "Graeca urbs" to the whole city. It may well have meant the Greek quarter, as we say "Chinatown" or "Little Italy."⁴ In a seaport the Greek quarter would very probably be on the waterfront,

² *Satyricon*, 77.

³ A. De Santis, *Orme di Roma nella Toponomastica della Regione Gaetana* (in *Atti del IV Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, Istituto di Studi Romani, 1938), p. 5; J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae*, II: *Inscriptions*, Part I: *Republican Magistri* (Roma-Philadelphia, 1933), p. 67.

⁴ This interpretation of the phrase was suggested to me by Prof. Lily Ross Taylor.

and, if that locality had anything of the reputation in ancient cities that it has in modern ones, we can understand how the phrase would add to the picture of Encolpius' unpleasant situation. Otherwise the phrase has little point, for certainly he was perfectly at home in a real Greek city such as Croton. There is little in the *Cena* to suggest that Trimalchio's city was any more thoroughly Greek than, for instance, Pompeii.

The slenderness of this evidence prevents Minturnae from being anything more than another possible candidate for the honor of sheltering Trimalchio. The more the merrier, however, and further evidence may someday raise the number of claimants to equality with the rival birth-places of Homer.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

AGNES KIRSOPP LAKE.

THE DATE OF THE AUGUSTUS FROM PRIMA PORTA.

It had been assumed for a long time that the famous statue of Augustus which was found in Livia's villa at Prima Porta in 1863 could be dated within a short limit of years. The representation on the cuirass, namely the returning of the Roman eagles by the Parthians in 20 B. C., is the *terminus post quem*, and it is the most likely assumption that this diplomatic triumph was the very cause for the erection of the statue. A date 19 B. C., or soon after, is thus the date upheld by many scholars.¹ Corroborative evidence is found on Roman coins which commemorate the same event from the years 20 to 15 B. C.² The head fits this date very well, because Augustus seems to be represented in his forties or early fifties; he was born in 63 B. C.

But there are arguments which militate against this early date. It has been maintained that the statue must have been

¹ W. Amelung, *D. Skulpturen d. Vatikan. Museums* (Berlin, 1903), I, pp. 19 ff.: after 13 B. C.; W. Helbig, *Führer d. d. Sammlungen in Rom*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1912), I, pp. 4 ff.: etwa 18 B. C. A few of the latest references: Weikert, *Die Antike*, XIV (1938), pp. 220 f.: about 19 B. C.; Matz, *Die Welt als Geschichte*, IV (1938), p. 218: about 18 B. C.; Poulsen, *Danske Vid. Selskab*, Arch.-kunsthist. Meddelelser, II, No. 5 (1939), p. 25: 20-18 B. C.

² Hohl, *Klio*, XXXI (1938), p. 269; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I (London, 1923), pp. ciii ff.

made after Augustus' death, because he is barefoot, a feature which proves heroization.³ Indeed, most of the Roman statues with a cuirass wear boots, and the counterargument that Greek and Early Italic warriors are barefoot does not hold good for the Augustus.⁴ The little Cupid by his side is usually taken merely as an allusion to the divine descent of Augustus from Venus,⁵ but its meaning seems to be far more important. Studniczka recognized its head as a portrait and saw in him the son of Julia and Agrippa, namely Gaius who was born in 20 B. C. and thus was about two years of age at the presumable date of the statue in 18 B. C.⁶ Hohl in a recent article maintains, on the other hand, that no living boy could have been represented as Cupid because cupids were taken by the Romans as symbols of the souls of deceased children. The superstitious Augustus would have seen in such representation an *omen maturi exitus*.⁷ There is ample evidence for this Roman belief on sepulchral monuments such as ash-urns, sarcophagi, and tombstones.⁸ The dolphin is found on monuments of the same category and must likewise be taken as a symbol of the nether world.⁹ Also for their combination, namely a cupid riding on a dolphin, a symbolical meaning is assumed by a number of scholars.¹⁰ Hohl refers to a passage in Suetonius, *Caligula*, 7, which gives the final proof for the interpretation of the cupid of the statue: *duo infantes*, namely of Germanicus and Agrippina, *adhuc rapti*,

³ Picard, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CXIV (1936), p. 155.

⁴ Maucini, *Bull. Com.*, L (1923), pp. 151 ff.; Hekler, *Oest. Jh.*, XIX/XX (1919), pp. 190 ff.

⁵ E. Strong, *C. A. H. Plates*, IV, p. 148; Rodenwaldt, *Die Antike*, XIII (1917), p. 8.

⁶ *Röm. Mitt.*, XXV (1910), pp. 27 ff.

⁷ *Klio*, XXXI (1938), pp. 269 ff.

⁸ W. Altmann, *D. römischen Grabaltäre d. Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 257 ff.; Cumont, *Syria*, X (1929), pp. 288 ff.; Schröder, *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CVIII (1902), p. 65; E. Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life* (London, 1915), p. 173 and *Scultura Romana* (Firenze, 1923), p. 62; E. Stebbins, *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* (Menasha, 1929), pp. 81 f.; Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.*, XI (1932), pp. 29 ff.

⁹ Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 274; Strong, *Apotheosis*, pp. 229 f.

¹⁰ M. Maximova, *Les Vases Plastiques dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1927), I, p. 29; R. Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysterien-Gedanken* (Vorträge Bibl. Warburg, II [1922/3]), pp. 113 f.; but cf. Stebbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 f., 118.

unus iam puerascens insigni festivitate, cuius effigiem habitu Cupidinis in aede Capitolinae Veneris Livia dedicavit. . . . The cupid must thus represent the elder brother of Caligula, likewise named Gaius, who died in 12 A. D. Consequently, the statue from Prima Porta cannot be earlier than 12 A. D.

A third argument for a late date is the style. Mrs. Strong favors a date as late as the time of Claudius; she adds as a fourth argument that the vision of empire as represented on the breast-plate is impossible for the time of 19 B. C.¹¹ The author also came to the conclusion that the style is incompatible with a dating before our era, when he compared the statue with the frieze of the Ara Pacis set side by side in the exhibition of Augustan art at the Metropolitan Museum in 1939. A few words must suffice, because the final proof must be based on a new study of the development of Augustan art. The monuments of the two last decades B. C., best represented by the heads of Agrippa who died in 12 B. C. and the reliefs of the Ara Pacis which were made between 13 and 9 B. C., differ from the works belonging to the beginning of the first century A. D. exemplified by portraits of the elderly Augustus, that from the Via Labicana and those in Chiusi and Ancona.¹² The later style represents the climax of the neo-classic tendency of Augustan art; the examples are extremely cool and calm; they are highly refined, but show some lack of vigor. The earlier works have not reached the neo-classic climax and show greater animation and freshness; the forms are fuller and rounder; they look more organic and less abstract especially than the head of the Prima Porta figure.

But is it likely that the success over the Parthians would have been represented more than thirty years after the event? Hohl's assumption that the cuirass of the statue is the reproduction of an actual one ordered by Augustus in 20 B. C. is clearly proffered only for want of a better explanation (eine Verlegenheitshypothese). Such a better explanation is afforded by a theory of Loeschke published in 1906 which has not found the attention it deserves.¹³ He assumes that the statue of Prima Porta is the

¹¹ *C. A. H. Plates*, IV, p. 148.

¹² Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVIII (1933), pp. 215 ff., pls. 30-33, 37; Strong, *Sculptura*, pp. 25 ff., 237, pls. 7 f., 72; Lévi, *Boll. d'Arte*, ser. 3, XXVIII (1934), pp. 408 ff.

¹³ *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CXIV/CXV (1906), p. 470. Woelcke, *ibid.*, CXX

copy in marble of an original in bronze. His proof is based on the unfinished condition of the back where we see a trophy and above it one single wing of a Victory, the Victory having never been executed. It is evident that the omission of the Victory is due to the fact that the statue was supposed to be set against a wall so that the back could not be seen. Would any artist having such an order, however, first conceive a motive which was not necessary, then, because it was not visible later, execute only half of it? It is much more likely that a copyist continued his careful copying from the front to the back and then stopped halfway when he realized that his work was unnecessary.

Loeschcke's theory thus solves all the difficulties raised by the conflicting arguments: a bronze statue was set up by Augustus soon after 20 B. C. to celebrate his diplomatic success over the Parthians. Shortly after his death in 14 A. D. Livia ordered a copy for her villa at Prima Porta. Since the copy was of marble, a support was necessary, for which was chosen the motive of the great-grandson, Gaius, of whom both Livia and Augustus had been very fond and who had died a few years earlier. The features of the head of Augustus showing him in his forties were naturally retained in the copy but rendered in the new style of the later period.

VALENTIN MÜLLER.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

A NEW SOURCE ON THE SPARTAN *EPHEBIA*.

One of the chief sources for the Spartan *ephebia* is a gloss on Herodotus:¹ *εἰρήνη· παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁ παῖς ῥωβίδας καλεῖται, τῷ δευτέρῳ προκομιζόμενος, τῷ τρίτῳ μικιζόμενος, τῷ τετάρτῳ πρόπαις, τῷ πέμπτῳ παῖς, τῷ ἕκτῳ μελείρηνη. ἐφηβεύει δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ ἑτῶν δεκατεσσάρων μέχρι ἑκοσιν. βαρυτόνως δὲ τὸ μελείρηνη, ὥσπερ πυθμὴν ἀπύθμην, αὐχὴν ὑψαύχην.* This gloss is found

(1911), pp. 180 f. uses it wrongly by assuming a pre-Augustan original. The objections in Helbig, *Führer*, p. 7 are not valid.

¹ H. Stein, edition of Herodotus, II (1871), 465 (cf. 475). The gloss was probably intended to explain the word *ἱπείες* in Herodotus, IX, 85, which has been emended to *εἰπέες*. But see Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, II (1926), p. 696, n. 3 *ad fin.*

in an alphabetical lexicon preserved in several MSS of the 14th and later centuries; but the lexicon is simply an alphabetization of the glosses *ad verbum* found in a Coislin MS of the 10th century, although the end of the glossary, containing our gloss, is lost in this MS. Stein suggests that the source of this gloss was Aristophanes Byzantius, *περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν*. In view of its last sentence and the new quotation (below), it is probable that an intermediate source was Herodian, *περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδίας*, a work widely used in the Byzantine period.

An unexpected source has provided a new quotation of this gloss which changes its meaning and suggests other conclusions than those currently drawn from it on the subject of the Spartan *ephebia*. In the oldest manuscript of Strabo's *Geography*, Paris 1397 of the 10th century, later hands of the 14th or 15th century have copied into the margins a quantity of extraneous material. Much of it is lexicographical, and on fol. 225^v-226^r we find the following article: τὰ εἰς ἡν λήγοντα σύνθετα, ὅτε ἀπὸ ῥητῶν τουτέστιν ἴδια λεγομένων τῶν εἰς ἡν ἐστί, βαρύνεται· ῥήν πολύρρην· ἔλλην φιλέλλην· πυθμὴν ἀπύθμην· αὐχὴν ἐριαύχην καὶ βυσσαύχην, ὃ τὸν αὐχένα συστέλλων εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἀνέχων· εἰρὴν μελλείρην, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὃ μέλλων εἰρὴν ἔσεσθαι· ἐφηβείη μὲν γὰρ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὃ παῖς ἐπ' ἐτῶν ἰδ' μέχρι κ'· καλεῖται δὲ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ῥωβίδας, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ προκομιζόμενος, τῷ τρίτῳ μικιζόμενος, τῷ δ' ἑσπερίῳ, τῷ ε' παῖς, τῷ ς μελλείρην, τῷ ζ' εἰρήν.

It will be observed that both sources make the Spartan *ephebia* last "from 14 years to 20" and give the names of seven year-classes. But the old source makes the *ephebia* follow these year-classes, while the new source makes it consist of them. The old quotation has been variously interpreted. Some have understood ῥωβίδας to be an infant in his first year, μικιζόμενος a child in his third year, etc.² Others, applying a statement of Plutarch (*Lycurgus*, 16, 4) that Spartan boys were enrolled in companies at the age of seven, understand μικιζόμενος as a boy in his 10th year, εἰρήν as a youth in his fourteenth. This is now the prevailing view.³ Still others have claimed that the εἰρένες were

² This is the sense in which some of these terms are defined in Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, even in the new ninth edition by Jones and McKenzie.

³ Woodward, *Annual of the Brit. Sch. at Athens*, XV (1908-9), pp. 45-8; Nilsson, "Die Grundlagen des Spartanischen Lebens," *Klio*, XII

young men over 20,⁴ applying another statement of Plutarch (*Lycurgus*, 17, 2) : εἰρένας δὲ καλοῦσι τοὺς ἔτος ἤδη δεύτερον ἐκ παίδων γεγονότας, μελλείρενας δὲ τῶν παίδων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ εἰρήν, εἴκοσι ἔτη γεγονώς, ἄρχει κτλ. This seems to harmonize with the new quotation, according to which the ῥωβίδας would be a boy in the first year of ephobic training, 13 or 14 years old, the μικιζόμενος would be 15 or 16, the παῖς 17 or 18, the εἰρήν 19 or 20. There is of course ambiguity in the numbers because "18 years old" and "19th year of age" are equivalent expressions; but probably the boy entered the *ephebia* at the age of 13, the first year being the 14th of his age, and the fifth the 18th of his age. A Greek attained majority (ἐκ παίδων, εἰς ἄνδρας) at 18 years.⁵ According to this interpretation, in the last year before majority he would be called παῖς. Plutarch's remark about μελλείρενες must be inaccurate, since they would already be ἐκ παίδων. Moreover the εἰρένες themselves would not be 20 years old, but only in their 20th year, that is, 19 years old.

It is still problematical whether the new quotation of the article on εἰρήν is authentic and the interpretation it suggests valid for the Spartan *ephebia*. Plutarch explicitly mentions pre-ephebic training beginning at seven and continuing at twelve. Xenophon (*Lac. Resp.*, 3, 1; 4, 1; 5, 1) vaguely recognizes three stages of Spartan training, παῖδες, μειράκια, ἡβῶντες, which may coincide somehow with the stages at seven, twelve, fourteen, and eighteen mentioned elsewhere. The Spartan athletic inscriptions of the Roman period, which mention μικιζόμενοι and other year-classes, do not indicate their age.

AUBREY DILLER.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

(1912), pp. 309-11; Kolbe, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, V, 1 (1913), p. 79; Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, pp. 695-7.

⁴ G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, I (1893), p. 70.

⁵ Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 696, n. 3.

REVIEWS.

H. G. EVELYN WHITE and JAMES H. OLIVER. *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part II, Greek Inscriptions. (Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, Vol. XIV.)* New York, 1938. Pp. xiii + 71; pls. XIII.

This tall, slender volume, with the attractive format and typography that the Metropolitan Museum of Art habitually provides for its publications, will receive high praise from reviewers for the aid which it lends to historiography, but its unusual merit as an achievement in epigraphy may be overlooked. This would be a pity, because men like Professor Oliver work with full consciousness of purpose toward the perfection of their methods of deciphering ancient documents and of communicating their results to others. This concentration on methodology is peculiarly appropriate to an editor of texts, since the validity of a reading and hence of the historical inferences derived from it frequently depends on the rigor of the palaeographic or epigraphic technique by which it has been obtained and the stringency of the critical procedure by which it has been tested. In the present volume Professor Oliver has sought by every reasonable means to safeguard the student against being victimized by the errors of all the editors who have ever worked on the great inscriptions included in his publication; and, in order to increase the resources of those who will approach his own edition critically, he has provided remarkably clear photographs of the more important texts.

The book has a long history, which has been briefly recounted in the preface by H. E. Winlock. The original manuscript was prepared by Evelyn White in the years 1909 to 1913, when he had considerable opportunity to study the Greek inscriptions of the Temple of Amūn at Hibis in the Southern or Great Oasis of El Khargeh under the auspices of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. His attention was subsequently occupied elsewhere, and when he died in 1924 his manuscript was not ready for the printer. The delicate and arduous task of putting it into final shape was later assumed by Oliver. The principles that guided his work as a reviser are described in his own words in Winlock's preface. So far as he was able, Oliver has left Evelyn White's manuscript intact, but, by adding lavishly from his own critical resources such notes of discussion, amplification, and correction as he deemed necessary, he has effected as satisfactory a collaboration as the living can make with the dead. Oliver has placed almost all his own remarks in angular brackets. At times one wonders whether he might not have done better to rework his final manuscript into a coherent whole with no demarcation of the contributions of the two editors. The book would have profited from this fusion of its parts especially where it is clear that Evelyn White was not sufficiently well informed. On the other hand, the book in its present arrangement breathes a strong spirit of *pietas* toward a distinguished predecessor, and for the spectator there is genuine pleasure in witnessing the homage offered by one scholar to the literary legacy of another.

The volume derives its importance from the new and improved

texts which it makes available of the well known edicts of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito and Tiberius Julius Alexander on abuses in the financial, legal, and military administration. Of the inscription containing the edict of Capito (No. 1; A. D. 49) two full columns are preserved, but Cols. III and IV leave much to be desired. With his usual care Oliver gives a diplomatic transcript of Col. III as well as one partially restored *exempli gratia*, as he says. In a "supplementary note" he prints off, side by side, the attempts at restoring both columns made by Evelyn White and Jouguet. They are useful for comparison with his own text.

No. 2 is the very fragmentary *editio princeps* of an edict of Lucius Julius Vestinus (A. D. 60) concerned in some way with boundaries and cattle. Not enough is preserved to fix the meaning. The epigraphical problem is complicated by the extensive damage which the stone has undergone from weather, salt, and irrigation water. Readers may find some interest in comparing the two photographs (Pls. IV and V), the one taken in 1910, the other in 1937, of Col. I.

The editors present under No. 3 a hitherto unpublished, but seriously incomplete copy of the edict of Alexander (A. D. 68). Under other circumstances considerable importance might have been attached to this find, but a complete copy of the edict has long been known to exist at Hibis, and this is published once again as No. 4 with elaborate epigraphical commentary. Evelyn White and Oliver have made great advances in the constitution of the text, and perhaps the excellent photographs included in the volume will enable epigraphers to go still further.¹ Where the problem is one of restoration as distinct from reading, the new text may give an opportunity to scholars in related fields.² For the sake of completeness, and doubtless to facilitate comparison, Oliver has introduced a "supplementary note" containing a partial text of the edict as read by Wilcken on a Berlin papyrus, *B. G. U.*, VII, 1563.

The rest of the volume does not have the general importance of the edicts, but an occasional text looks as if it may prove significant for the history of the temple area. The two epigrams (Nos. 5 and 6) devoted to the generosity of Hermeias, who at some time late in the third century A. D. paid for the construction of a pavement of seven hundred cubits,³ need to be related to the archaeological evi-

¹ Certainly the eye of the non-specialist, or rather of the specialist who is not a trained epigrapher, is unlikely to find the photographs an immediately useful instrument of research. Where the stone is intact, the reading presents almost no difficulty. Where the surface of the stone is not well preserved, the photographs will hardly justify disagreement with the text of Evelyn White and Oliver. On the rôle of the photograph in epigraphy and the assistance which it lends to a qualified student, one may now read Meritt's lecture on "Readings" in his *Epigraphica Attica* (*Martin Classical Lectures*, IX [1940]), especially pp. 20 ff.

² In lines 53-54, e.g., Welles (*A. J. A.*, XLIV [1940], p. 265) has suggested ὕ[πογρα]φῆς in place of ὕ[ποθήκ]ης. This proposal would find strong support in Egyptian usage, and the photograph lends it a certain amount of justification, but with regard to φ I should wish greater assurance than the photograph gives, especially since Evelyn White saw no trace of it on the original and Oliver seems to have followed him on the basis of the photograph.

³ No. 5 has [ἐ]πράκει τοὺς ἑκατὸν πήχεις; No. 6, in Oliver's text, ἑκατὸν πήχε[as] ἐπ[α]ρόρους]. The latter restoration is based on the assump-

dence. The question has been discussed briefly by Oliver and will be treated at greater length, I imagine, in Part I.⁴ No. 7 is part of a door lintel on which is preserved the opening lines of a dedication in honor of Ptolemy Philadelphus on the erection of the Ptolemaic girdle wall and its gateways.

In the hypostyle hall N is a group of dipinti (Nos. 35-39) which appear to give the names of the masons responsible for the erection of the Roman piers built to support the broken architraves. Oliver observes that the lettering would admit a date in the second or third century A. D., but I wonder whether No. 37 may not permit a closer approximation of the date when the repairs were made. The first five lines cannot be read, but line 6 has ΖΚΤΥΒ. C. In the last five letters the editors have recognized Τῷβι ε, but they seem not to have considered the possibility that the preceding letters are the number of the year. If the 27th year is really in point, the repairs are fixed in A. D. 186/187. In the printed text, however, Ζ is taller and heavier than the following letters, and perhaps close examination of a photograph would reveal it as the year-sign itself.

The remaining inscriptions, graffiti, and dipinti (Nos. 8-34, 40-42) range in time from the early Ptolemaic to the Coptic period. A large number of these are simply names; a few others take the form of προσκυνήματα. No. 33, a dipinto consisting of the single name Ἀπολλῶ, has been assigned to the earlier Roman period. It would be difficult to find another example of this form of the name before the late Roman period. The earliest instance cited by Preisigke⁵ is Byzantine. The earliest date attested by Heuser⁶ is the fourth century A. D. Ἀπολλῶ reflects a typical Coptic treatment of a Greek name. If the graffito is pre-Coptic, Ἀπόλλω[ν] is more likely. If Ἀπολλῶ is correct, a later date would be more appropriate.⁷

tion that the words describe a pavement 100 cubits in length with seven lanes or sections, and this view derives impressive support from three facts: (1) A road of 700 cubits is almost three times the distance from the landing place on the ancient lake to the temple, and it has proved impossible to find a likely situation for so long a pavement. (2) The epigrams are inscribed on the middle or Great Gateway and the phrase τὸδε στρώμα would indicate that the pavement was laid on the road which led from the lake past the gateway to the temple. (3) The distance from the Great Gateway to the Inner Gateway is somewhat less than 100 cubits, and there may well have been a pavement between them laid down in seven parallel sections, each approximately 100 cubits in length. Nevertheless, No. 5 is non-committal, and Welles' suggestion (*ibid.*) that we read ἐπ[ιστρώματος] brings No. 6 into perfect accord with it and does not prejudice future discussions of the location of the pavement of "seven times one hundred cubits."

⁴ In the preface to Part II Winlock discloses a plan of publication which embraces three parts: I the archaeology, II the Greek inscriptions, III the Egyptian reliefs and the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Only Part II is available at present.

⁵ Friedrich Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922), s. v.

⁶ Gustav Heuser, *Die Kopten (Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. u. Kult. d. Alter. u. d. Mittelalt., II: Prosopographie von Ägypten, IV [Heidelberg, 1938]), s. v.*

⁷ Wilhelm Pape, *Wörterbuch d. griech. Eigennamen* (Braunschweig, 1911), cites Goar's text of Syncellus 19B (33, 15 ed. D.) in support of Ἀπολλῶ; this is his sole reference for the form. Syncellus is quoting

Each text that has had a previous publication is equipped with a very useful bibliography. A bibliography of a different kind is the concordance of editions placed immediately before the indexes. Perhaps the most splendid feature of the book in its material aspect is the series of thirteen plates which closes the volume. Of special interest to the general reader is the view of the approach to the temple through the Outer Gateway and the Great Gateway (Pl. I) and the closeup of the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander (Pl. VIII). These are unusually attractive photographs for a technical publication and possess a paedagogical value of their own.

HERBERT C. YOUTIE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

OLZSCHA, KARL. Interpretation der agramer Mumienbinde. (*Klio*, Beiheft XL, N. F. XXVII.) Leipzig, Dieterich, 1939. Pp. viii + 217. M. 13.

It is an open season again¹ for translating the Etruscan *liber linteus*—Runes and Cortsen, Vetter, Theodor Kluge, and now Olzscha, to name no others, are all in full cry. Hunting and trapping offer nothing like so much excitement, or so many surprises. Take for example the words *fler* (-š, -χva, -χve) and *flere* (-š, -ri), the meaning of which is admitted by all the hunters to be “das ‘zentrale’ Problem der Etruskologie,” and which some of the translators take to be different forms of one and the same word, others to be different words: *fler* is “numen” for Sigwart, “statua” for Goldmann, and “oblatio, hostia” for Olzscha, who takes *flere* as “numen, genius” and *flerθrce* as “sacrificauit.” No wonder if some strange beasts are captured for exhibition in the Etruscological Gardens!

Sensible Etruscologists, therefore, and Olzscha is one of them, refrain from asserting anything like absolute accuracy in their classifications and interpretations. Olzscha’s modesty in this matter inspires confidence. So does the use which he makes of the work of predecessors like Torp, and Herbig, and Danielsson. When Torp was busy with the chase, some forty years ago, most critics found his captures not altogether savage. But if Torp was able to come anywhere near the truth, as was believed then and, by sober scholars at least, for years afterwards and still is, then trackers who take up the investigation anew today naturally are not found encouraging when they begin by denying all that Torp did. The rehabilitation of Torp, then, is one of the happiest features to be detected in Olzscha’s work, but far from being the most important. His own discoveries fit so well with the more satisfying of the many interpretations hitherto proposed, and he is able to accept so many of the best of

Manetho on the first Egyptian dynasty, and it is evident from the context that the god Ἀπόλλων is in question. Dindorf takes Ἀπόλλων to be the true text, and is followed by Waddell in his recent edition of Manetho (Loeb Classical Library, 1940), p. 17. MS A has Ἀπολλῶ, but this is significant only for the late spelling of the name.

¹ This review was written in July 1939.

them, either outright or at all events as the starting points for new pursuits, that his present monograph is likely to be recognized in years to come as a valuable contribution towards a final reading of the riddle of the Etruscan sphinx. So far from disappointing the hopes raised by his preliminary papers in *Studi Etruschi* and elsewhere (notably that which appeared in 1936 in *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*, XII, pp. 97-116, "Die Sprache der Etrusker, Probleme und neue Wege der Deutung"), it raises new ones. Even if much of the detail in Olzscha's translations of continuous passages of the Agram text has to be modified or abandoned, that is only to be expected; for to translate the document entire now, and when I write translate I mean translate, would be like solving an equation in which ninety percent of the factors are unknowns. But meanwhile, attempts to find meanings for those unknowns, provided always that the method used is sound, lead to partial solutions, and those partial solutions will in time lead to more and more complete solutions, until at last we reach the right answer. It is a procedure which the natural sciences have used with success; and it is because Olzscha uses a sound method—the combinatory method as it has come to be known—and uses it rigorously that his *Interpretation* merits serious consideration.

There is already a certain measure of agreement about Etruscan numerals, which appear at intervals in the Agram text, and also about its liturgical character. Starting from this position, Olzscha states his object in these words: "den Sinn der Ganzen zu erfassen und zu einer sicheren Bestimmung wenigstens mancher Worte und Wendungen zu gelangen." Olzscha assumes, and this is perhaps the weakest part of his argument, that an Etruscan ritual text will show fundamental agreement in its formal and structural contents with Italic ritual texts. If we are to know this now positively to be so, we shall have to know first the essential meaning of the text; if we seek to ascertain its meaning in the first place by comparing a dozen or so recorded Italic prayers, above all the Iguvine Tables (the other eleven quoted by Olzscha, pp. 4-10, are all Latin), then we have no proof of the nature of the Agram document. Olzscha is content to refer to his articles in *Stud. Etr.* (VIII, pp. 267 ff., IX, p. 205, n. 1) for the pertinence of the Iguvine Tables and of the prayers in Cato's *R. R.* He has a strong case, but it cannot yet be called water-tight.

It is, however, clear that the greater part of the text may be divided into what Olzscha calls "strophes"; this term is unfortunate, because we have to do with "sakrale gegliederte Prosa" rather than with stanzas of an exactly corresponding, or even of a regular rhythmical, structure. Perhaps "paragraphs" or "rubrics" would better meet the need. Within each of these rubrics Olzscha finds all or several of the elements of Italic prayers, identified as *inuocatio*, *placatio*, *oblatio*, *postulatio*, and *acceptatio*. Apart from the weakness of his initial assumption, which makes the Iguvine Tables, *mutatis mutandis*, virtually a sort of bilingual, several times removed, it may be admitted that he is justified in his conclusion (p. 207): "Wir haben durch diese Interpretation ein wichtiges Dokument für die italische Religionsgeschichte erschlossen." And in any case he has supported his theory with a wealth of careful linguistic argument.

He takes up one by one a number of key-words, and, together with them, a number of the rubrics, examining all the available evidence that can point to the meaning, and criticizing the views of other enquirers. And he ends with a specimen rendering of the Neptune-paragraph that reads plausibly enough.

Incidentally Olzscha sets forth again his views of the grammatical structure of Etruscan. For many years it has been realized that there is no ground for ascribing to the Etruscan language a grammatical category of the type that is understood by the term accusative. In the strongest contrast with Indo-European, there are in Basque and in certain Caucasian dialects passive verbal forms, accompanied by forms of expression in the noun that Schuchardt called active (i.e. as designating the actor, Latin *ab* with the ablative), and that Friedrich calls the "transitive subject." The term ergative also has been suggested and is to be preferred because it has the advantage of avoiding misleading associations with Indo-European categories. Similarly there are objective forms, rather than a nominative case, although of course these may correspond to the grammatical subject (nominative) of a (passive) sentence in Indo-European. Some of the North-American Indian languages have this sort of structure, in greater or less degree. And Olzscha maintains that Etruscan has the same sort of structure. Now it is noteworthy that also Urartaish (or Chaldish), which was spoken in the districts between the upper Euphrates and the eastern highlands of Asia Minor, and which, as Olzscha points out, is considered chronologically not far removed from Etruscan, appears to have comparable grammatical features. Are we, then, at last on the track of something with which Etruscan may legitimately be compared? And of something that will throw new light on the proto-Indo-European stratum of languages in the Mediterranean basin? Olzscha thinks that we are. When all allowance is made for the many elements of chance that must enter into the chase, it is evident that Olzscha has started a new trail that promises well. *Macte uirtute.*

J. WHATMOUGH.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

ANDRÉ AYMARD. *Les Assemblées de la Confédération Achaïenne.* (*Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi*, Fasc. XXI.) Paris, Boccard, 1938. Pp. xv + 450. Fr. 90.

Les premiers Rapports de Rome et de la Confédération Achaïenne, 198-189 avant J.-C. (*Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi*, Fasc. XXII.) Paris, Boccard, 1939. Pp. xvi + 438. Fr. 90.

The first of these two monographs is an elaborate investigation of the ancient evidence concerning the organization of the Achaean League and of the varied and sometimes contradictory interpretations of that evidence by modern inquirers. It is singularly unfortunate that epigraphic material is still exceedingly sparse and that

in consequence students of the period are compelled to rely almost wholly on the literary sources. Though M. Aymard is sometimes a little less than fair to Polybius, it is undeniable that our chief authority on the Achaean League is often far from precise when dealing with constitutional questions and the machinery of government. This book of necessity is not easy reading, since its author, in order to meet all possible criticisms, has added beneath his text a constant stream of controversial and often very lengthy footnotes. The reader may be forgiven who should apply to parts of this book the sentence that M. Aymard has used in connection with one specific problem: "D'autre part, on a longuement et subtilement, beaucoup trop longuement et subtilement discuté pour définir la portée de la décision à laquelle aboutit cette assemblée." Nevertheless the monograph is undoubtedly a most valuable contribution to a difficult subject and will be indispensable to future investigators. Some of its conclusions are likely to win immediate acceptance, for instance, that the *synodos* was never a representative assembly, that it was older than the *synkletos*, and that the last-named did not come into existence until the last decades of the third century. Moreover, it is shown with great probability that there were each year a stated number of meetings of the *synodos*—probably four—which were fixed in advance, whereas the *synkletos* always kept the character of an extraordinary assembly, summoned when needed to deal with important decisions, especially in the sphere of foreign policy. At the same time, as M. Aymard is able to prove by many examples, there would seem to have been a good deal of overlapping, as there was no clear-cut and fixed line of demarcation between the functions exercised by the *synkletos* on the one hand and the *synodos* on the other.

Probably the hypothesis which will arouse most dissent is that Polybius used the word *boule*, not in its accepted Greek sense of a second chamber, but as synonymous with "assembly." M. Aymard, when arguing against the existence of a representative assembly in the Achaean League, adds that such a body would be unique in Greek history. One might point out in return that a Greek constitution, especially one that was at least in form democratic, without a council whose primary function was probouleutic, would be quite as unusual. As he himself admits towards the end of the book (p. 365), the only alternative in the absence of a *boule* could have been that the magistrates had the whole burden of preparing business for the assemblies. It is difficult to believe that Polybius could have so misused the word *boule*, which had had a very precise connotation for centuries. Again, if the constituent cities of the League had their own *boulai*, as a natural interpretation of Livy, XXXII, 19, 9 would seem to prove, does it not make it all the more probable that the federal government also had a council? In discussing Polybius, XXII, 8, 1-8, M. Aymard observes: "il n'est question que de *βουλευέσθαι* et non de *προβουλεύεσθαι*, seul mot correcte si Polybe prenait *boulè* dans son sens traditionnel." Surely not. Any council would have to deliberate before it framed a *probouleuma*, so that Mr. Aymard's argument seems a complete *non sequitur*. These forced interpretations of the passages in Polybius where the word *boule* occurs can be avoided,

(*J. H. S.*, LIX [1939], p. 155), if we assume that *synodos* could be used in the same way as "Congress" to signify a bicameral body.¹ This possibility M. Aymard has not considered at all.

The second monograph suggests to one reader at least the question whether a book of nearly four hundred pages of text and footnotes dealing with only ten years of the diplomatic relations between the Achaean League and Rome is not out of all proportion to the importance of the subject. True, the treatment covers somewhat more ground than the mere title of the work would suggest. There is an excellent summary of earlier contacts between Rome and the League, and a good deal of space is devoted to the Second Macedonian War and to the activities of Nabis. All the same, it is to be feared that this book, which, like the other, attempts to take into account all that has been written on the subject in modern times, so that the main narrative is sometimes buried under the *minutiae* of scholarship, may find few readers. This would be regrettable, for it unquestionably contains many valuable observations and deductions. The policy of Rome is shown to have been essentially opportunist from the first. M. Aymard makes it clear that already in 192 B. C. and especially after Thermopylae, though the agreement between Rome and the League was legally a *foedus aequum*, the senate had in fact determined to be the dominant partner. Excellent and thought-provoking, too, are the characterizations of leading men of affairs—with admirable impartiality M. Aymard brings out the strength and weakness of both Flaminius and Philopoimen, and even the portrait of Nabis is not wholly dark—and the treatment of episodes like the conference at Mycenae in the winter of 198/7 or the diplomatic successes of Flaminius in 191.

In conclusion, M. Aymard has written two important books which place him in the front rank of authorities on Hellenistic history. May one who has learned much from reading them respectfully suggest that undue diffuseness has a way of defeating its own ends and that much that is written on any historical period over a number of years is ephemeral and can either be ignored or passed by with a mere mention. With all respect to Horace, brevity and obscurity are not inseparable companions!

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

J. ENOCH POWELL. *The History of Herodotus. (Cambridge Classical Studies, IV.)* Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. viii + 96.

A brief preface states the author's purpose to do for Herodotus what Eduard Schwartz in his *Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* did for another Greek historian and presents in brief tabular form the results of the author's analysis in comparison with those of Kirch-

¹ Cary also refers to one passage in Polybius (XXIX, 24, 5) which it is impossible to explain away. M. Aymard's pardonable ignorance that Caspari and Cary are one and the same person leads to some amusing footnotes, e. g., 32, n. 3; 49, n. 1; 60, n. 1.

hoff's *Über die Abfassungszeit des Herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*. There follow five chapters: I. Cross-references, II. The History of Persia, III. The Change of Plan, IV. The Persian Wars, V. Herodotus. Two appendices give a bibliography and a table of cross-references; and two indices, lists of passages cited and of proper names.

The author's purpose is to determine the order and the chronology of the stages of Herodotus' composition of the *History* as we now have it. To the life-story of the book Powell appends a brief sketch of its author's life as it emerges from his study. According to the summary given on p. viii Books I-III, in the original form, IV, 145-205, were written in 447/4 at Athens; IV, 1-144, V, 1-10, in 444/3 at Athens; I-III, in the present form, V, 11-IX, in 430/28 at Athens. This bare skeleton is clothed and made presentable, if not beautiful, by the discussion in detail.

The critical reader is bound to acknowledge that Professor Powell has made an honest attempt to solve an involved problem and that on the whole the conclusions resulting from his study are defensible, if not always certain. This is high praise in such a case; for at countless points there is a possibility of doubt, varying in degree, regarding the legitimate inferences from passages. I myself have questioned a large number of statements, but I recognize that there is inevitably a subjective element in the decision at which one arrives in a complicated situation. I am the more conscious of this difficulty because I have for years wrestled with the same and similar problems. My student days fell in the heyday of just such studies, and I attended among others the lectures of Kirchhoff on the *Odyssey*, Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Herodotus, and Thucydides. Despite the fascination exercised by the ingenuity and cocksureness of the critics, I felt then and have felt increasingly since a stubborn reluctance to yield full assent. Being addicted to writing and to reflection on my own procedure, and being at the time blessed with an exceptional memory, I was aware that the relatively simple things I wrote might, if dissected by a captious critic, lead to absurd conclusions regarding the way in which they had been composed. The important question suggested itself what we knew *in an objective sense* about the procedure of an ancient author in composing a work of any length. Did he write it out himself or did he employ a secretary to whom he dictated? Did he write, or dictate, from copious notes or freely from memory? In planning his account did, say Herodotus, decide in advance in just what connection he should narrate this particular affair and did he adhere to his plan or deviate from it occasionally because of a momentary inspiration? If he deviated from it, would there not result duplications and omissions calling for corrections even in the first draught? How were such (to my thinking inevitable) defects to be amended? Wanting certain knowledge about these matters we are reduced to the necessity of judging largely on subjective grounds, and our conclusions will often depend on the amount of charity we are disposed to show an author.

This is simply by way of justifying myself for withholding full assent to Powell's conclusions. He depends, of course, largely on cross-references, forward or backward. When were these made? One sees at once that again and again a difference of opinion is certainly possible. In fairness it must be said that the author has

preserved a judicial attitude and has honestly endeavored to distinguish between the certain, the probable, and the barely possible, and, as has been already said, the result is praiseworthy, so far as the substance is concerned. As for the author's style, it is a pity that it should be approved, as it presumably is since it was accepted, by the Cambridge University Press. "If Lydia originally stood after ch. 140, the answer is plain. Transition to Lydia must then have been made by way of Croesus, the Lydian King who succumbed to Persia; Lydia must begin and end with Croesus" (p. 10). One may excuse such speech in a class-room; but one winces at it in a book, even when one recognizes that the dubious locutions are due to the understandable desire to compress the discussion into the smallest possible number of words. I regret to add that Powell's view of the origin and development of historiography to Thucydides (pp. 44 f.) seems to me false, though it is not original. One needs to take a much more comprehensive view of the intellectual interests of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. and to recognize that what we call "history" was only a special form of the *ιστορίη* then prosecuted by all the leading minds. Only so will one do justice to the pioneers.

† W. A. HEIDEL.

HELEN JEFFERSON LOANE. *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B. C.-200 A. D.). (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ser. LVI, No. 2.)* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. 158.

Helen Jefferson Loane's study of industry and commerce of the city of Rome was undertaken as a dissertation under the direction of Tenney Frank, and is in some sense supplementary to Volume V of the *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. The thorough and detailed research represented in this capable treatment of a limited phase of the industry of Italy under the empire constituted Mrs. Loane's special qualification for her part in the completion of that volume after Professor Frank's death.

Limits are set to the scope of this study not only by concentration on the city of Rome and its peculiar problems as capital of the empire, but by selective treatment of representative industries. The organization of the book is clear and well planned for usefulness. There are three main divisions,—imports, industry, distribution,—under which parallel lists of products are treated in separate subsections (food, clothing, building, metal work, household furnishings, luxury wares). While the different chapters inevitably cover some common ground, particularly those on imports and distribution, wastefulness has ordinarily been avoided by the use of cross-references instead of repetition of material. In each division the author has brought together significant evidence from ancient literary sources and inscriptions, supplemented wherever possible by ancient art and archaeological remains.

The chapter on imports is arranged necessarily in rather brief subsections which deal separately with a large number of products,

the amounts imported, prices, and main sources of supply. It is concluded with a section on the *stationes* maintained at Rome by foreign traders, in the discussion of which the author draws some inferences of interest on economic development, on the function of the *stationarii* as wholesalers, the absence of any evidence of middlemen as such, and the failure to develop any adequate independent organization of transportation.

The chapter on industry is the most significant for the economic history of the city and is to the reviewer the most interesting section of the book, not only for its discriminating selection of industries and the wide range of material presented, but for its capable treatment of different industries, its appraisal of the proportion between large-scale and small-shop production, and its discussion of the extent of and reasons for government interference, subsidy, and price-fixing. Evidence of small-shop industry is to be found in inscriptions of individual craftsmen and guilds, in reliefs, and in traces of small shops on the Marble Plan and in archaeological remains. Evidence of large-scale industry is drawn from epigraphical and literary references to division of labor, slave gangs, and government contracts. The author concludes that large-scale production was prevalent chiefly in industries where it was necessitated by peculiar factors, as in baking during the times when there was a bread dole, fulling and tanning which required elaborate equipment, and public building. A special section is devoted to a few larger industries,—the manufacture of *minium*, bricks, clay lamps, and lead pipes,—some of which were or gradually became government monopolies. A summary at the end of the chapter suggests reasons for the prevailing absence of large-scale industries in the city of Rome: the lack of easily available raw materials, metal and fuel; the unlimited supply of slaves in the households of the wealthy; and the ready availability in the capital of imports of every origin.

Chapter III is a topographical study of distribution within the city, in which the author gathers from various sources evidence on the location of warehouses, markets, and shops, on the machinery of distribution and its organization, and on state supervision and control. There was in general the same predominance of small-scale methods in the distribution of products as in their manufacture.

Consideration of brevity in the footnotes has at some points been allowed to outweigh consideration of the reader's convenience. Pl. and Str. do not at once suggest Pliny and Strabo, and a list of abbreviations would save some puzzling over such drastically abbreviated titles as *D.E.* and *B.C.* Still more extravagant of the reader's time is the habit of giving full titles of articles as well as books only in the place of their first appearance in the footnotes, and of referring to them thereafter solely by the author's name.

In any study involving such a wealth of detail a few errors inevitably escape the final checking. On p. 109, for example, Front., 116 cited in footnote 170 should be Front., II, 116; on p. 52 Sempronia is apparently written by mistake for Servilia (Suet., *Jul.*, 50). The few such errors which have caught the reviewer's eye are of minor importance and will not affect the value of the monograph or the admiration which it amply merits.

INEZ RYBERG.

Epigraphica. Rivista Italiana di Epigrafia. Vol. I (1939). Milano, Casa Editrice Ceschina. Pp. 404.

The first fascicle of the new journal *Epigraphica* was published in September of 1938 on the occasion of the International Epigraphical Congress which was held at Amsterdam. The editor, Aristide Calderini, has given us in the foreword a brief statement of his purpose to provide a journal to be devoted exclusively to the field of inscriptions. It will treat of all aspects of the discipline from the publication of new documents to the review of books which depend even in part on epigraphical study, and one important section of it will be a bibliographical bulletin.

The volume as finally issued contains a wide variety of articles and reviews, and a very extensive bulletin has been prepared by Calderini and his colleagues. This bulletin is a useful addition to those already made available by Tod in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, by Robert and others in the *Revue Archéologique*, and by Miss Ernst in Marouzeau's *l'Année Philologique*. The catholic nature of the reviews may be illustrated by the fact that one of them (p. 205) is devoted to De Sanctis, *Storia dei Greci*. The connection here with epigraphical study is not obvious, even after the editor's explanations, but Calderini may perhaps be pardoned for citing these volumes as one step in what he calls "the methodical and sure rise of our country toward a more radiant future." Where so much is given one ought not to feel that even this additional item is out of place.

There is at least one curious omission. Those who were fortunate enough to receive the first fascicle as it was published in 1938 will note that it contains an article by Paribeni (pp. 5-8) followed by an article from the pen of Mario Segre, "Il processo tra i Calimnii e i figli di Diagora di Coa" (pp. 9-16). In the volume as finally issued in 1939, Segre's article with its two illustrations was suppressed. Paribeni's article was repaged from 5-8 to 13-16, and its one illustration was called Fig. 1-3 so that the numbering of figures throughout the volume might remain consecutive even with Segre's article omitted. The remaining lacuna was taken up by an 8-page article written by the editor, in which he makes some observations about epigraphical congresses in general and about the one in Amsterdam in particular. It is a poor substitute for Segre, and no explanation is offered for this extraordinary suppression of an article already published, or for the repaging of its companion piece. In a journal which has as one of its purposes the facilitation of bibliographical reference, such editorial leger-de-main creates inexcusable confusion. The reader, we believe, is entitled to some explanation.

It may be noted, however, that Segre did not suffer complete *damnatio memoriae*, for six articles of his are cited in the bibliography, and he is once praised (p. 241) as the man "who has done so much for the epigraphy of the Italian islands of the Aegean." But there is no reference in the bibliography to the suppressed article and students of epigraphy will doubtless be puzzled when they search their references to it in the final version of this volume.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY.

M. Terenti Varronis, *De Vita Populi Romani*. Edited by BENEDETTO RIPOSATI. (*Pubblicazioni dell' Università Cattolica del S. Cuore*, Ser. IV, Vol. XXXIII.) Milan, Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1939. Pp. x + 320. L. 30.

The remains of this work of Varro had been previously collected by Hermann Kettner in a Halle dissertation of 1863, listing 118 fragments as compared with Riposati's 129. The advances here made, however, are to be reckoned less on quantitative than on scholarly grounds, and the present work lays much stress on its critical appraisal of the materials. A brief bibliography is followed by an enumeration and criticism of those authors who cite the *De Vita Populi Romani* (in which Nonius, the preserver of 123 fragments, is naturally prominent), a discussion of the title, the number of books (clearly four), the dedication to Atticus, the date (between 47 and 32 B. C.), and the later tradition (extending to Nonius), followed by over 150 pages dealing with the authenticity of the fragments, their subject-matter, and their assignment to definite places in the work. According to Riposati's reconstruction (p. 259) the first book corresponds roughly to the period of the monarchy, the second extends from the founding of the Republic to the First Punic War, the third to the end of the Third Punic War, and the last to Varro's own day. These limits are not, however, rigidly fixed, nor is the purpose of the work concerned so much with the sequence of events as with Roman life seen as a varied picture, its virtues, vices, glories, humiliations, public and private institutions, and religious and domestic rites. Though Varro's method depends on that of the βίος ἑλλαδῶς of Dicaearchus, his intention is rather to hold up to the admiring imitation of his contemporaries the *mores antiqui* of their ancestors. The 129 fragments themselves are set forth on pp. 273-316, each provided with a twofold apparatus, containing (1) references to the ancient authors in which it is preserved (with citation of modern scholarly literature dealing with the fragment) and (2) a statement of manuscript variants, emendations, and such matters as naturally belong in an *apparatus criticus*. An index of proper names and one of noteworthy words close the volume.

The editor controls the literature of his subject pretty fully and shows good sense and conservatism in deciding the small but controversial questions arising in the course of the study. It is the more to be regretted that the otherwise excellent impression made by his work is marred by not a few misprints of Latin words, such as Nonuis (p. 75), mustell. (Mostell<aria>, p. 228), ommem (omnem, p. 294), sempre (semper, p. 306), carba ineus (carbasineus, p. 318), occasional errors in Greek (e. g. p. 152), frequent slips in English (e. g. religious experiance, p. 115) and German (five mistakes in seven lines on p. 9), not to speak of Italian itself (euremeristico, p. 268). Foreign scholars appear in unfamiliar guise, e. g., Temney Frank (p. 215) and P. M. Nillson (p. 224). At p. 258, n. 3, an entire line is transposed. Despite these blemishes and the possibility that other scholars may still prefer to arrange some of the materials in a different order, this volume will probably long remain the standard edition of the *De Vita* and may offer useful suggestions in method to editors of Varro's other fragmentary works.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Alexander (William Hardy). Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*, The Text Emended and Explained (I-LXV). (*Univ. of California Publ. in Classical Philology*, XII, 5 [1940], pp. 57-88.)

Andrew (S. O.). Syntax and Style in Old English. Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. 112. \$2.50.

Berry (Edmund Grindlay). The History and Development of the Concept of *θελα νομω* and *θελα νόμω* down to and including Plato. Private ed., distributed by the Univ. of Chicago Libraries, 1940. Pp. iii + 89. (Diss.)

Bowen (Ray P.). The Dramatic Construction of Balzac's Novels. Eugene, Univ. of Oregon, 1940. Pp. v + 128. \$1. (*Univ. of Oregon Monographs, Studies in Literature and Philology*, No. 3.)

Cambridge (The) Bibliography of English Literature. Vol. I: A. D. 600-1660; Vol. II: 1660-1800; Vol. III: 1800-1900; Vol. IV: Index. Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. xi + 912; xx + 1003; xxii + 1098; 287. \$32.50.

Carcopino (Jérôme). Daily Life in Ancient Rome. Translated by E. O. Lorimer. Edited with Bibliography and Notes by Henry T. Rowell. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xv + 342; illus. \$4.

Duncan (Sir Patrick). The Place of Art in Plato's Ideal State. Reprinted from the *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, X, 1 (1940), pp. 27-38.

Goldschmidt (R. C.). Paulinus' Churches at Nola. Texts, Translations and Commentary. Amsterdam, N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1940. Pp. 203; 1 plate. Fl. 4. 50.

Hunt (Edmund). Iohannis Dominici Lucula Noctis. Notre Dame, Ind., 1940. Pp. xxxi + 432. (*Univ. of Notre Dame Publ. in Mediaeval Studies*, IV.)

Koch (Sister Marie Pierre). An Analysis of the Long Prayers in Old French Literature with Special Reference to the "Biblical-Creed-Narrative" Prayers. Washington, D. C., Catholic Univ. of Am. Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 204. (Diss.)

Meritt (Benjamin Dean). Epigraphica Attica. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xi + 157. (*Martin Classical Lectures*, IX.)

Pando (Rev. José C.). The Life and Times of Synesius of Cyrene as revealed in his works. Washington, D. C., Catholic Univ. of Am. Press, 1940. Pp. xix + 186. (*Patristic Studies*, LXIII.)

Roberts (Frank H. H., Jr.). Archeological Remains in the White-water District, Eastern Arizona. Part II: Artifacts and Burials. With Appendix, Skeletal Remains from the Whitewater District, Eastern Arizona, by T. D. Stewart. U. S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1940. Pp. xi + 170; 57 plates; 44 text figures. (Smithsonian Inst., Bureau of Am. Ethnology, Bull. 126.)

Sturtevant (Edgar H.). The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin, 2nd edition. Philadelphia, publ. for Yale Univ. by the Linguistic Society of America, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1940. Pp. 192. (*William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series*).

Teykowski (Hans). Der Präpositionsgebrauch bei Menander. Bonner Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1940. Pp. 93.

INDEX TO VOLUME LXII.

	PAGE		PAGE
Agrarian Legislation, Solon's,	144-156	Chinese, An Ancient Military Contact Between Romans and,	322-330
ALEXANDER, WILLIAM H. Four Suggestions for Seneca, <i>E. M. CIV</i> ,	485-489	CLEMENT, PAUL A. Chronological Notes on the Issues of Several Greek Mints,	157-168
ALLEN, WALTER, JR. The Terentianus of the <i>περί ὕψους</i> ,	51-64	Cleomedes and the Meridian of Lysimachia,	344-347
Antioch, The Wall of Theodosius at,	207-213	COPLEY, FRANK O. Horace, <i>Odes</i> , III, 5, 13-18,	87-89
<i>ἀποπαιδαριῶ, καθαρὰ, ἀσάλιος, πρόφασις</i> in Late Greek, Four Lexicographical Notes,	451-459	Juvenal, <i>Sat.</i> , I, 1, 147-150,	219-221
Aristotelian (The) Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric,	35-50, 169-190	Dieuchidas, A Note on the Megarian Historian,	348-351
Aristotle's <i>Politics</i> , IV, xii, 11-13 (Text and Interpretation),	416-425	DILLER, AUBREY. A New Source on the Spartan <i>Ephebia</i> ,	499-501
Asklepios, Note on the Priests of,	358-360	* <i>do-</i> , * <i>do-ic-</i> , * <i>do-ye-</i> , * <i>do-ze-</i> , The Indo-European Base-Type,	476-484
<i>ἀσάλιος, ἀποπαιδαριῶ, καθαρὰ, πρόφασις</i> in Late Greek, Four Lexicographical Notes,	451-459	DOWNEY, GLANVILLE. The Wall of Theodosius at Antioch,	207-213
Augustus from Prima Porta, The Date of the,	496-499	DUBS, HOMER H. An Ancient Military Contact Between Romans and Chinese,	322-330
Augustus, Vergil and the Forum of,	261-276	EDELSTEIN, LUDWIG. Horace, <i>Odes</i> , II, 7, 9-10,	441-451
BATES, WILLIAM NICKERSON. The Euripides Papyri,	469-475	<i>Ephebia</i> , Spartan, A New Source on the,	499-501
Bithynica,	191-198	Etruscan and Latin Month-Names, On,	100-206
BONNER, CAMPBELL. Four Lexicographical Notes: <i>ἀποπαιδαριῶ, καθαρὰ, ἀσάλιος, πρόφασις</i> in Late Greek,	451-459	Euripides, <i>Ion</i> , 1610,	229
BOOKS RECEIVED, 127-128, 255-256 383-384, 515		Euripides (The) Papyri,	469-475
Boule (The) of 500 from Salamis to Ephialtes,	224-226	Flamininus, T. Quinctius, The Military and Diplomatic Campaign of, in 198 B. C.,	277-288
BURRIS, ELI E. Two Notes on Petronius,	356-358	FONTENROSE, JOSEPH E. On the Particle <i>τω</i> in Homer,	65-79
Catullus, 5, 7-11 and the Abacus,	222-224	FRÄNKEL, HERMANN. Menander's <i>Epitrepontes</i> , 722-25 Körte (646-49 Jensen),	354-356
<i>Cena Trimalchionis</i> , A Note on the Location of,	494-496		

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Harleman's</i> De Claudiano Mamerto Gallicae Latinitatis Scriptore Quaestiones (JACOB HAMMER),	246-248	Antiquity (MARGARETE BIEBER),	241-244
<i>Heichelheim's</i> Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums, I: Text; II: Notes and Index (ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON),	361-367	<i>MacLennan's</i> Oxyrhynchus: an Economic and Social Study (CLINTON W. KEYES),	251-252
<i>Jeanmaire's</i> La Sibylle et le retour de l'âge d'or (DAVID M. ROBINSON),	367-370	<i>Malcovati's</i> L. Annaei Flori Quae Exstant (LLOYD W. DALY),	370-372
<i>Jones' The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces</i> (T. R. S. BROUGHTON),	104-107	<i>Mihăescu's</i> Dioscoride Latino, <i>Materia Medica</i> , Libro primo (HENRY E. SIGERIST),	124-125
<i>Jonkers' Invloed van het Christendom op de Romeinsche wetgeving betreffende het concubinatus en de echtscheiding</i> (WILLIAM M. GREEN),	120-122	Moorhead, <i>see</i> Smith.	
<i>Jouai's</i> De Magistraat Ausonius (E. T. SALMON),	248-249	<i>Mugler's</i> L'Évolution des Constructions Participiales complexes en Grec et en Latin (JAMES W. POULTNEY),	252-253
<i>Klingner's</i> Q. Horati Flacci Carmina (ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY),	122-123	Oliver, <i>see</i> Evelyn White.	
<i>Koerte's</i> Menandri Quae Supersunt, Pars Prior: Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Vetustissimis Servatae (PHILIP W. HARSH),	101-104	<i>Olzscha's</i> Interpretation der agramer Mumienbinde (J. WHATMOUGH),	505-507
Kuhn, <i>see</i> Gilbert.		<i>Packer's</i> Cicero's Presentation of Epicurean Ethics (NORMAN W. DEWITT),	124
<i>Kuiper's</i> Two Comedies by Apollodorus of Carystus, Terence's Hecyra and Phormio (JOHN N. HOUGH),	237-239	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> , XIV (N. S. I) (LILY ROSS TAYLOR),	380-381
<i>Laureae Aquincenses Memoriae Valentini Kuzsinszky Dicatae</i> , I (HOWARD COMFORT),	250-251	<i>Piganiol's</i> Histoire de Rome (RICHARD M. HAYWOOD),	382-383
<i>Loane's</i> Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B. C.-200 A. D.) (INEZ RYBERG),	511-512	<i>Powell's</i> The History of Herodotus (W. A. HEIDEL),	509-511
<i>Lowe's</i> Codices Latini Antiquiores, A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century, Part III, Italy: Ancona-Novara (MARBURY B. OGLE),	254	<i>Riposati's</i> M. Terenti Varonis De Vita Populi Romani (ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE),	514
<i>McDermott's</i> The Ape in		<i>Rostovtzeff, Brown, and Welles' The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work, 1933-1934 and 1934-1935</i> (GLANVILLE DOWNEY),	107-110
		<i>Sanford's</i> The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times (RICHARD M. HAYWOOD),	125-126
		<i>Schnabel's</i> Text und Karten des Ptolemäus (WALTER WOODBURN HYDE),	244-246
		<i>Smith and Moorhead's</i> A Short History of the Ancient World (RICHARD M. HAYWOOD),	125-126

PAGE	PAGE
<i>Trever's</i> History of Ancient Civilization, I: The Ancient Near East and Greece; II: The Roman World (RICHARD M. HAYWOOD), 125-126	Solon's Agrarian Legislation, 144-156
<i>Triantaphyllides' Neosλληνική Γραμματική, πρώτος τόμος, ιστορική εισαγωγή</i> (SHIBLEY H. WEBER), 114-116	Sophocles, <i>Ajax</i> 112: A Study in Sophoclean Syntax and Interpretation, 214-218
<i>Wallace's</i> Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian (HERBERT C. YOUTIE), 93-101	SPITZER, LEO. <i>Ratio > Race</i> , 129-143
Welles, <i>see</i> Rostovtzeff.	STEVENS, EDWARD B. Topics of Pity in the Poetry of the Roman Republic, 426-440
<i>Wilson's</i> The Clothing of the Ancient Romans (CATHARINE SAUNDERS), 110-112	Terentianus (The) of the <i>περί ὕψους</i> , 51-64
<i>Winterscheidt's</i> Aigina: Eine Untersuchung über seine Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (PAUL A. CLEMENT), 119-120	Theodosius, The Wall of, at Antioch, 207-213
<i>Zuntz's</i> Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri (JAMES T. ALLEN), 376-377	TOD, MARCUS N. Bithynica, 191-198
Rhetoric, Ancient, The Aristotelian Tradition in, 35-50, 169-190	TODD, O. J. Aristotle's <i>Politics</i> , IV, xii, 11-13 (Text and Interpretation), 416-425
Romans and Chinese, An Ancient Military Contact Between, 322-330	Tribal Courts in Plato's <i>Laws</i> , On the, 314-321
ROWELL, HENRY T. Vergil and the Forum of Augustus, 261-276	Tribute Lists, New Fragments of the, 1-15
SANDERS, H. A. The Origin of the Third Cyrenaic Legion, 84-87	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> , III, 692-705, The Sources of, 490-492
Seneca, <i>E. M.</i> CIV, Four Suggestions for, 485-489	Vergil and the Forum of Augustus, 261-276
"Sheep," The Hesychian Gloss <i>γούρα: οἷς</i> , 89-91	WASSERMANN, FELIX. Euripides, <i>Ion</i> , 1610, 229
Slaves (The) at the Battle of Marathon, 352-354	WEBSTER, T. B. L. A Study of Greek Sentence Construction, 385-415
SOLMSSEN, FRIEDRICH. The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric, 35-50, 169-190	WEST, LOUIS C. The Roman Gold Standard and the Ancient Sources, 289-301
	WOOD, FREDERIC M., JR. The Military and Diplomatic Campaign of T. Quinctius Flaminius in 198 B. C. 277-288
	YOUTIE, HERBERT C. <i>O. Mich.</i> I, 154 (with ORSAMUS M. PEARL), 80-83